READINGS IN ENGLISH HISTORY DRAWN FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES

INTENDED TO ILLUSTRATE

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

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PREFACE

All intelligent teachers of history realize the desirability of having their students do more reading of history than is contained in the text-book, and most of them agree that this is best found in records and writings contemporary with the events being studied. But the practical problem of providing such readings for classes is by no means easy to solve. Those who have tried to procure the necessary number of copies of books, to discover English translations, to find applicable passages, and to make practicable requirements best know the difficulties of the task. I hope that this book of readings from the original sources of English history will help to overcome these obstacles. It is intended to be used as a close companion to my *Short History of England*: the matter contained in it is arranged in the same order as the subjects taken up in that text-book, and is selected with a view to the further explanation and illustration of the principal points there discussed. It can, however, obviously be used in connection with other text-books, and in any case, where time is insufficient to make use of all the illustrative extracts, a selection from them can be made by the teacher.

I have, of course, utilized the suggestions of earlier collectors of similar material, and take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the ingenuity and intelligence displayed by them in the discovery of certain

illustrative documents. I have had much valuable assistance in the work of selection, translation, and editing from Dr. Helen G. Preston, and the last chapter is largely the work of Professor Witt Bowden of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor James Harvey Robinson, the editor of the series of which this volume is a part, through our long labors together over manuscript and proof, has often contributed the last and best word of advice or decision. In this new edition the illustrative material has been brought down to date, corresponding to the last chapter of the revised edition of the text-book.

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foreign influence; for neither Bacchus nor Hercules nor any of the other heroes or mighty men, so far as we know, waged war with it. In our time, indeed, Caius Cæsar, who has obtained the name of a god because of his great deeds, became the first one of all those whose memory is preserved to reduce the island to subjection, and to force the conquered Britons to pay a fixed tribute. These things will be recounted in detail in their own place; at this time we shall speak a few words about the island and the tin taken from it. It is triangular in shape, the same as Sicily, but its sides are unequal. Since it extends obliquely from Europe the headland next the continent, which they call Cantium, is only about one hundred stadia from the mainland, at which place a strait runs between. A second angle, Belerium by name, is four days' sail from the continent. The last, called Orca, is said to project out into the sea. The shortest side faces Europe and measures 7500 stadia; the second, extending from the channel to the extreme north, is said to be 15,000 stadia in length; while the last side measures 20,000 stadia; so the entire circumference of the island is 42,500 stadia.

The shape and size of Britain

They allege that the residents are the original inhabitants who still retain their primitive manners and customs. For in their battles they use chariots in the same manner as it is reported the ancient Greek heroes fought in the Trojan War. They live in small huts usually built of reeds or wood. When they have reaped their grain they store the ears cut from the stalk in underground storehouses. From thence they take as much of the oldest as will be needed for the day, and after grinding it they prepare their food from it. Their customs are simple, being far removed from the craftiness and wickedness of our time. They are content with frugal fare and do not have the desires which come with riches. The island has a large population, and has a cold climate, since it stretches so far to the north, lying directly under the Great Bear. Many kings and chieftains rule there, usually keeping peace among themselves.

Concerning their institutions, and other things peculiar to the island, we shall speak specially when we come to the expedition of Cæsar into Britain. At this time we shall treat of

The production of tin

the tin which is dug from the ground. Those who dwell near Belerium, one of the headlands of Britain, are especially fond of strangers, and on account of their trade with the merchants they have a more civilized manner of living. They collect the tin after the earth has been skillfully forced to yield it. Although the land is stony, it has certain veins of earth from which they melt and purify the metal which has been extracted. After making this into bars they carry it to a certain island near Britain called Ictis. For although the place between is for the most part covered with water, yet in the middle there is dry ground, and over this they carry a great amount of tin in wagons. . . . Thence the merchants carry into Gaul the tin which they have bought from the inhabitants. And after a journey of thirty days on foot through Gaul, they convey their packs carried by horses to the mouths of the Rhone River.

By the time of Tacitus, who wrote the following account of Britain about A.D. 100, the island was quite familiar to the Romans, and he is therefore more interested in describing its distant parts, those now known as Scotland, which had but recently been explored. He still repeats the mistaken belief of all the ancients that Spain extended so far to the north that it lay to the west of Britain. It is evident that but few voyages could have been made by sea all the way from the Mediterranean to Britain or this mistake would have been corrected.

3. Description by Tacitus

Since the geography and the peoples of Britain have been already treated by many writers, I shall speak, not with the idea of vying with these authors in art or genius, but because it was at this time first thoroughly subdued. Those things which former writers, not fully comprehending, embellished with their eloquence, will be set down with historical accuracy. Britain, the largest of the islands known to the Romans, as regards its geographical situation, on the east faces Germany, on the west Spain, and is even visible on the south to the

Gauls; the north of the island has no land opposite, and is washed by a vast and open sea. Livy, one of the most gifted authors of ancient times, and Fabius Rusticus, of modern times, have compared the form of the whole island to a trapezoid or a two-edged ax. As a matter of fact this is its appearance on this side of Caledonia, whence the report arose for the whole; but when you have entered this enormous and shapeless tract of land stretching to a great length, it narrows to a wedge.

The Roman fleet, borne then for the first time about this coast, lying so far away, confirmed the assertion that Britain was an island, at the same time discovering and conquering hitherto unknown islands, which they called the Orcades. Thule was seen from a distance only, because the orders went no further and winter was approaching. But they assert that the sea is sluggish and hard for the rowers, and not even by the winds is it stirred up as other seas. I suppose that this is so because the land and mountains, the cause and origin of storms, are rare, and the great mass of water of one continuous sea is not easily disturbed. . . .

The long days in Britain

The sky is gloomy with many clouds, and showers are frequent; but the severity of cold seasons is absent. The length of day is longer than in our latitude. The night in the extreme north of Britain is clear and short, so that one scarcely distinguishes the end and the beginning of the daylight, so slight is the interval between. If the clouds do not prevent, the glow of the sun is visible through the night, nor does the sun rise and set, but merely passes along the horizon. In fact the extreme and flat parts of the land with their low relief do not cast shadows, and so night falls below the sky and stars. The land abounds in fruits, except the olive and the vine, together with some other things accustomed to grow in warmer climates: although these sprout quickly, they ripen slowly. The reason for both is the same, the great dampness of the land and atmosphere. Britain produces gold, silver, and other metals, the rewards of victory. The ocean yields pearls, but they are discolored and dull. Certain people think that those who gather them are lacking in skill; for in the Red Sea they are torn from the rocks alive and glowing, while in Britain they are

collected just as they have been cast up on the shore. I can believe more easily, however, that the quality is lacking in the pearls than that we fail in covetousness.

Although the monk Gildas wrote some five hundred years after Tacitus, and more than six hundred years after Cæsar, the same mistake is still made about the size of Britain, which the ancients had always overestimated.

4. Account by Gildas, about A.D. 560

The island of Britain, situated on almost the utmost border of the earth, towards the south and west, and poised in the divine balance, so to speak, which supports the whole world, stretches out from the southwest towards the north pole, and is eight hundred miles long and two hundred broad, except where the headlands of sundry promontories stretch farther into the sea. It is surrounded by the ocean, which forms winding bays, and is strongly defended by this ample and, if I may so call it, impassable barrier, save on the south side, where the narrow sea affords a passage to Belgic Gaul.

II. Accounts by Modern Observers

Later travelers observed various geographical features, as, for instance, Paul Hentzner, a German, who visited England in 1598 and was much struck with the grass-covered "downs."

5. A sixteenth-century traveler's account

The soil is fruitful and abounds with cattle, which inclines the inhabitants rather to feeding than plowing, so that near a third part of the land is left uncultivated for grazing. There are many hills without one tree, or any spring, which produce a very short and tender grass, and supply plenty of food to sheep; upon these wander numerous flocks, extremely white, and whether from the temperature of the air or the goodness of the earth, bearing softer and finer fleeces than those of any other country: this is the true Golden Fleece, in which consist the chief riches of the inhabitants, great sums of money

being brought into the island by merchants, chiefly for that article of trade.

Modern historians have laid great stress on the geography of England as connected with its history. Mr. Green, from whose *Making of England* the following extracts are taken, knew the country well, and continually refers to its physical features, especially in describing its early history.

6. Green's description of the country as it was in the Roman period

A wild and half-reclaimed country, the bulk of whose surface was occupied by forest and waste. The rich and lower soil of the river valleys, indeed, which is now the favorite home of agriculture, had in the earliest times been densely covered with primeval scrub; and the only open spaces were those whose nature fitted them less for the growth of trees, — the chalk downs and oölitic uplands that stretched in long lines across the face of Britain from the Channel to the Northern Sea.

Such spaces were found, above all, at the extremities of the great chalk ranges which give form and character to the scenery of southern Britain. Halfway along our southern coast, the huge block of upland which we know as Salisbury Plain and the Marlborough Downs rises in gentle undulations from the alluvial flat of the New Forest to the lines of escarpment which overlook the vale of Pewsey and the upper basin of the Thames. From the eastern side of this upland, three ranges of heights run athwart southern Britain to the north-east and the east, the first passing from the Wiltshire Downs by the Chilterns to the uplands of East Anglia, while the second and third diverge to form the North Downs of Surrey and the South Downs of Sussex. At the extremities of these lines of heights the upland broadens out into spaces which were seized on from the earliest times for human settlement. The downs of our Hampshire formed a "gwent," or open clearing, whose name still lingers in its "Gwentceaster," or Winchester; while the upland which became the later home of the North-folk and South-folk formed another and a broader "gwent," which

gave its name to the Gwenta of the Iceni, the predecessor of our Norwich. The North Downs, as they neared the sea, widened out, in their turn, into a third upland that still preserves its name of the Caint or Kent, and whose broad front ran from the cliffs of Thanet to those of Dover and Folkestone. Free spaces of the same character were found on the Cotswolds or on the wolds of Lincoln and York; and in all we find traces of early culture and of the presence of a population which has passed away as tillage was drawn to richer soils. . . .

Forests and fens

But even at the close of the Roman rule the clearings along the river valleys were still mere strips of culture which threaded their way through a mighty waste. To realize the Britain of the Roman age, we must set before us the Poland or northern Russia of our own: a country into whose tracts of forest man is still hewing his way, and where the clearings round town or village hardly break the reaches of silent moorlands or as silent fens. The wolf roamed over the long "desert" that stretched from the Cheviots to the Peak. Beavers built in the streams of marshy hollows, such as that which reached from Beverly to Ravenspur. The wild bull wandered through forest after forest from Ettrick to Hampstead. Though the Roman engineers won fields from Romney Marsh on the Kentish coast, nothing broke the solitude of the peat bogs which stretched up the Parrett into the heart of Somersetshire, of the swamp which struck into the heart of the island along the lower Trent, or of the mightier fen along the eastern coast, the Wash, which then ran inland up the Witham all but to Lincoln, and up the Nen and the Cam as far as Huntingdon and Cambridge.

But neither moor nor fen covered so vast a space of Britain as its woods. The wedge of forest and scrub that filled the hollow between the North and South Downs stretched in an unbroken mass for a hundred and twenty miles, from Hampshire to the valley of the Medway; but, huge as it was, this "Andredsweald" was hardly greater than other of the woodlands which covered Britain. A line of thickets along the shore of the Southampton Water linked it with as large a forest tract to the west, a fragment of which survives in our New Forest, but which then bent away through the present

Dorsetshire and spread northward round the western edge of the Wiltshire Downs to the valley of the Frome. The line of the Severn was blocked above Worcester by the forest of Wyre, which extended northward to Cheshire; while the Avon skirted the border of a mighty woodland, of which Shakespeare's Arden became the dwindled representative, and which all but covered the area of the present Warwickshire. Away to the east the rises of Highgate and Hampstead formed the southern edge of a forest tract that stretched without a break to the Wash, and thus almost touched the belt of woodland which ran athwart Mid-Britain in the forests of Rockingham and Charnwood, and in the Brunewald of the Lincoln heights. The northern part of the province was yet wilder and more inaccessible than the part to the south; for while Sherwood and Needwood filled the space between the Peak and the Trent, the Vale of York was pressed between the moorlands of Pickering and the waste or "desert" that stretched from the Peak of Derbyshire to the Roman wall; and beyond the wall to the Forth the country was little more than a vast wilderness of moorland and woodland which later times knew as the forest of Selkirk.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC AND CELTIC BRITAIN

I. The First Contact of the Romans with the Britons

Cæsar himself gives the following account of his two famous invasions of Britain, in the years 55 B.C. and 54 B.C., and with this account the written history of the country begins.

7. Cæsar's first invasion, 55 B.C.

No one had had any communication with the Britons except the merchants, and even they knew nothing except the coast region and those parts which lie opposite Gaul. Cæsar therefore summoned the merchants from all sides, but was unable to find out the size of the island, or what nations inhabited it, how large these nations were, what skill they possessed in war, what customs they followed, or what harbors were suitable for a number of large ships.

He thought it best to obtain information before he should incur any risk, and sent Caius Volusenus ahead with a war galley, commanding him to ascertain the truth and return to him as soon as possible. . . . Volusenus inspected all those regions as carefully as any one could who did not dare to leave his ship or join battle with the barbarians. On the fifth day he returned to Cæsar and announced to him what he had seen there. . . .

When Cæsar had collected and furnished about eighty transports, as many as he judged necessary to carry two legions, he gave the war galleys which he had to the quæstor, the lieutenants, and the prefects. Added to these were eighteen transports which were detained eight miles away by the wind; these he assigned to the cavalry. After he had arranged these matters, meeting with a favorable wind he set sail about the third watch;

he ordered the cavalry to go to the farther port, set sail, and follow him. While these orders were being executed by them rather slowly, Cæsar himself reached Britain about the third hour of the day with the first of the ships, and there saw the forces of the enemy ready armed and drawn up in line of battle on all the hills. The nature of this place was such, and so closely bounded was the sea by the cliffs, that a weapon could be hurled from the heights to the beach. Since he considered this place by no means suitable for disembarking, he waited at anchor up to the ninth hour, until the rest of the boats should arrive. . . . When he obtained a suitable wind and tide at the same time, at a given signal he weighed anchor and advanced about seven miles from this place, where he drew up his ships on a low-lying open coast. But the barbarians, as soon as they recognized the plans of the Romans, sent forward their cavalry and charioteers, which they were accustomed to use in battle. They themselves following prevented our soldiers from disembarking. Serious difficulties arose, for several reasons; on account of their size the ships could not be moored except in deep water, the soldiers were depressed by their ignorance of the place, and their hands were encumbered by the heavy weight of their arms. At one time they were obliged to leap from the boats, stand in the waves, and fight with their opponents, while the enemy, either on dry ground or standing only in shallow water, with free hands, in a locality well known to them were boldly hurling weapons and spurring forward their horses trained to this kind of battle. Our men, terrified by all this and entirely unaccustomed to this method of warfare, did not show their customary quickness and zeal.

First contests between the Britons and the Romans

When Cæsar noticed this he ordered the war galleys, whose appearance was rather strange to the barbarians and whose motion was swifter, to be removed a little from the transports and rowed forward, in order that they might be brought up on the open flank of the enemy and the latter be driven away by the slings, arrows, and missiles. This was of great assistance to our soldiers. The barbarians, greatly disturbed by the form of the boats, by the speed of the rowers, by the unusual kind of missiles, stopped their advance and even retreated a little. . . .

Difficult position of the Romans

The battle was fiercely contested on each side. Our men were thrown into much disorder, as they were unable to preserve their ranks, to stand firmly, or to keep near their standards, so that men from the various ships gathered under whatever standards they happened to be near; since the enemy knew the shallow places, whenever from the shore they saw separate soldiers coming from the ships they spurred on their horses and attacked them while they were in difficulty; several kept surrounding a few; some on the unprotected side were hurling weapons against all of our soldiers. When Cæsar noticed this he ordered the skiffs from the war galleys and likewise the reconnoitering boats to be filled with soldiers, and sent them to help those whom he saw in difficulty. As soon as our men stood on dry ground and their comrades had joined them, they made an attack upon the enemy, putting them to flight; but they were not able to follow very far, since the cavalrymen had been unable to hold to their course and to make the island. Cæsar's usual fortune failed him in this point alone. Since the enemy were overcome in this battle, as soon as they recovered from their flight they immediately sent ambassadors to Cæsar concerning peace.

The first invasion of Cæsar had been begun very late in the summer, and he had intended it rather as an armed exploration than as an attempt at conquest. The expedition of the next year was undertaken much more deliberately and carried out much more seriously. Even at this time, however, the Roman army did not penetrate nearly so far as the center of the country, and withdrew after a three months' campaign. Therefore, although the Britons and the Romans were thus brought into contact, and our continuous knowledge of the history of the island begins, the Roman period proper does not open till almost a century later.

After the completion of these things, Cæsar left Labienus on the continent with three legions and with two thousand

horsemen to protect the harbors, to provide for the grain supply, to observe what was taking place in Gaul, and to exercise his judgment in plans suited to occasion and circumstance. He himself set sail at sunset with five legions and a force of cavalry equal to that which he had left on the continent. After being carried on by a gentle southwest wind, about midnight the wind ceased and he was not able to hold to the course. Carried too far by the tide, at daybreak he found Britain lying behind him on his left. Again the tide changed and he hastened with oars to make that part of the island where he had learned the previous summer there was an excellent landing. In this the bravery of the soldiers must be praised, since with heavily laden transports they with ceaseless rowing equaled the speed of the war galleys. They approached Britain with all their ships about midday and not an enemy was seen in the place; though, as Cæsar afterwards learned from the captives, great bands of them had assembled there, but terrified by the vast number of ships (for with the ships of the previous year and with the private vessels which each had made for his own pleasure, more than eight hundred were seen at one time), they had left the shore and hidden themselves in the higher places.

8. Cæsar's second invasion, 54 B.C.

When Cæsar had landed his army and chosen a place suitable for a camp, he learned from captives where the forces of the enemy had encamped. After placing Quintus Atrius in charge of ten cohorts and three hundred cavalrymen near the sea to guard the ships, about the third watch he hastened towards the enemy, fearing little for the safety of these ships because he had left them anchored on an open and gently sloping coast. By night he had marched about twelve miles and came in sight of the enemy's forces. The latter, advancing from their higher position towards the river with their cavalry and chariots, sought to check the forward movement of our men, and to join battle. Repulsed by our cavalry they fled to the forests, to a place excellently fortified both by nature and art, and which, as was seen later, they had prepared before this time for the purpose of defense in their own tribal wars, for all the entrances were closed by barricades of trees cut for this purpose. The enemy in small detachments kept rushing from

Forest fighting of the Britons

these fortifications to fight, and prevented our men from entering their stronghold. But the soldiers of the seventh legion, forming a *testudo*, and throwing up a mound opposite the fortification, took the place, and after receiving a few wounds drove the enemy from the forest. Cæsar forbade his men to follow the enemy in flight too far both because he was ignorant of the locality and because he wished time to be left for fortifying the camp, and it was already late in the day. . . .

As soon as Cæsar learned their plans, he led his army towards the Thames River into the territory of Cassivellaunus; this river can be forded only in one place and there only with difficulty. When he arrived there he noticed that on the other side of the stream the enemy was drawn up in line of battle. Besides, the bank of the river was fortified by sharpened stakes which had been driven into the ground above the water level, and stakes of the same kind were fastened in the river bed below the water. When Cæsar learned of these things from captives and fugitives he sent the cavalry ahead and ordered the legions to follow immediately. But the soldiers went with such speed and force that although only their heads were above the water, the enemy could not withstand their attack, and, withdrawing from the bank, fled precipitately.

Two letters from Cicero written to his friend Atticus in the fall of the year 54 B.C. give a glimpse of the way Cæsar's invasion of Britain looked to contemporary Romans.

9. Cicero to Atticus

The outcome of the war in Britain is being awaited. For it is certain that the approaches to the island are guarded with wonderful strength. Moreover it is now known that there is not an ounce of silver in that island, nor any hope of booty except of slaves. Of these I do not believe you need expect any trained in letters, music, or poetry.

10. Cicero to Atticus

I received, October 24, letters from my brother Quintus and from Cæsar, dated on the nearest shore of Britain, September 26. Britain was subdued, hostages had been received, and although no money booty had been obtained, the army was being brought back from Britain.

II. The Customs of the Britons

Cæsar with his usual keenness observed the Britons and made inquiries about them at the same time that he was carrying on war with them. The results of his investigations as he gives them in his narrative, incorrect as some of his statements probably are, furnish us our first satisfactory information concerning the inhabitants of the island of Britain.

11. Cæsar's description of the Britons

The inland portions of Britain are inhabited by those who themselves say that according to tradition they are natives of the soil; the coast regions are peopled by those who crossed from Belgium for the purpose of making war. Almost all of these are called by the names of those states from which they are descended and from which they came hither. After they had waged war they remained there and began to cultivate the soil. The island has a large population, with many buildings constructed after the fashion of the Gauls, and abounds in flocks. For money they use either gold coins or bars of iron of a certain weight. Tin is found in the inland regions, iron on the seacoast; but the latter is not plentiful. They use imported bronze. All kinds of wood are found here, as in Gaul, except the beech and fir trees. They consider it contrary to divine law to eat the hare, the chicken, or the goose. They raise these, however, for their own amusement and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, since there are fewer periods of cold. . . .

By far the most civilized are those who dwell in Kent. Their entire country borders on the sea, and they do not differ much from the Gauls in customs. Very many who dwell farther inland do not sow grain but live on milk and flesh, clothing themselves in skins. All the Britons paint themselves with woad, which produces a dark blue color; and for this reason they are much more frightful in appearance in battle. They permit their hair to grow long, shaving all parts of the body except the head and the upper lip. Ten and twelve have wives

common among them, especially brothers with brothers and parents with children; if any children are born they are considered as belonging to those men to whom the maiden was first married. . . .

Fighting from chariots

This is their manner of fighting from chariots. At first the charioteers ride in all directions, usually throwing the ranks into confusion by the very terror caused by the horses, as well as by the noise of the wheels; then as soon as they have come between the squads of horsemen, they leap from the chariots and fight on foot. The drivers of the chariots then withdraw a little from the battle and place the chariots together, so that if the warriors are hard pressed by the number of the enemy, they have a safe retreat to their own. Their horsemen possess such activity and their foot soldiers such steadfastness in battle and they accomplish so much by daily training that on steep and even precipitous ground they are accustomed to check their excited horses, to control and turn them about quickly, to run out on the pole, to stand on the yoke, and then swiftly to return to the chariot.

Strabo, a Greek writer who traveled widely about the beginning of the Christian era, gives in his *Geography* the following description of the Britons and some of their customs, as he knew of them some fifty years after the time of Cæsar.

12. Strabo on the customs of the Britons

The men are taller than the Gauls, with hair less yellow, and are slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height I myself saw at Rome some youths who were taller by as much as half a foot than the tallest there; but they were badly shaped in their lower limbs, and in other respects not symmetrical in their conformation. Their manners are in part like those of the Gauls, though in part more simple and barbarous; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states among them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of

the Gauls. Forests are their cities: for having inclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle, though not for any long continuance.

Their atmosphere is more subject to rain than to snow; even in their clear days the mist continues a considerable time, insomuch that throughout the whole day the sun is only visible for three or four hours about noon time, and this must be the case also among the Morini and the Menapii, and among all the neighboring peoples. The deified Cæsar twice passed over to the island, but quickly returned, having effected nothing of importance, nor proceeded far into the country, as well on account of some commotions in Gaul, both among his own soldiers and among the barbarians, as because of the loss of many of his ships at the period of the full moon, when both the ebb and flow of the tides were greatly increased. Nevertheless he gained two or three victories over the Britons, although he had transported thither only two legions of his army, and brought away hostages, slaves, and much other booty.

Cæsar's ineffective campaign

At the present time, however, some of the princes, having by their embassies and court gained the friendship of Cæsar Augustus, have dedicated their offerings at the Capitol, and have brought the whole island into a state little short of intimate union with the Romans. They bear moderate taxes, laid both on the imports and the exports from Gaul; which are ivory bracelets and necklaces, amber, and vessels of glass, and such like mean merchandise. Wherefore the island would be hardly worth a garrison, for it would require at least one legion and some cavalry to enforce tribute from them; and the total expenditure for the army would be equal to the additional revenue, since if a tribute were levied, the imposts must of necessity be diminished, and at the same time some dangers must be incurred if force were to be employed.

There are also other small islands around Britain, and one of great extent, Hibernia, lying parallel to it towards the north, long or rather wide, concerning which we have nothing positive to remark, further than that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons. . . . The account of Thule is still

Ireland

more vague because of its secluded situation, for it is considered to be the farthest away of all lands of which the names are known.

Cornelius Tacitus, from whom the following extract is taken, as well as the description of Britain already given and some passages to follow later, was much interested in Britain from the fact that he had married the daughter of Agricola, the greatest of the Roman governors of that country. He wrote his *Life of Agricola* about A.D. 100.

13. Tacitus on the origin and character of the Britons

As is so often the case among barbarians, it is difficult to say whether the men who first dwelt in Britain are indigenous or whether they came thither. We may deduce arguments from the fact that their physical characteristics differ. For the reddish-yellow hair of the inhabitants of Caledonia, as well as their sturdy limbs, point to a German origin; the swarthy complexion and curly hair of the Silures, together with their position opposite Gaul, make us believe that the Iberians in ancient times crossed over and seized these territories. Those who are nearest to the Gauls resemble them, whether from the persistence of heredity, or whether, since the lands stretch out opposite each other, the climate has given the same character to the individuals. Forming a general judgment, however, it is credible that the Gauls seized the neighboring island. One sees here their sacred rites and their religious beliefs; even the speech does not differ much; there is the same boldness in seeking dangers, and the same shrinking from meeting them when they are present. The Britons show more savageness, as those not yet civilized by a long-continued peace. We have been given to understand that the Gauls, too, were formerly conspicuous for their fighting; sluggishness, however, entered with ease, and bravery was lost together with liberty. The same thing has happened to those of the Britons who were formerly conquered, while the rest remain as the Gauls were.

Their strength is in their infantry; certain tribes fight also with chariots. The charioteer is the man of rank; his dependents fight for him. Formerly they were ruled by kings, now they are separated under the leadership of chieftains in factional quarrels. Nor is there anything more advantageous for us against these most powerful tribes than the fact that they do not consult for the common weal. Rarely do two or three tribes join for averting a common danger; and so while they fight as individuals, they are overcome as a whole.

CHAPTER III

ROMAN BRITAIN

I. The Conquest of Britain

The conquest of Britain by the Romans in A.D. 44 and the immediately succeeding years is described in a number of contemporary accounts. The Greek historian Dio Cassius, though he lived more than a hundred years after the occurrences, had access to many records that are now lost, and he gives a specially full account of the early years of the conquest.

14. The invasion under Plautius

About the same time Aulus Plautius, a very distinguished senator, marched against Britain. For one Bericus, being driven out of that island by an insurrection, persuaded the Emperor Claudius to send an army thither. And this Plautius, taking the command, had great difficulty in leading his forces out of Gaul. For the soldiers were highly enraged, as though they were about to make war beyond the habitable world; nor would they obey him until Narcissus, having been sent from Claudius, ascended the tribunal of Plautius and was desirous of addressing them. For then on this account, turning their rage against him they did not permit him to utter one word, but suddenly shouting out the well-known expression "Io Saturnalia" (for the slaves during the festival of Saturn, assuming the characters of their masters, give themselves up to revelry), they immediately followed Plautius with alacrity.[1] In consequence of these proceedings they were delayed in commencing their expedition.

[1] Narcissus was a Greek slave who had been freed by the Emperor, treated as a favorite, and raised to the position of his special representative, thus earning the ridicule and hatred of the soldiers, and turning their enthusiasm back to their own general.

Being divided at length into three bodies, lest attempting to land all at one point they should be obstructed, and having during their passage been somewhat disheartened by one occurrence, namely by being driven backward, but encouraged by another, that is to say, a meteor springing from the east and darting across towards the west, whither they were navigating, they landed on the island without opposition. For the Britons, from what they had learned not expecting that they would come, had not assembled together; nor even when they had arrived did they attack them, but fled to the marshes and woods, hoping to wear them out by delay, and that, as had happened under Julius Cæsar, the Romans would go back without effecting their purpose.

Plautius, therefore, had much difficulty in seeking them out; but when he did discover them, as they were not independent but subject to different kings, he overcame first Cataractacus, then Togodumnus, the son of Cunobelinus who was now dead. These taking to flight, he brought a part of the Boduni, who were under the dominion of the Catuvelanni, to terms of peace. Here, leaving a garrison, he proceeded farther. But when they arrived at a certain river, which the barbarians supposed the Romans could not pass without a bridge, and in consequence had taken up their position carelessly on the opposite bank, he sends forth the Gauls, who, even armed, were accustomed to swim with ease over the most rapid rivers; who, attacking them contrary to their expectation, wounded not the men indeed, but the horses which drew their chariots. These being thrown into confusion, they who rode therein were no longer secure.

Next he sent across Flavius Vespasianus, who afterward enjoyed the supreme rule, and his brother Sabinus as next in command; these also, having passed the river at a certain place, killed many of the barbarians by surprise. The rest, however, did not fly, but the following day again maintained the conflict nearly on equal terms, until Caius Osidius Geta, though in imminent danger of being made prisoner, ultimately so completely defeated them that he received triumphal honors, although he had not yet served the office of consul. The Britons,

thence retreating to the river Thames, where it discharges itself into the ocean and becomes an estuary at high tide, easily passed it, as they were well acquainted with those parts which were firm and fordable. The Romans pursued them, but at this point failed to overtake them, though the Gauls again swimming over, and others passing a little higher up by means of a bridge, attacked them on every side and cut off many of them; but rashly pressing on the remainder, they wandered into the pathless marshes and lost many of their own soldiers.

Tacitus by way of introduction to his account of the campaigns of Agricola reviews briefly the manner in which the Romans brought Britain under their control.

15. A sketch of the early connection of the Romans with Britain

When the greatest of all Romans, the divine Julius, entered Britain with an army, although he terrified the inhabitants by a favorable battle and gained possession of the coast, yet he seems merely to have shown the way to future generations, not to have handed the island down to them as a possession. Civil wars succeeded, the arms of our leaders were turned against their own country, and then came a long neglect of Britain, although we were at peace. The divine Augustus was in the habit of calling this public policy, while Tiberius called it established custom. It is clearly evident that Caius Cæsar Caligula had formed a plan for entering Britain, and would have done so, if his swiftness in changing his mind, owing to his fickle disposition and his mighty undertakings against Germany, had not thwarted him. The divine Claudius, who was in favor of pressing on with the work, transported legions as well as auxiliaries, and took Vespasian to share in the undertaking, which was the beginning of the fortune in store for him: the tribes were conquered, the king captured, and Vespasian was pointed out to the fates.

Aulus Plautius, the first governor of consular rank, and immediately after him Ostorius Scapula, were both renowned in war. The nearer parts of Britain were gradually reduced to the form of a province, and a colony of veterans was established there. Certain states were presented to the king Cogidumnus,

who remained most loyal even to our time, in accordance with an old and long-accepted custom of the Roman people that it might have as instruments of servitude even kings. Then Didius Gallus retained the portions gained by the former governors, and even increased them by a few redoubts in the remoter parts, by which a reputation for enlarging the territory was sought. Veranius, who succeeded Didius, died within a year. After this Suetonius Paulinus for two years managed affairs successfully, overcoming tribes and strengthening garrisons. Relying on these two achievements he attacked the island of Mona, which was supplying military forces to the rebels, and exposed the settlement which was behind him to attack.

The attack on the island of Mona or Anglesea, which thus gave opportunity for a revolt of the still but half-conquered Britons, and the subsequent events of this year of war, A.D. 61, are more fully described in another of Tacitus' works, his *Annals*.

16. The Druids on the island of Mona

On the shore was standing the battle line of the enemy, bristling with arms and men, while women were running back and forth, after the fashion of the Furies; in funereal garb, with disheveled hair, they were bearing torches before them; and the Druids around, with hands raised to the sky, pouring out their dreadful prayers, struck our soldiers with consternation by the novelty of the sight, so that just as if paralyzed they offered their immovable bodies to wounds. Then at the exhortation of the leaders, and encouraging themselves not to fear this cowardly and fanatic array, they charged, overthrowing their opponents, and enveloping them in their own attack. Then a garrison was placed over the conquered, and the groves devoted to superstitious rites were cut down, for they considered it right in the sight of their gods to make their altars reek with the blood of captives and to seek their gods by divination from the entrails of men.

News of the revolt of the natives under Boadicea, and of the destruction of a vast number of Roman troops,

merchants, and their families, now reached the ears of the Roman governor Suetonius.

The earliest description of London

But Suetonius with wonderful firmness pushed on through the midst of the enemy to London, a place not distinguished by the name of colony, but a depot for merchants and especially celebrated for its traffic. He was doubtful whether he should retain this place as a base for his operations, but when he considered the small number of his troops, . . . he determined to sacrifice this single town for the sake of saving all the rest. Nor was he influenced by the wailing and tears of those begging his aid to refrain from giving the signal for departure. He received within his line of march any one who wished to accompany him, but those who, because of their sex, age, or charm of locality, remained behind were crushed by the enemy.

The modern St. Albans

The same disaster befell the municipality of Verulamium, because the barbarians, delighted with the booty and averse to the hardships of war, neglected the small forts and scattered guards of soldiers, and turned their whole attention to that which would prove fruitful to the plunderer and which was unguarded by the defenders. It is agreed that about seventy thousand Roman soldiers and their allies fell in those places which I have mentioned. For the enemy were not eager to capture or sell, or do anything else which had to do with the trade of war, but hastened to murders, to the gibbet, to fires, to the cross, as if about to be punished they sought to wreak their vengeance first. . . .

Suetonius had now an army of almost ten thousand men, consisting of the fourteenth legion, together with the veterans of the twentieth and the auxiliaries from the neighborhood. He no longer delayed, but prepared for a regular battle. He chose for this a place with a narrow entrance and closed in the rear by a forest, clearly seeing that there would be no trouble from the enemy except in front, and as the plain was open he was without fear of ambuscade. Then the legionary soldiers were stationed in close ranks, on either side the light-armed troops, while the cavalry crowded together in a mass took their stand in the wings. The troops of the Britons were rushing hither

and thither in bands of foot and horse, in greater number than anywhere before this time; and so confident were they of success that they brought with them their wives as witnesses of their victory, and placed them in wagons which they had stationed on the extreme edge of the field. . . .

Speech of Boadicea

Boadicea riding along with her two daughters in her chariot, as she approached each tribe called them to witness that it was customary for the Britons to wage war under the leadership of a woman, but that at this time not as one descended from great ancestors did she come to recover her kingdom and her resources, but as one descended from the people to avenge her lost liberty, her body lacerated with blows, the honor of her daughters violated. The desires of the Romans had gone so far that they did not leave undefiled the bodies even of the aged and of the maidens. Nevertheless the gods were aiding in the just punishment of these men: one legion had already fallen which had dared to engage in battle; the rest were in hiding in the camp or were watching for a chance of flight; they would not endure even the clamor and shouts of the multitude, much less the attacks of the soldiers. If they would reflect on the number of their armed men and on the reasons for the war, they would feel they must either conquer in the battle or die. This was the decision of a woman: let the men live if they wished, and be subservient to the Romans. . . .

Defeat of the British rebels

At first the legion did not move from its position, but held itself within the narrow pass as a fortification, after it had exhausted the weapons with unerring aim upon the enemy who came a little nearer; then suddenly the legion rushed forth in a wedge-shaped column. The ardor of the auxiliaries was equally great; and the cavalry with uplifted weapons broke whatever stood in their way. The enemy not actually engaged turned their backs, but escape was difficult, since the wagons which they had previously placed there hindered their flight. The soldiers did not refrain from killing even the women, and the cattle pierced with weapons increased the heap of the dead. Famous indeed was the victory gained on that day, and equal to the victories of ancient times. There are those who say that not much less than eighty thousand Britons fell then, while only

about four hundred of our men were killed and not many more wounded. Boadicea ended her life with poison; and Poenius Postumus, prefect of the camp of the second legion, when he learned of the successful deeds of the soldiers of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, killed himself with his sword, because he had defrauded his own men of equal glory and had, contrary to military laws, disobeyed the orders of his general. . . .

Strengthening of the garrison

Then the entire army was gathered and held in the tents to complete the rest of the war. The emperor increased the forces by two thousand legionary soldiers sent from Germany, eight thousand auxiliaries, and one thousand horsemen, upon whose arrival the ninth legion was filled out with legionary soldiers. The cohorts and the cavalry were supplied with new winter quarters. Whatever tribe was doubtful or adverse to the Roman people was ravaged with fire and sword.

II. The Organization and Defense of the Province

This was the last serious conflict between the native Britons and the Romans in the center and south of the island; later military campaigns were mostly in Scotland and Wales, and the efforts of the governors were devoted to organizing the province, civilizing the natives, and administering the government over them and over the immigrants from other parts of the Roman Empire that now came to live among them. The beginning of this work of conquest in the north and civilization in the south was made under Agricola and is described by Tacitus.

17. Agricola's campaign in Caledonia or Scotland, A.D. 80

The third year of the expedition brought to light new tribes, which were attacked even as far as the Tyne (the name of an estuary). The enemy were thoroughly terrified by this attack, and although afflicted by severe weather did not dare move against our army, so there was time for constructing redoubts. Those skilled in such things remarked that no other general had chosen such excellent sites: not a fort erected by Agricola was either captured by storm or left because of capitulation

and evacuation; for they were strengthened against a siege by provisions enough to last a year. The winter brought no fear; there were frequent sallies; the enemy were baffled and in despair on this account because they were accustomed for the most part to make good the losses of the summer in the winter, and now they were discomfited summer and winter equally. Nor did Agricola ever appropriate greedily any deed performed by another; whether centurion or prefect, he always had in him an impartial witness to his deed. Among some he was spoken of as too harsh in censure, and just as he was courteous to the good, so he was severe towards the evil. But none of his anger remained in secret, so that no one needed to fear his silence; and he considered it more honorable to give offense than to hate. . . .

Civilizing the natives

The next winter was occupied with laying most advantageous plans. In order that these men living far apart, unskilled, and eager for war might, by a taste of pleasure, become accustomed to peace and quiet, he personally urged, and publicly aided, them to build temples, market places, and homes by assisting those who seemed so disposed, and by censuring the inactive; thus rivalry for honor took the place of compulsion. Further, he provided a liberal education for the sons of the chieftains and gave preference to the natural endowments of the Britons over the endeavors of the Gauls; so much so that those who recently were unfavorable to the Roman language were now eager for its literature. So our dress came to be held in honor, and the toga was often seen. Gradually they fell a prey to the allurements of vice, the porticoes, the baths, the dainties of the banquet; this in the judgment of the ignorant was called civilization, although it is really characteristic of slavery. . . .

The Britons now readily furnish their levy, besides paying tribute and other duties required of them by the government, if injustice is not shown them. They endure this, however, with difficulty, and although conquered so that they obey, they are not yet so subdued as to be entirely subservient.

From time to time an emperor himself came to Britain, as did Hadrian in the year A.D. 120, whose visit is

mentioned in the following passage from the historian Ælius Spartianus, alluding apparently to the building of the famous wall across the island.

18. A visit from the Emperor Hadrian

He went to Britain, where he corrected many things, and built a wall eighty miles long to divide the Romans from the barbarians.[1] Affairs being settled in Britain, he crossed to Gaul, which was disturbed by the sedition of Alexandrinus.

Seventy-five years later the Emperor Severus conducted a military campaign against certain turbulent tribesmen in Britain. This is described by the historian Herodian, a contemporary of Severus.

19. A campaign in Britain A.D. 208–211

While Severus thus grieved at the dissolute life of his sons and their unbecoming attachment to public spectacles, he received letters from the prefect of Britain, relating that the barbarians there were in a state of insurrection, overrunning the country, carrying off booty, and laying everything waste; so that for defense of the island there was need of either greater force or of the presence of the Emperor himself. Severus heard this with pleasure. By nature a lover of glory, and anxious, after his victories in the East and North and his consequent titles, to obtain a trophy from the Britons, willing, moreover, to withdraw his sons from Rome that they might grow up in the sobriety and discipline of a military life far removed from the blandishments and luxuries prevalent there, he ordered an expedition against Britain, although now old and laboring under an arthritic affection, but as to his mind vigorous beyond any youth.

For the most part he performed the march carried in a litter, nor did he ever continue long in one place. Having completed the journey with his sons and crossed over the sea more quickly than could be described or expected, he advanced

[1] Every one should read the Roman British stories in Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*. They are of course fanciful and must not be taken as exact history, but they probably represent very well the actual state of things at that time.

against the Britons, and having drawn together the soldiers from all sides and concentrated a vast force, he prepared for the war. The Britons, much struck with the sudden arrival of the Emperor, and learning that such a mighty force was collected against them, sent ambassadors, sued for peace, and were willing to excuse their past transgressions. But Severus, purposely seeking delay that he might not return to Rome without his object, and, moreover, desirous to obtain from Britain a victory and a title, sent away their ambassadors without effecting their purpose, and prepared all things for the contest. He more especially endeavored to render the marshy places stable by means of causeways, that his soldiers treading with safety might easily pass them, and, having firm footing, fight to advantage. For many parts of the British country, being constantly flooded by the tides of the ocean, become marshy. In these the natives are accustomed to swim and wade about, being immersed as high as their waists. . . . When everything appeared to Severus sufficiently arranged for the war, leaving his younger son, named Geta, in that part of the island which was subjugated to the Romans for the purpose of administering justice and directing other civil matters of the government, giving him as assessors the more aged of his friends, and taking Antoninus with himself, he led the way against the barbarians.

The *Notitia Dignitatum*, or list of officials of the Roman Empire, a document drawn up about A.D. 400, mentions among the several thousand offices which it names a considerable number which were established in Britain. The names and characters of the offices seem to have been exactly the same there as in Gaul, Spain, Italy, Africa, Greece, and other parts of the Empire, and bring out with great clearness the fact that Britain was an integral part of the wide Roman dominions. The offices named are naturally of a military character, though equipped with a great force of clerks, collectors, and

other civil officers and subordinates. Some passages from the *Notitia* referring to Britain are here given.

20. List of Roman officials and their subordinates in Britain

Under the Count of the Sacred Bounties are the accountant of the general tax of the Britons, the prefect of the storehouses at London, the procurator of the weaving house at Winchester in Britain.

The same Honorable Count has a staff as follows: a chief of staff from the office of the master of the imperial infantry, two receivers of taxes from the office above mentioned, a custodian from the office above mentioned, a chief deputy, a chief assistant, an assistant, a keeper of records; secretaries. . . .

Duke of the four British provinces

Under the charge of the Honorable Duke of the Britains are the prefect of the sixth legion, the prefect of the Dalmatian cavalry at Presidium, the prefect of the Crispian cavalry at Doncaster, the prefect of the Catafractian cavalry at Morbium, the prefect of the band of Tigrisian Barcars at Arbeia, the prefect of the band of the Dictensian Nervii at Dictis, the prefect of the guards at Concangis, the prefect of the band of scouts at Lavatræ, the prefect of the band of guides at Verteræ, the prefect of the band of defenders at Brougham, the prefect of the band of Solensii at Maglonæ, the prefect of the band of Pacensians at Magis, the prefect of the band of Longovicarii at Longovicis, the prefect of the Petrurian band of supervisors at Derventio.

Troops along the wall

Likewise, along the line of the wall are the tribune of the fourth cohort of the Lingones at Segedunum, the tribune of the first cohort of the Cornovii at Pons Ælii, the prefect of the first wing of the Asturians at Condercum, the tribune of the first cohort of the Frisians at Vindobala, the prefect of the Savinian wing at Hunnum, the prefect of the second wing of the Asturians at Cilurnum, the tribune of the first cohort of the Batavians at Procolitia, the tribune of the first cohort of the Tungrians at Borcovicus, the tribune of the fourth cohort of the Gauls at Vindolanum, the tribune of the first cohort of the Asturians at Æsica, the tribune of the second cohort of the Dalmatians at Magnæ, the tribune of the first Ælian cohort of the Dacians at Ambloglanna.

Under the charge of the Honorable Vicar of the Britains are the consulars of Maxima Cæsariensis, of Valentia, of Britannia Secunda, of Flavia Cæsariensis. Tax officers of the four British provinces

The Honorable Vicar of the Britains has a staff as follows: a chief of staff from the body of confidential agents of the first class, a chief deputy, two receivers of taxes, a chief clerk.

Of the many hundred Roman inscriptions on stone tablets, tiles, altars, and metal plates, the following have been chosen to represent the most familiar classes: those found along the line of the wall and recording the progress of its construction, those found on dedicatory altars, those recording the performance of some vow, and those placed on funeral monuments. They are naturally most often of a religious or memorial character; the more ordinary affairs of life unfortunately left no such record.

21. Typical inscriptions

In honor of the Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the father of his country. A company of the Twentieth Legion, the Valiant-Victorious, executed 4411 paces.

On a household altar

To Jupiter best and greatest, and to the gods and goddesses who preside over the household, and to the penates, for the preservation of the health of himself and his family, Publius Ælius Marcianus, prefect of a cohort, dedicated and consecrated this altar.

An altar to Mithras

To the god best and greatest, the unconquerable Mithras, lord of ages, Publius Proculinus, centurion, for himself and his son Proculus, performs his vow willingly and dutifully, in the consulship of our lords Gallus and Volusianus.

On a tombstone

To the gods of the shades. For Julia Veneria, aged thirty-three years, Alexander, her most attached husband, and Julius Belicianus, her son, caused this monument to be made.

A glimpse of Christianity in Roman Britain is to be found in the list of the signers of the canons adopted at the Council of Arles, in Gaul, held in A.D. 314; alongside

of the bishops of certain cities of Gaul are to be found the following representatives of the Christian church in Britain.

22. British Christians in A.D. 314

Eborius, bishop of the city of York in the province of Britain. Restitutus, bishop of the city of London, in the province above mentioned.

Adelfius, bishop of the city of Cærleon-on-Usk.

Sacerdos, priest.

Arminius, deacon.

III. Later Roman Britain

The decay of the province of Britain through the fourth and fifth centuries has left almost no traces in written records. The somewhat fanciful descriptions of Gildas, who lived in Britain, and wrote about A.D. 550, and a few scattered references in continental chronicles, are the nearest we have to contemporary history.

23. Gildas' description of the decay and invasions of the province

After this, Britain is left deprived of all her soldiery and armed bands, of her cruel governors, and of the flower of her youth, who went with Maximus, but never again returned; and utterly ignorant as she was of the art of war, she groaned in amazement for many years under the cruelty of two foreign nations — the Scots from the northwest, and the Picts from the north.

The Britons, rendered desperate by the assaults of the Scots and Picts, their hostilities and dreadful oppressions, send ambassadors to Rome with letters, entreating in piteous terms the assistance of an armed band to protect them, and offering loyal and ready submission to the authority of Rome, if they only would expel their invading foes. A legion is immediately sent, forgetting their past rebellion, and provided sufficiently with arms. When they had crossed over the sea and landed, they came at once to close conflict with their cruel enemies, and slew great numbers of them. All of them were driven beyond the

borders, and the humiliated natives rescued from the bloody slavery which awaited them. . . .

No sooner were they gone, than the Picts and Scots, like worms which in the heat of midday come forth from their holes, hastily land again from their canoes, in which they had been carried beyond the Cichican valley, differing one from another in manners, but inspired with the same avidity for blood. . . .

"The groans of the Britons"

Again, therefore, the wretched remnant, sending to Ætius, a powerful Roman citizen, address him as follows: "To Ætius, now consul for the third time: the groans of the Britons." And again a little further, thus: "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians; thus two modes of death await us; we are either slain or drowned." The Romans, however, could not assist them, and in the meantime the discomfited people, wandering in the woods, began to feel the effects of a severe famine, which compelled many of them without delay to yield themselves up to their cruel persecutors to obtain subsistence; others of them, however, lying hid in mountains, caves, and woods, continually sallied out from thence to renew the war. . . .

So that all the columns were leveled with the ground by the frequent strokes of the battering-ram, all the husbandmen routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed, and the flames crackled around them on every side. Lamentable to behold, in the midst of the streets lay the tops of lofty towers tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, remains of human bodies. . . .

The following fragment of a poem, commonly called *The Ruined City*, comes from Anglo-Saxon times, but it seems to refer to the ruins of the Roman city Aquæ Solis, the modern city of Bath. It is not hard to imagine the effect which the sight of such ruins falling into decay would have upon a barbarian, even if he were a barbarian conqueror.

24. *The Ruined City*

Wondrously wrought and fair its wall of stone,
Shattered by Fate! The castles rent asunder,
The work of giants moldered away!

Its roofs are breaking and falling; its towers crumble
In ruin. Plundered those walls with grated doors —
Their mortar white with frost. Its battered ramparts
Are shorn away and ruined, all undermined
By eating age. The mighty men that built it,
Departed hence, undone by death, are held
Fast in the earth's embrace. Tight is the clutch
Of the grave, while overhead of living men
A hundred generations pass away.

The city wall

Long this red wall, now mossy gray, withstood,
While kingdom followed kingdom in the land,
Unshaken 'neath the storms of heaven — yet now
Its towering gate hath fallen. . . .

Radiant the mead-halls in that city bright,
Yea, many were its baths. High rose its wealth
Of hornèd pinnacles, while loud within
Was heard the joyous revelry of men —
Till mighty Fate came with her sudden change!

Wide-wasting was the battle where they fell.
Plague-laden days upon the city came;
Death snatched away that mighty host of men. . . .

There in the olden time full many a thane,
Shining with gold, all gloriously adorned,
Haughty in heart, rejoiced when hot with wine;
Upon him gleamed his armor, and he gazed
On gold and silver and all precious gems;
On riches and on wealth and treasured jewels,
A radiant city in a kingdom wide.

The hot baths

There stood the courts of stone. Hot within,
The stream flowed with its mighty surge. The wall
Surrounded all with its bright bosom; there
The baths stood, hot within its heart. . . .

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SAXON ENGLAND, A.D. 400–830

I. The Anglo-Saxon Settlements

The confused account of the British monk Gildas, which has already been quoted to illustrate the decay during the later Roman period, and which seems to have been written about A.D. 550, gives us, unsatisfactory as it is, our only nearly contemporary account of the permanent settlements of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. Few details are recorded, and even these few are so complicated by the complaints and scolding of the writer and so inexact in statement that we get little impression from them except the mere fact of a permanent settlement of the German invaders in Britain.

25. Gildas' account of the first conquests of the Angles and Saxons

Then all the councilors, together with that proud tyrant Vortigern, the British king, were so blinded, that, as a protection to their country, they sealed its doom by inviting in among them, like wolves into the sheepfold, the fierce and impious Saxons, a race hateful both to God and men, to repel the invasions of the northern nations. Nothing was ever so pernicious to our country, nothing was ever so unlucky. What palpable darkness must have enveloped their minds — darkness desperate and cruel! Those very people, whom, when absent, they dreaded more than death itself, were invited to reside, as one may say, under the selfsame roof. Foolish are the princes, as it is said of Thafneos giving counsel to unwise Pharaoh. A multitude of whelps came forth from the lair of this barbaric lioness, in three keels, as they call them, that is, in three ships of war, with their sails wafted by the wind and with omens and

prophecies favorable, for it was foretold by a certain soothsayer among them that they should occupy the country to which they were sailing three hundred years, and half of that time, a hundred and fifty years, should plunder and despoil the same. They first landed on the eastern side of the island, by the invitation of the unlucky king, and there fixed their sharp talons, apparently to fight in favor of the island, but alas! more truly against it. Their motherland, finding her first brood thus successful, sends forth a larger company of her wolfish offspring, which, sailing over, join themselves to their bastard-born comrades. From that time the germ of iniquity and the root of contention planted their poison amongst us, as we deserved, and shot forth into leaves and branches. The barbarians being thus introduced as soldiers into the island, to encounter, as they falsely said, any dangers in defense of their hospitable entertainers, obtain an allowance of provisions, which, for some time being plentifully bestowed, stopped their doglike mouths. Yet they complain that their monthly supplies are not furnished in sufficient abundance, and they industriously aggravate each occasion of quarrel, saying that unless more liberality is shown them, they will break the treaty and plunder the whole island. In a short time they follow up their threats with deeds. . . .

Settlements of the "protectors" in Britain

After this, sometimes our countrymen, sometimes the enemy, won the field, to the end that our Lord might in this land try after his accustomed manner these his Israelites, whether they loved him or not, until the year of the siege of Bath-hill, when took place also the last almost, though not the least, slaughter of our cruel foes, which was (as I know) forty-four years and one month after the landing of the Saxons, and also the time of my own nativity. And yet not even to this day are the cities of our country inhabited as before, but, being forsaken and overthrown, still lie desolate; our foreign wars having ceased, but our civil troubles still remaining.

Bede, who lived almost two hundred years after the time of Gildas, and cannot be considered as so nearly a contemporary witness, nevertheless gives in his *Ecclesiastical*

History of England a much more definite account of the settlements, and one which may be accepted perhaps as equally trustworthy in its main facts, though we do not know the source of his information.

26. Bede's account of the invasions and conquests

In the year of our Lord 449, Martian being made Emperor with Valentinian, and the forty-sixth from Augustus, ruled the Empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, that they might thus appear to be fighting for their country, whilst their real intentions were to enslave it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and obtained the victory; which being known at home in their own country, as also the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a still greater number of men, which, being added to the former, made up an invincible army. The newcomers received of the Britons a place to inhabit, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay.

Those who came over were of the three powerful nations of Germany, — Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Anglia, and which is said, from that time, to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East Angles, the Midland Angles, Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English. . . .

The seven principal settlements

In a short time swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and they began to increase so much that they became terrible to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by the force of their arms, they began to turn their weapons against their confederates. At first they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions; and, seeking an occasion to quarrel, protested that, unless more plentiful supplies were brought them, they would break the confederacy and ravage all the island; nor were they backward in putting their threats in execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of these pagans proved God's just revenge for the crimes of the people. . . .

Plunder of the Romano-Britons

For the barbarous conquerors acting here in the same manner, or rather the just Judge ordaining that they should so act, they plundered all the neighboring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and covered almost every part of the devoted island. Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword; nor were there any to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remainder, being captured in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed even upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks, and mountains, with scarcely enough food to support life, and expecting every moment to be their last.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though probably begun long after the time both of Gildas and Bede and copying largely from them, introduces many other details concerning the settlements in its entries under various years; as, for instance, the following:

27. Extracts from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

A.D. 449. This year Martianus and Valentius succeeded to the Empire, and reigned seven years. And in their days Hengist and Horsa, invited by Vortigern, king of the Britons, landed in Britain on the shore which is called Ebbsfleet; at first in aid of the Britons, but afterwards they fought against them. King Vortigern gave them land in the southeast of this country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts. Then they fought against the Picts and had the victory wheresoever they came. They then sent to the Angles, desired a larger force to be sent, and caused them to be told the worthlessness of the Britons, and the excellence of the land. Then they soon sent thither a larger force in aid of the others. At that time there came men from three tribes in Germany, — from the Old Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes. From the Jutes came the Kentishmen and the Wightwarians, that is, the tribe which now dwells in Wight, and that race among the West Saxons which is still called the race of Jutes. From the Old Saxons came the men of Essex and Sussex and Wessex. From Anglia, which has ever since remained deserted betwixt the Jutes and the Saxons, came the men of East Anglia, Middle Anglia, Mercia, and all Northumbria.

Their leaders were two brothers, Hengist and Horsa: they were the sons of Wihtgils; Wihtgils was the son of Witta, Witta of Wecta, Wecta of Woden; from this Woden sprang all our royal families, and those of the Southumbrians also.

A.D. 455. This year Hengist and Horsa fought against King Vortigern at the place which is called Æglesford, and Horsa was there slain, and after that Hengist obtained the kingdom, and Æsc, his son.

A.D. 457. This year Hengist and Æsc, his son, fought against the Britons at the place which is called Crayford, and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent and in great terror fled to London.

A.D. 477. This year Ælla and his three sons, Cymen and Wlensing and Cissa, came to the land of Britain with three ships, at the place which is called Cymenesora, and there slew many Welsh, and some they drove in flight into the forest that is named Andreds-lea.

A.D. 491. This year Ælla and Cissa besieged Andredsceaster, and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left.

A.D. 495. This year two Ealdormen came to Britain, Cerdic and Cynric his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdicsora, and the same day they fought against the Welsh.

A.D. 519. This year Cerdic and Cynric obtained the kingdom of the West Saxons; and the same year they fought against the Britons where it is now called Cerdicsford. And from that time forth the royal offspring of the West Saxons reigned.

A.D. 547. This year Ida began to reign, from whence arose the royal race of Northumbria, and he reigned twelve years, and built Bamborough, which was at first inclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall.

But, after all, we know very few of the circumstances of the settlement. It was in all probability much more gradual than is indicated by the writers just quoted; and of the date and nature of some of the settlements, as for instance that of the East Angles, not a single mention has come down to us.

II. The New Race

The Germans before they came into England

The settlement of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and others in Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries was a part of a general series of migrations that took place from Germany westward during that period. A number of German tribes, such as the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and Burgundians, left their home land and, like the Angles and Saxons, came to settle in the various parts of the Roman Empire. It is a matter of interest, therefore, to find out what manner of men these Germans were before they left Germany. The Roman historian Tacitus wrote an

account of their habits about the end of the first century after Christ, and although these may have changed considerably in the intervening three hundred years, and although he knew but little of the three remote tribes which afterwards came to England, yet there is much in his account of the Germans that was evidently common to the whole race, and remained unchanged till the time of their settlements in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. Some of the more important sections of his *Germania* are the following:

28. Extracts from Tacitus' *Germania*

IV. I myself subscribe to the opinion of those who hold that the German tribes have never been contaminated by intermarriage with other nations, but have remained peculiar and unmixed and wholly unlike other peoples. Hence the bodily type is the same among them all, notwithstanding the extent of their population. They all have fierce blue eyes, reddish hair, and large bodies fit only for sudden exertion; they do not submit patiently to work and effort, and cannot endure thirst and heat at all, though cold and hunger they are accustomed to because of their climate.

VII. They choose their kings on account of their ancestry, their generals for their valor. The kings do not have free and unlimited power, and the generals lead by example rather than command, winning great admiration if they are energetic and fight in plain sight in front of the line. But no one is allowed to put a culprit to death or to imprison him, or even to beat him with stripes except the priests, and then not by way of a punishment or at the command of the general, but as though ordered by the god who they believe aids them in their fighting. Certain figures and images taken from their sacred groves they carry into battle, but their greatest incitement to courage is that a division of horse or foot is not made up by chance or by accidental association, but is formed of families and clans; and their dear ones are close at hand, so that the wailings of the women and the crying of the children can be heard during

the battle. These are for each warrior the most sacred witnesses of his bravery, these his dearest applauders. They carry their wounds to their mothers and their wives, nor do the latter fear to count their number and examine them while they bring them food and urge them to deeds of valor.

Share of the people in government

XI. Concerning minor matters the chiefs deliberate, but in important affairs all the people are consulted, although the subjects referred to the common people for judgment are discussed beforehand by the chiefs. Unless some sudden and unexpected event calls them together, they assemble on fixed days either at the new moon or the full moon, for they think these the most auspicious times to begin their undertakings. They do not reckon time by the number of days, as we do, but by the number of nights. So run their appointments, their contracts; the night introduces the day, so to speak. A disadvantage arises from their regard for liberty in that they do not come together at once as if commanded to attend, but two or three days are wasted by their delay in assembling. When the crowd is sufficient they take their places fully armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right to keep order. Then the king or a chief addresses them, each being heard according to his age, noble blood, reputation in warfare and eloquence, though more because he has the power to persuade than the right to command. If an opinion is displeasing they reject it by shouting; if they agree to it they clash with their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is that which is expressed by means of their weapons.

Customs of the Germans in war

XIV. When they go into battle it is a disgrace for the chief to be outdone in deeds of valor and for the following not to match the courage of their chief; furthermore for any one of the followers to have survived his chief and come unharmed out of a battle is lifelong infamy and reproach. It is in accordance with their most sacred oath of allegiance to defend and protect him and to ascribe their bravest deeds to his renown. The chief fights for victory; the men of his following, for their chief. If the tribe to which they belong sinks into the lethargy of long peace and quiet, many of the noble youths voluntarily seek other tribes that are still carrying on war, because

a quiet life is irksome to the Germans and they gain renown more readily in the midst of perils, while a large following is not to be provided for except by violence and war. For they look to the liberality of their chief for their war horse and their deadly and victorious spear; the feasts and entertainments, however, furnished them on a homely but liberal scale, fall to their lot as mere pay. The means for this bounty are acquired through war and plunder. Nor could you persuade them to till the soil and await the yearly produce so easily as you could induce them to stir up an enemy and earn glorious wounds. Nay, they even think it tame and stupid to acquire by their sweat what they can purchase by their blood.

Customs in peace

XV. In the intervals of peace they spend little time in hunting but much in idleness, given over to sleep and eating; all the bravest and most warlike doing nothing, while the hearth and home and the care of the fields is given over to the women, the old men, and the various infirm members of the family. The masters lie buried in sloth by that strange contradiction of nature that causes the same men to love indolence and hate peace. It is customary for the several tribesmen to present voluntary offerings of cattle and grain to the chiefs, which, though accepted as gifts of honor, also supply their wants. They are particularly delighted in the gifts of neighboring tribes, not only those sent by individuals, but those presented by states as such, — choice horses, massive arms, embossed plates and armlets. We have now taught them to accept money also.

XVI. It is well known that none of the German tribes live in cities, nor even permit their dwellings to be closely joined to each other. They live separated and in various places, as a spring or a meadow or a grove strikes their fancy. They lay out their villages not as with us in connected or closely joined houses, but each one surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a protection against conflagration or because of their ignorance of the art of building. They do not even make use of rough stones or tiles. They use for all purposes undressed timber, giving no beauty or comfort. Some parts they plaster carefully with earth of such purity and brilliancy as to form a substitute for painting and designs in color.

The poem of Beowulf is probably the oldest piece of English literature and may even have been composed before the settlers left their home, as all the places mentioned in it are on the Continent. In the form in which it exists now, however, it was undoubtedly written in England, and many late changes have been introduced. The following passage is a description of a scene in the hall of Hrothgar, king of the East Danes, whom Beowulf has come to visit.

29. Extracts from *Beowulf*

There was laughter of men,
Din resounded,
Joyous were their words.
Wealhtheow went forth,
The queen of Hrothgar;
Mindful of courtesy,
Gold-adorned, she greeted,
The men in the hall.

The queen gives the cup first to her husband, the king

And then the free born wife
Gave the cup first
To the noble guardian,
Of the East Danes;
Bade him be blithe
At the beer-drinking,
Beloved by his people.
The king famed for victory
Joyfully partook of
The feast and the hall cup.
Went around then
The lady of the Helmings,
To old and to young
In every part
Gave the gemmed beaker,
Till the time came,
That she to Beowulf, —
The proud-thoughted queen,
Decked with her crown, —

Brought the mead-cup;
Greeted the lord of the Geats,
Gave thanks to God,
With wisely chosen words,
That her wish was fulfilled,
That she in some
One of earls should trust
For help in her troubles.
He of the cup partook,
The warrier fierce in fight,—
From Wealtheow.
Then eager for the fight,
Began to speak;
Beowulf spake,
Ecghtheow's son:

Speech of the queen

The speech of Beowulf; the story of how the Danish king handed over his hall to his keeping; of how "from the moor, under the misty hills, Grendel came stalking"; of Beowulf's fight with the monster, and with the monster's mother; and the many other incidents of his life and death are told too much in detail in the poem to be quoted here, but the whole story is accessible in numerous translations,[1] and is well worth the reading for its own sake and for the spirit of old English life that speaks from it.

Among the few remnants of early Anglo-Saxon literature that have come down to us a number of pieces are incantations or charms, to be recited in order to find lost cattle, to fertilize land, to collect a swarm of bees, or to cure snake bite. The following is a charm for bees.

30. A charm for bees

Take some earth, throw it with thy right hand under thy right foot and say, "I take under foot, I am trying what earth

[1] One of the best and most accessible is the prose translation by Professor C. G. Child, in a little volume in the Riverside Literature Series, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

avails for everything in the world and against spirits and against malice, and against the mickle tongue of man, and against displeasure." Throw over them some gravel where they swarm, and say, —

"Sit ye, my ladies, sit,
Sink ye to earth down;
Never be so wild,
As to the woods to fly.
Be ye as mindful of my good as
Every man is of meat and estate."

III. The Conversion to Christianity

The most important event in the history of England at this time is undoubtedly the reconversion of the inhabitants of England to Christianity. This religious faith and organization had disappeared with the decay of Roman Britain, or at least lived on only in the more distant parts of the island, Wales and Scotland, so the whole work had to be taken up anew from the Continent or from these older Christian districts. Fortunately we have a clear and full account of the process from Bede, who lived not more than a hundred years later than the beginning of the missionary efforts. He tells the familiar story of Gregory, while still a monk at Rome, some years before he became pope, becoming interested in the heathen English.

31. The monk Gregory and the slave boys from England

It is reported that some merchants, having just arrived at Rome, on a certain day exposed many things for sale in the market place, and abundance of people resorted thither to buy. Gregory himself went with the rest, and among other things some boys were set to sale, their bodies white, their countenances beautiful, and their hair very fine. Having viewed them he asked, as is said, from what country or nation they were brought, and was told, from the island of Britain,

whose inhabitants were of such personal appearance. He again inquired whether these islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of paganism, and was informed that they were pagans. Then, fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, he said, "Alas, what a pity that the author of darkness is possessed of men of such fair countenances; and that being remarkable for such graceful outward appearance, their minds should be void of inward grace." He therefore again asked what the name of that nation was, and was answered that they were called Angles. "Right," said he, "for they have angelic faces, and it becomes such to be coheirs with the angels in heaven." Then he proceeded, "What is the name of the province from which they are brought?" It was replied that the natives of that province were called Deiri. "Truly are they *De ira*," said he, "withdrawn from wrath and called to the mercy of Christ." "How is the king of that province called?" They told him his name was Ælla, and he, alluding to the name, said, "*Ællaluia*, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts."

In Latin Angles are *Angli* and angels *angeli*

Then repairing to the bishop of the Roman apostolical see (for he was not himself then made pope), he entreated him to send some ministers of the word into Britain to the nation of the English, by whom it might be converted to Christ.

Although no mission was sent out at this time, after Gregory became pope he retained his interest in the conversion of the heathen inhabitants of England, and eventually it became practicable to send out the well-known expedition under Augustine, whose reception in England is described in the next extract.

32. Bede's account of Augustine's mission (597)

Augustine, thus strengthened by the confirmation of the blessed father Gregory, returned to the work of the word of God, with the servants of Christ, and arrived in Britain. The powerful Ethelbert was at that time king of Kent. He had extended his dominions as far as the great river Humber, by which the Southern Saxons are divided from the Northern. On the east of Kent is the large Isle of Thanet, containing,

according to the English way of reckoning, six hundred hides, divided from the other land by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs over, and fordable only in two places, for both ends of it run into the sea. In this island landed the servant of our Lord, Augustine, and his companions, being, as is reported, nearly forty men.

They had, by order of the blessed Pope Gregory, taken interpreters of the nation of the Franks, and sending to Ethelbert, signified that they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured to all that took advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end, with the living and true God. The king, having heard this, ordered them to stay in that island where they had landed, and that they should be furnished with all necessaries, till he should consider what to do with them. For he had before heard of the Christian religion, having a Christian wife, of the royal family of the Franks, called Bertha, whom he had received from her parents upon condition that she should be permitted to practice her religion with the bishop Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve her faith.

Ethelbert's fear of magic

Some days after, the king came into the island and, sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to be brought into his presence. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practiced any magical arts, they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him. But they came furnished with divine, not with magic virtue, bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board; and singing the litany, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they were come. When they had sat down, pursuant to the king's commands, and preached to him and his attendants there present the word of life, the king answered thus: "Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain import, I cannot approve of them so far as to forsake that which I have so long followed with the whole English nation. But because you are come from far into my kingdom, and, as I

conceive, are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not molest you, but give you favorable entertainment, and take care to supply you with your necessary sustenance; nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion." Accordingly he permitted them to reside in the city of Canterbury, which was the metropolis of all his dominions, and, pursuant to his promise, besides allowing them sustenance, did not refuse them liberty to preach. It is reported that as they drew near to the city, after their manner, with the holy cross and the image of our sovereign Lord and King, Jesus Christ, they sang in concert this litany: "We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercy, that thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from thy holy house, because we have sinned. Alleluiah."

The oldest church in England

There was on the east side of the city a church dedicated to St. Martin, built whilst the Romans were still in the island, wherein the queen, who, as has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray. In this they first began to meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize, till the king, being converted to the faith, allowed them to preach openly and build or repair churches in all places.

The next great step in the conversion of England was taken about thirty years afterward, when Paulinus, a follower of Augustine, presented a letter from the pope to Edwin, king of Northumbria, who called a council of his leading men to consider the matter, as described by Bede.

33. Bede's account of the conversion of Northumbria (627)

The king, hearing these words, answered that he was both willing and bound to receive the faith which he taught, but that he would confer about it with his principal friends and counselors, to the end that if they also were of his opinion, they might all together be cleansed in Christ, the fountain of life. Paulinus consenting, the king did as he said; for, holding a council with the wise men, he asked of every one in particular what he thought of the new doctrine of the Deity that was preached. To which the chief of his own priests, Coifi, immediately answered: "O king, consider what this is which is now

Coifi's argument

preached to us; for I verily declare to you, what I have learned for certain, that the religion which we have hitherto professed has no virtue, no usefulness in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I; and yet there are many who receive greater favors from you, and obtain greater dignities than I, and are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me, who have been more careful to serve them. It remains, therefore, that if upon examination you find those new doctrines, which are now preached to us, better and more efficacious, we immediately receive them without any delay."

The parable of the sparrow

Another of the king's chief men, approving of his words and exhortations, presently added: "The present life of man on earth, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilst he is within is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." The other elders and king's counselors, by divine inspiration, spoke to the same effect.

But Coifi added that he wished more attentively to hear Paulinus discourse concerning the God whom he preached; which he having by the king's command performed, Coifi, hearing his words, cried out: "I have long since been sensible that there was nothing in that which we worshiped; because the more diligently I sought after truth in that worship, the less I found it. But now I freely confess that such truth appears in this preaching as can confer on us the gifts of life, of salvation, and of eternal happiness. For which reason I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those

temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefit from them."

In short, the king publicly gave his license to Paulinus to preach the gospel, and, renouncing idolatry, declared that he received the faith of Christ; and when he inquired of the high priest who should first profane the altars and temples of their idols, with the inclosures that were about them, he answered: "I; for who can more properly than myself destroy those things which I worshiped through ignorance, for an example to all others, through the wisdom which has been given me by the true God?" Then immediately, in contempt of his former superstitions, he desired the king to furnish him with arms and a stallion; and mounting the same, he set out to destroy the idols; for it was not lawful before for the high priest either to carry arms, or to ride except on a mare. Having, therefore, girt a sword about him, with a spear in his hand, he mounted the king's stallion and proceeded to the idols. The multitude, beholding it, concluded he was distracted; but he lost no time, for as soon as he was near the temple he profaned the same, casting into it the spear which he held; and, rejoicing in the knowledge of the true God, he commanded his companions to destroy the temple, with all its inclosures, by fire. This place where the idols were is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham, where the high priest, by the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he had himself consecrated.

The profanation of the heathen sacred places

Christianity was soon spread among the Northumbrians, but after the death of Edwin it again declined and the people generally returned to heathenism. When it was reintroduced it was by missionaries from Scotland, for the northwestern part of the island had remained Christian from Roman times, and its clergy had recently undertaken active missionary efforts. Bede goes on to tell of this conversion under the new king of Northumbria, Oswald.

The reconversion of the north by missionaries from Scotland (635–642)

The same Oswald, as soon as he ascended the throne, being desirous that all his nation should receive the Christian faith, whereof he had found happy experience in vanquishing the barbarians, sent to the elders of the Scots, among whom himself and his followers, when in banishment, had received the sacrament of baptism, desiring they would send him a bishop, by whose instruction and ministry the English nation which he governed might be taught the advantages and receive the sacraments of the Christian faith. Nor were they slow in granting his request, but sent him Bishop Aidan, a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation; zealous in the cause of God, though not altogether according to knowledge; for he was wont to keep Easter Sunday, according to the custom of his country, which we have before so often mentioned, from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon; the northern province of the Scots and all the nations of the Picts celebrating Easter then after that manner.

The introduction of Christianity into East Anglia and the higher intellectual interests which it brought with it are brought out clearly in Bede's short account of the conversion of that kingdom.

34. Conversion of the East Angles

Edwin was so zealous for the worship of truth that he likewise persuaded Eorpwald, king of the East Saxons and son of Redwald, to abandon his idolatrous superstitions and with his whole province to receive the faith and sacraments of Christ. And indeed his father Redwald had long before been admitted to the sacrament of the Christian faith in Kent, but in vain; for on his return home he was led astray by his wife and certain perverse heathens, and turned back from the sincerity of the faith; and thus his latter state was worse than his former; so that like the ancient Samaritan he seemed at the same time to serve Christ and the gods whom he had served before; and in the same temple he had an altar to sacrifice to Christ, and another small one to offer victims to devils.

The kingdom of the East Angles after the death of Eorpwald, the successor of Redwald, was subject to his brother Sigebert,

a good and religious man, who long before had been baptized in France, whilst he lived there in banishment, flying from the enmity of Redwald; and returning home, as soon as he ascended the throne, being desirous to imitate the good institutions which he had seen in France, he set up a school for youth to be instructed in literature, and was assisted therein by Bishop Felix, who came to him from Kent and who furnished him with masters and teachers after the manner of that country.

The king follows the example of France in establishing a school

The last selection we shall take from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is the story of Cædmon, one of the earliest and most popular of English poets. The events mentioned occurred about the year 700, in Whitby Abbey in Northumbria, when Hilda was abbess.

35. How Cædmon came to be a poet

There was in the monastery of this abbess a certain brother especially distinguished by the grace of God, since he was wont to make poems breathing of piety and religion. Whatever he learned of sacred Scripture by the mouth of interpreters, he in a little time gave forth in poetical language composed with the greatest sweetness and depth of feeling, in English, his native tongue; and the effect of his poems was ever and anon to incite the souls of many to despise the world and long for the heavenly life. Not but that there were others after him among the people of the Angles who sought to compose religious poetry; but none there was who could equal him, for he did not learn the art of song from men, nor through the means of any man; rather did he receive it as a free gift from God. Hence it came to pass that he never was able to compose poetry of a frivolous or idle sort; none but such as pertained to religion suited a tongue so religious as his. Living always the life of a layman until well advanced in years, he had never learned the least thing about poetry. In fact, so little did he understand of it that when at a feast it would be ruled that every one present should, for the entertainment of the others, sing in turn, he would, as soon as he saw the harp coming anywhere near him, jump up from the table in the midst of the banqueting, leave the place, and make the best of his way home.

Singing at a feast

Cædmon's dream

This he had done at a certain time, and, leaving the house where the feast was in progress, had gone out to the stable where the care of the cattle had been assigned to him for that night. There, when it was time to go to sleep, he had lain down for that purpose. But while he slept some one stood by him in a dream, greeted him, called him by name, and said, "Cædmon, sing me something." To this he replied, "I know not how to sing, and that is the very reason why I left a feast and came here, because I could not sing." But the one who was talking with him answered, "No matter, you are to sing for me." "Well, then," said he, "what is it that I must sing?" "Sing," said the other, "the beginning of created things." At this reply he immediately began to sing verses in praise of God the Creator, verses that he had never heard, and whose meaning was as follows: "Now should we praise the Keeper of the heavenly kingdom, the might of the Creator and His counsel, the works of the Father of glory; how He, though God eternal, became the Author of all marvels. He, the almighty Guardian of mankind, first created for the sons of men heaven as a roof, and afterwards the earth." This is the meaning, but not the precise order, of the words which he sang in his sleep; for no songs, however well they may be composed, can be rendered from one language into another without loss of grace and dignity. When he rose from sleep he remembered all that he had sung while in that state, and shortly after added, in the same strain, many more words of a hymn befitting the majesty of God.

In the morning he went to the steward who was set over him, and showed him what gift he had acquired. Being led to the abbess Hilda, he was bidden to make known his dream and repeat his poem to the many learned men who were present, that they all might give their judgment concerning the thing which he related, and whence it was; and they were unanimously of the opinion that heavenly grace had been bestowed upon him by the Lord. They then set about expounding to him a piece of sacred history or teaching, bidding him, if he could, to turn it into the rhythm of poetry. This he undertook to do, and departed. In the morning he returned and

delivered the passage assigned to him, converted into an excellent poem.

The abbess, honoring the grace of God as displayed in the man, shortly afterward instructed him to forsake the condition of a layman and take upon himself the vows of a monk. She thereupon received him into the monastery with his whole family, and made him one of the company of the brethren, commanding that he should be taught the whole course and succession of biblical history. He in turn, calling to mind what he was able to learn by the hearing of the ear, and, as it were, like a clean animal chewing upon it as a cud, transformed it all into most agreeable poetry; and, by echoing it back in a more harmonious form, made his teachers in turn listen to him. Thus he rehearsed the creation of the world, the origin of man, and all the story of Genesis; the departure of Israel from Egypt and their entry into the Promised Land, together with many other histories from Holy Writ; the incarnation of our Lord, his passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven; the coming of the Holy Ghost and the teaching of the apostles; moreover he made many poems about the terror of the future judgment, the awfulness of the pains of hell, and the joy of the heavenly kingdom, besides a great number about the mercies and judgments of God. In all these he exerted himself to allure men from the love of wickedness, and to impel them to the love and practice of righteous living; for he was a very devout man, humbly submissive to the monastic rule, but full of consuming zeal against those who were disposed to act otherwise.

Many Bible stories turned into poetry

Scarcely more than a dozen words of the poetry of Caedmon have come down to us. But many poems were written in somewhat later times in imitation of him. The following is a selection from one of the best of these.

36. The Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt

Then the heroes' hearts every one grew hopeless,
For afar they saw, on the southern ways,
The war-array of Pharaoh forward faring.
Sparkled his battle-line, bucklers they were bearing;
Already whirred the arrows, onward moved the war,

Shields were brightly shining, and the trumpets sang;
There the banners waved, where the war-troop trod.
In circles soared above them the vultures, slaughter-seekers,
Hungry for the fighting; above them flew the raven,
Dusky carrion-lover, on his dewy wing,
Over those dead warriors. There the wolves howled
A direful even-song, deeming their food was nigh.

The following letter from Charles the Great to Offa, king of Mercia, will indicate the increasing connection of England with the rest of the world, the practice of English pilgrims and traders going to Italy, and the short-lived prominence of Mercia in England in the eighth century.

37. Charles the Great to Offa, king of Mercia (796)

Charles, by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards, patrician of the Romans, to his esteemed and dearest brother Offa, king of the Mercians, sendeth health; First, we give thanks to God Almighty for the purity of the Catholic faith, which we find laudably expressed in your letters. Concerning pilgrims, who for the love of God or for the salvation of their souls wish to visit the residence of the holy apostles, let them go peaceably without any molestation; but if persons not seeking the cause of religion but that of gain be found among them, let them pay the customary tolls in proper places. We will, too, that traders have due protection within our kingdom, according to our mandate, and if in any place they suffer wrongful oppression, let them appeal to us or our judges, and we will see full justice done. Let your grace also be apprised that we have sent some token of our regard, out of our dalmatics and palls, to each episcopal see of your kingdom and of Ethelred's, as an almsgiving, for the sake of our apostolical lord Adrian, earnestly begging that you would order him to be prayed for, not as doubting that his blessed soul is at rest, but to show our esteem and regard to our dearest friend. Moreover we have sent somewhat out of the treasures of those earthly riches which the Lord Jesus has granted to us of his unmerited bounty, for the metropolitan cities; and for yourself a belt, an Hungarian sword, and two silk cloaks.

The late pope

CHAPTER V

LATER SAXON ENGLAND, A.D. 830–975

I. The Attacks of the Danes

The internal conflicts among the Angle and Saxon tribes, which had been constant almost from the time of the settlement, continued even while they were all alike suffering from the storms of the Danish invasion. The learned Englishman, Alcuin, who was now at the court of Charles the Great, wrote the following letter to the Kentishmen warning them against their disunion and contests in church and state, in the face of this threatening invasion.

38. Alcuin to the people of Kent (797)

To the most excellent nation and praiseworthy people and to the imperial kingdom of the people of Canterbury, the humble Alcuin sends greeting.

. . . A very great danger threatens this island and the people dwelling in it. Behold a thing never before heard of, a pagan people is becoming accustomed to laying waste our shores with piratical robbery; and our own people, the Angles, are disagreeing among themselves as to kingdoms and kings. There is scarcely any one, a thing which I do not say without tears, found of the ancient lineage of kings, and the more uncertain the origin the less the bravery. In like manner throughout the churches of Christ teachers of truth have perished; almost all follow after worldly vanities and hold the regular discipline in aversion: even their warriors desire avarice rather than justice. Read Gildas,[1] the wisest Briton, and you will see why the parents of the Britons lost their kingdom and fatherland; then

[1] See No. 23 and No. 25.

consider yourselves and you will find things almost the same. Fear for yourselves the statement of the very truth which has been given in regard to the church, saying, "Every kingdom divided against itself will not stand." Behold how great a division there is between the people and the tribes of the Angles; and on this account they are failing in their duty to themselves, because they do not preserve among themselves peace and faith. Recall, if it may be done, your bishop, Adelhard, a man wise and venerable; strengthen then the state of your kingdom by his advice, removing the customs displeasing to God; study to do those things which will tend to call upon you his mercy. It is not well that the seat of St. Augustine, our first preacher, should remain vacant; no one else can in any way be ordained in Adelhard's place. It is ruinous to people everywhere not to obey the priests and to drive out from their midst the preachers of safety. Subject yourselves humbly to your bishop, the minister of your safety, that divine grace may follow you in all your works. Believe me, in no other way can you retain God's favor to you; through him you can, I believe, have peace, and hope for eternal safety. Enter into a plan for your prosperity, act manfully, and you will find it well; turn to entreaties, prayers, and fasting, that divine mercy may be gained for you, that it may preserve you in peace and safety, that it may grant to you a safe dwelling in your fatherland and a glorious kingdom in the eternal home. O worthy and venerable brethren, may the right hand of God Omnipotent protect and rule over you, and may it deem you worthy of being exalted in present happiness and eternal bliss.

An appeal for unity and courage against the invaders

The invasion of England by bands of marauders from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden was part of a long series of attacks that fell on all western Europe alike during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. England probably suffered more than any other country, since she lay farthest north and her coasts were the most exposed. The entries in the *Chronicle* (see No. 27), as they progress, are more and more completely devoted to the sad

tale of the depredations of these "Danes," "Northmen," "heathen," or "the army," as they are called.

39. Extracts from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

A.D. 787. This year Bertric took to wife Eadburga, King Offa's daughter; and in his days first came three ships of Northmen out of Denmark. And then the reeve rode to the place, and would have driven them to the king's town, because he knew not who they were: and they there slew him. These were the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of the English nation.

A.D. 793. This year dire forewarnings came over the land of the Northumbrians and miserably terrified the people; there were excessive whirlwinds, and lightnings; and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine soon followed these tokens; and a little after that, in the same year, on the 6th before the Ides of January, the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne through rapine and slaughter. And Siga died on the 8th before the Kalends of March.

A.D. 794. This year Pope Adrian and King Offa died; and Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by his own people on the 13th before the Kalends of May; and Bishop Ceilwulf and Bishop Eadbald went away from the land. And Egfert succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians and died the same year. And Eadbert, who by a second name was called Pren, obtained the kingdom of Kent. And Ethelherd the ealdorman died on the Kalends of August; and the heathens ravaged among the Northumbrians, and plundered Egfert's monastery at the mouth of the Wear; and there one of their leaders was slain, and also some of their ships were wrecked by a tempest; and many of them were drowned, and some came on shore alive, and they were soon slain at the river's mouth.

A.D. 823. This year there was a battle between the Welsh and the men of Devon at Camelford: and the same year Egbert, king of the West Saxons, and Bernulf, king of the Mercians, fought at Wilton, and Egbert got the victory, and there was great slaughter made. He then sent from the army his son Ethelwulf, and Ealstan his bishop, and Wulfherd his ealdorman,

Egbert, king of the West Saxons, conquers the kings of the Mercians and Kentishmen and makes them subordinate to himself

into Kent with a large force, and they drove Baldred the king northwards over the Thames. And the men of Kent, and the men of Surrey, and the South Saxons, and the East Saxons submitted to him; for formerly they had been unjustly forced from his kin. And the same year the king of the East Angles and the people sought the alliance and protection of King Egbert for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East Angles slew Bernulf, king of Mercia.

Also the South and East Saxons and the kings of East Anglia and Northumbria

A.D. 827. Egbert led an army to Dore against the Northumbrians, and they there offered him obedience and allegiance, and with that they separated.

A.D. 845. This year Eanwulf the ealdorman, with the men of Somerset, and Bishop Ealstan, and Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Dorset, fought at the mouth of the Parret against the Danish army, and there made great slaughter, and got the victory.

A.D. 851. This year Ceorl the ealdorman, with the men of Devonshire, fought against the heathen men at Wembury, and there made great slaughter and got the victory. And the same year King Athelstan and Elchere the ealdorman fought on shipboard, and slew a great number of the enemy at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine ships, and put the others to flight; and the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Thanet. And the same year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews landed, and took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight Berhtwulf, King of the Mercians, with his army, and then went south over the Thames into Surrey; and there King Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald, with the army of the West Saxons, fought against them at Ockley, and made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard reported to the present day, and got the victory.

Sacking of Canterbury and London

A.D. 855. This year the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Sheppey; and the same year King Ethelwulf gave by charter the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation. And the same year he went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned homewards.

And then Charles, king of the Franks, gave him his daughter to wife; and after that he came to his people, and they were glad of it. And about two years after he came from France he died, and his body lies at Winchester. Then Ethelwulf's two sons succeeded to the kingdom; Ethelbald succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons; and Ethelbert to the kingdom of the Kentishmen, and to the kingdom of the East Saxons, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South Saxons; and then Ethelbald reigned five years. Alfred, his third son, he had sent to Rome; and when Pope Leo heard say that Ethelwulf was dead, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Ethelwulf had requested on sending him thither.

The *witan* of Mercia advise the king to seek help against the Danes

A.D. 868. This year the army went into Mercia to Nottingham, and there took up their winter quarters. And Burhred, king of the Mercians, and his *witan* begged of Ethelred, king of the West Saxons, and of Alfred his brother that they would help them, that they might fight against the army. And then they went with the West Saxon power into Mercia as far as Nottingham, and there they met with the army within the fortress, and besieged them therein: but there was no great battle, and the Mercians made peace with the army.

A.D. 871. This year the army came to Reading in Wessex; and three days after this, two of their earls rode forth. Then Ethelwulf the ealdorman met them at Englefield, and there fought against them, and got the victory; and there one of them, whose name was Sidrac, was slain. About three days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on either hand. And Ethelwulf the ealdorman was slain, and the Danish men had possession of the battlefield. And about four days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole army at Ashdown. And they were in two bodies — in the one were Bagsac and Halfdene, the heathen kings, and in the other were the earls. And then King Ethelred fought against the division under the kings, and there King Bagsac was slain; and Alfred his brother against the division under the earls, and there Earl

Sidrac the elder was slain, Earl Sidrac the younger, and Earl Osbern, and Earl Frene, and Earl Harold; and both divisions of the army were put to flight, and many thousands slain; and they continued fighting until night.

A year of battles between the West Saxons and the Danes

And about fourteen days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the army at Basing, and there the Danes obtained the victory. And about two months after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the army at Marden; and they were in two bodies, and they put both to flight, and during a great part of the day were victorious; and there was great slaughter on either hand; but the Danes had possession of the battlefield; and there Bishop Heahmund was slain, and many good men. And after this battle there came a great army in the summer to Reading. And after this, over Easter, King Ethelred died; and he reigned five years and his body lies at Winburnminster. Then Alfred the son of Ethelwulf, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons.

Accession of Alfred the Great

And about one month after this, King Alfred with a small band fought against the whole army at Wilton, and put them to flight for a good part of the day; but the Danes had possession of the battlefield. And this year nine general battles were fought against the army in the kingdom south of the Thames, besides which, Alfred the king's brother, and single ealdormen, and king's thanes oftentimes made incursions on them, which were not counted; and within the year nine earls and one king were slain. And that year the West Saxons made peace with the army.

A.D. 880. This year the army went from Cirencester to East Anglia, and settled in the land, and apportioned it. And that same year the army, which previously had sat down at Fulham, went over sea to Ghent in France, and besieged it one year.

A.D. 882. This year the army went up along the banks of the Meuse far into France, and there stayed one year. And that same year King Alfred went out to sea with his ships, and fought against the forces of four ships of Danish men, and took two of the ships, and the men were slain that were in

them; and the forces of two ships surrendered to him, and they were sorely distressed and wounded before they surrendered to him.

II. Alfred and his Times

It was as leader in these struggles with the Danes that King Alfred obtained his principal fame, although he had many other interests and ambitions. We possess a life of Alfred, from his earliest childhood, written by Asser, a Welsh bishop, whom the king invited to his court in 884 and appointed bishop of Sherborne. This work, as we have it, has been suspected of being in whole or in part a forgery, but the most careful scholars now believe that the greater part of it is genuine.

40. Extracts from Asser's *Life of Alfred* (894)

I think it right in this place to briefly relate as much as has come to my knowledge about the character of my revered lord Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, during the years that he was an infant and a boy.

He was loved by his father and mother, and even by all the people, above all his brothers, and was educated altogether at the court of the king. As he advanced through the years of infancy and youth, his form appeared more comely than that of his brothers; in look, in speech, and in manners he was more graceful than they. His noble nature implanted in him from the cradle a love of wisdom above all things; but — with shame be it spoken! — by the unworthy neglect of his parents and nurses he remained illiterate even till he was twelve years old or more; but he listened with serious attention to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his docile memory. He was a zealous practicer of hunting in all its branches, and hunted with great assiduity and success; for skill and good fortune in this art, as in all others, are among the gifts of God, as we also have often witnessed.

On a certain day, therefore, his mother was showing him and his brothers a Saxon book of poetry, which she held in her hand,

Alfred's illuminated book

and said, "Whichever of you shall the soonest learn this volume shall have it for his own." Stimulated by these words, or rather by the divine inspiration, and allured by the beautifully illuminated letter at the beginning of the volume, he spoke before all his brothers, who though his seniors in age were not so in grace, and answered, "Will you really give that book to one of us, that is to say, to him who can first understand and repeat it to you?" At this his mother smiled with satisfaction, and confirmed what she had before said. Upon which the boy took the book out of her hand, and went to his master to read it, and in due time brought it to his mother and recited it. . . .

Alfred becomes king (871)

The same year the aforesaid Alfred, who had been up to that time only of secondary rank, whilst his brothers were alive, now, by God's permission, undertook the government of the whole kingdom, amid the acclamations of all the people; and if he had chosen, he might have done so before, whilst his brother above named was still alive; for in wisdom and other qualities he surpassed all his brothers, and, moreover, was warlike and victorious in all his wars.

And when he had reigned one month, almost against his will, for he did not think he could alone withstand the multitude and ferocity of the pagans, though even during his brothers' lives he had borne the woes of many, he fought a battle with a few men, and on very unequal terms, against all the army of the pagans, at a hill called Wilton, on the south bank of the river Wily, from which river the whole of that district is named. After a long and fierce engagement the pagans, seeing the danger they were in, and no longer able to bear the attack of their enemies, turned their backs and fled. But oh, shame to say, they deceived their too audacious pursuers, and again rallying, gained the victory. Let no one be surprised that the Christians had but a small number of men, for the Saxons had been worn out by eight battles in one year against the pagans, of whom they had slain one king, nine earls, and innumerable troops of soldiers, besides endless skirmishes, both by night and by day, in which the oft-named Alfred and all his chieftains, with their men, and several of his ministers, were engaged without rest or cessation.

How many thousand pagans fell in these numberless skirmishes over and above those who were slain in the eight battles above mentioned God alone knows. In the same year the Saxons made peace with the pagans, on condition that they should take their departure, and they did so. . . .

Alfred's building of a navy

In the year 877 the pagans, on the approach of autumn, partly settled in Exeter, and partly marched for plunder into Mercia. The number of that disorderly crew increased every day, so that if thirty thousand of them were slain in one battle, others took their places to double the number. Then King Alfred commanded boats and galleys, i.e. long ships, to be built throughout the kingdom, in order to offer battle by sea to the enemy as they were coming. On board of these he placed seamen, and appointed them to watch the seas. Meanwhile he went himself to Exeter, where the pagans were wintering, and having shut them up within the walls, laid siege to the town. He also gave orders to his sailors to prevent them from obtaining any supplies by sea; and his sailors were encountered by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships full of armed soldiers, who were come to help their countrymen. As soon as the king's men knew they were filled with pagan soldiers, they leaped to their arms and bravely attacked those barbaric tribes. The pagans, who had now for almost a month been tossed and almost wrecked among the waves of the sea, fought vainly against them; their bands were discomfited in a moment, and all were sunk and drowned in the sea, at a place called Swanwich.

In the same year the army of pagans leaving Wareham, partly on horseback and partly by water, arrived at Swanwich, where one hundred and twenty of their ships were lost; and King Alfred pursued their land army as far as Exeter; there he made a covenant with them, and took hostages that they would depart. . . .

The lowest point in Alfred's fortunes

At the same time the above-named Alfred, king of the West Saxons, with a few of his nobles and certain vassals and soldiers used to lead an unquiet life among the woodlands of Somerset, in great tribulation, for he had none of the necessaries of life except what he could forage openly or stealthily. . . . The

aforesaid Alfred often fell into such great misery that sometimes none of his subjects knew where he was or what had become of him. . . .

The Christians attacked the pagans suddenly in the morning, and from the first cut them down in great numbers, slaying also their king, so that few escaped in their ships; and there they gained a very large booty, and amongst other things the standard called Raven; for they say that the three sisters of Hingwar and Hubba, daughters of Lodobroch, wove that flag and got it ready in one day. They say, moreover, that in every battle, wherever that flag went before them, if they were to gain the victory a live raven would appear flying in the middle of the flag; but if they were doomed to be defeated it would hang down motionless, and this was often proved to be so. . . .

Summer of 878

The next morning he removed to Edington, and there fought bravely and perseveringly against all the army of the great pagans, whom, with the divine help, he defeated with great slaughter, and pursued them flying to their fortification. Immediately he slew all the men, and carried off all the booty that he could find without the fortress, to which he immediately laid siege with all his army; and when he had been there fourteen days, the pagans, driven by famine, cold, fear, and last of all by despair, asked for peace, on the condition that they should give the king as many hostages as he pleased, but should receive none of him in return, in which form they had never before made a treaty with any one. The king, hearing that, took pity upon them, and received such hostages as he chose; after which the pagans swore that they would immediately leave the kingdom; and their king, Guthrum, promised to embrace Christianity, and receive baptism at Alfred's hands. All of which articles he and his men fulfilled as they had promised. For after seven weeks Guthrum, king of the pagans, with thirty men chosen from the army, came to Alfred at a place called Aller, near Athelney, and there King Alfred, receiving him as his son by adoption, raised him up from the holy laver of baptism on the eighth day, at a royal villa named Wedmore, where the holy chrism was poured upon him. After his baptism he remained twelve nights

The baptism of Guthrum at Wedmore

with the king, who, with all his nobles, gave him many fine houses. . . .

In the meantime, the king, during the frequent wars and other interruptions of this present life, the invasions of the pagans, and his own daily infirmities of body, continued to carry on the government, and to exercise hunting in all its branches; to teach his workers in gold and artificers of all kinds, his falconers, hawkers, and dog keepers; to build houses, majestic and good, beyond all the precedents of his ancestors, by his new mechanical inventions; to recite the Saxon books, and especially to learn by heart the Saxon poems, and to make others learn them. He alone never desisted from studying most diligently, to the best of his ability; he attended the mass and other daily services of religion; he was frequent in psalm singing and prayer, at the hours both of the day and the night. He also went to the churches, as we have already said, in the night time, to pray secretly and unknown to his courtiers; he bestowed alms and largesses on both natives and foreigners of all countries; he was affable and pleasant to all, and curiously eager to investigate things unknown. Many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, pagans, Britons, Scots, and Armoricans, noble and ignoble, submitted voluntarily to his dominion; and all of them, according to their nation and deserving, were ruled, loved, honored, and enriched with money and power. Moreover, the king was in the habit of hearing the divine Scriptures read by his own countrymen, or, if by any chance it so happened, in company with foreigners, and he attended to it with sedulity and solicitude. His bishops, too, and all ecclesiastics, his earls and nobles, ministers and friends, were loved by him with wonderful affection, and their sons, who were bred up in the royal household, were no less dear to him than his own; he had them instructed in all kinds of good morals, and, among other things, never ceased to teach them letters night and day. . . .

Alfred's reforms and example

But the king's commendable avarice could not be gratified even in this; wherefore he sent messengers beyond the sea to Gaul, to procure teachers, and he invited from thence Grimbald, priest and monk, a venerable man, and good singer,

adorned with every kind of ecclesiastical discipline and good morals, and most learned in holy Scripture. He also obtained from thence John, also priest and monk, a man of most energetic talents, and learned in all kinds of literary science, and skilled in many other arts. By the teaching of these men, the king's mind was much enlarged, and he enriched and honored them with much influence.

Arrival of Asser at Alfred's court

In these times I also came into Saxonland out of the furthest coasts of western Britain; and when I had passed on my way toward him through many intervening provinces, I arrived in the country of the Saxons who live on the right hand, which in Saxon is called Sussex, under the guidance of some of that nation; and there I first saw him in the royal vill, which is called Dene. He received me with kindness, and among other conversation, he asked me eagerly to devote myself to his service and become his friend, to leave everything which I possessed on the left, or western bank of the Severn, and he promised he would give more than an equivalent for it in his own dominions. . . .

On a certain day we were both of us sitting in the king's chamber, talking on all kinds of subjects, as usual, and it happened that I read to him a quotation out of a certain book. He heard it attentively with both his ears, and addressed me with a thoughtful mind, showing me at the same moment a book which he carried in his bosom, wherein the daily courses and psalms and prayers which he had read in his youth were written, and he commanded me to write the same quotation in that book. Hearing this, and perceiving his ingenuous benevolence and devout desire of studying the words of divine wisdom, I gave, though in secret, boundless thanks to Almighty God, who had implanted such a love of wisdom in the king's heart. But I could not find any empty space in that book wherein to write that quotation, for it was already full of various matters; wherefore I made a little delay, principally that I might stir up the bright intellect of the king to a higher acquaintance with the divine testimonies. Upon his urging me to make haste and write it quickly, I said to him, "Are you willing that I should write that quotation on some separate leaf?

For it is not certain whether we shall not find one or more other such extracts which will please you; and if that should so happen, we shall be glad that we have kept them apart." "Your plan is good," said he; and I gladly made haste to get ready a sheet, in the beginning of which I wrote what he bade me; and on that same day I wrote therein, as I had anticipated, no less than three other quotations which pleased him; and from that time we daily talked together, and found out other quotations which pleased him, so that the sheet became full. . . .

King Alfred's book of selections

And he continued to learn the flowers collected by certain masters, and to reduce them into the form of one book, as he was then able, although mixed one with another, until it became almost as large as a psalter. This book he called his manual, because he carefully kept it at hand day and night, and found, as he told me, no small consolation therein.

One of the greatest difficulties in historical study is to obtain any knowledge of how the common people lived. The doings of kings, nobles, and great churchmen are more apt to be recorded than those of farmers, tradesmen, or laborers. A glimpse of the occupations and positions of such men can, however, be obtained from a conversation written by Ælfric about A.D. 990, in Latin and Anglo-Saxon in parallel lines, and intended to teach boys the use of Latin through their mother tongue by means of an account of things familiar to them.

41. Dialogue between a teacher and pupils

Pupils. We beg you, O Master, to teach us to speak Latin correctly, for we are unlearned and speak ignorantly. *Teacher.* What do you want to speak about? *Pupils.* What do we care what we speak about, so long as our speech is correct and useful, not foolish or improper? *Teacher.* Do you wish to be flogged as you learn? *Pupils.* We had rather be flogged for the sake of learning than remain ignorant, but we know you are kind and will not want to inflict blows on us unless you are compelled to by us. *Teacher* (to one of the pupils). I ask

thee what thou wilt say to me? — What kind of work hast thou? *Pupil.* I have taken vows as a monk and sing every day with the brethren seven times, and I am busy with reading and singing; but nevertheless I would like meanwhile to learn to speak in the Latin tongue. *Teacher.* What do these thy companions know? *Pupil.* Some are plowmen, some shepherds, some oxherds, some huntsmen, some fishermen, some hawkers, some peddlers, some shoemakers, some salt dealers, some bakers.

The plowman

Teacher. What dost thou say, plowman? — How dost thou carry on thy work? *Plowman.* O Master, I work too hard; I go out at early dawn driving the oxen to the field, and yoke them to the plow. There is no winter so bitter that I venture to remain at home, for fear of my lord; then when the oxen are yoked and the share and colter fastened to the plow, through the whole day must I plow a complete acre or more. *Teacher.* Hast thou a companion? *Plowman.* I have a certain boy who drives the oxen with a goad, and who is now hoarse from cold and shouting. *Teacher.* What else dost thou do in a day? *Plowman.* Certainly I have more to do. I have to fill the mangers of the oxen with hay, and water them, and carry their dung outside. *Teacher.* Oh! oh! that is much labor. *Plowman.* Yes, the labor is great because I am not free.

The shepherd

Teacher. What dost thou say, shepherd? — Hast thou any labor? *Shepherd.* Indeed, I have. In the early morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and I stand over them in heat and cold with a dog, so that the wolves shall not devour them, and I bring them back to their fold, and I milk them twice a day, and I move their folds besides, and I make cheese and butter, and I am faithful to my lord.

The oxherd

Teacher. Oxherd, what dost thou do? *Oxherd.* O Master, I do much labor. When the plowman unyokes the oxen I lead them to the pasture, and the whole night I stand over them watching on account of thieves, and then at break of day I take them to the plowman well fed and watered.

The teacher and the huntsman converse

Teacher. Is this man one of your companions? *Pupil.* Yes, he is. *Teacher.* Dost thou know anything? I know one craft. What is that? I am a huntsman. Whose? The king's. How

dost thou carry on thy craft? I set my nets and spread them in a suitable place, and I set on my dogs so that they shall drive the wild animals and cause them to run unawares into the nets, and I strangle them in the nets. Canst thou not hunt without nets? Yes, I am able to hunt without nets. How? I chase wild animals with swift dogs. What wild animals dost thou take principally? I take deer and boars, and does and goats, and sometimes hares. Hast thou been hunting to-day? I have not because it is Sunday, but yesterday I was hunting. What didst thou capture? Two stags and one boar. How didst thou catch them? The stags I took in nets and the boar I stuck in the throat. How didst thou dare to stick the boar? The dogs drove him to me and I, standing in the way, suddenly stuck him. Thou wast certainly bold then. A huntsman must not be timid, for many kinds of wild beasts live in the woods. What dost thou do with what thou dost capture? I give to the king whatsoever I capture because I am his huntsman. What does he give thee? He feeds and clothes me well, and sometimes he gives me a horse or a bracelet that I may carry on my work more cheerfully.

The teacher and the merchant converse

Teacher. What dost thou say, merchant? *Merchant.* I say that I am useful to the king, to ealdorman, to rich men, and to the whole people. Why? I go aboard my vessel with my merchandise and over the seas and sell my things and buy precious wares which are not produced in this country, and I bring them hither to you with great danger over the seas; and sometimes I suffer shipwreck, scarcely escaping alive after the loss of all my possessions. What things dost thou bring to us? Purple dye and silk, precious gems and gold, different colored cloths and paints, wine and oil, ivory and brass, copper and tin, sulphur and glass, and things such as these. Art thou willing to sell thy things here just as thou hast bought them there? I am not willing. Of what advantage would my labor then be to me? I want to sell them here more dear than I bought them there, so that I can make some gain to support myself, my wife, and my son.

The shoemaker and others converse

Teacher. Thou, shoemaker, what dost thou do in thy work that is useful to us? *Shoemaker.* My art is indeed very useful and indeed very necessary to you. How? I buy hides and

skins and prepare them by my art and make of them leather goods of every kind: sandals and shoes, leggings and leather bags, bridles and collars, wallets and sacks; and no one of you is willing to pass the winter without my art.

Teacher. Salt dealer, of what use is thy trade to us? *Salt dealer.* My trade is of very great use to all of you. No one of you takes any enjoyment in his dinner or his supper unless my craft is friendly with him. *Teacher.* How is that? *Salt dealer.* What man enjoys pleasant foods without the savor of salt? Who fills his cellars or storehouse without my craft? Behold, all your butter and cheese would spoil unless I acted as your guardians over them. You would not even eat your vegetables without me.

The wood carver says: Which of you does not make use of my craft, since I construct houses and utensils and ships for all of you?

The smith replies: O wood carver, why dost thou talk that way when thou canst not bore a single hole without my craft?

The good adviser says: O comrades and good workmen, let us give up these contentions and let there be peace and concord between us, and let each be of service to the other in his trade, and let us all meet at the plowman's, where we shall have food for ourselves and fodder for our horses; and I give this advice to all workmen, that each one exercise his trade diligently, because he who deserts his trade will be deserted by his trade. Whether thou art a priest or a monk, or a layman or a soldier, busy thyself about it; be what thou art, because it is a great loss and shame to a man not to be willing to be that which he is and ought to be.

Written at almost the same time as the dialogue from which the above extract is taken, that is about A.D. 1000, is a set of rules, or statements of the duties, payments, and burdens of different classes of men on a manor. This also was written in two languages, Latin and Anglo-Saxon. It is usually referred to as *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*. The following extract describes the

services and privileges of the *gebur*, that is, of the common peasant or small farmer, — the villein of later times.

42. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, or Rules for Various Persons

The peasant's services are various: in some places burdensome, in others light or moderate. On some land he must work at week-work two days every week, at such work as he is required through the year, and three days for week-work, and from Candlemas to Easter three. If he do carrying he is not required to work while his horse is out. He shall pay on Michaelmas day 10 *d.* rent and on Martinmas day 23 measures of barley and 2 hens; at Easter a young sheep or 2 *d.*, and he shall watch from Martinmas to Easter at his lord's fold as often as it is his turn. And from the time that they first plow, to Martinmas, he shall each week plow one acre and himself prepare the seed in his lord's barn. Also three acres extra work and two of grass. If he needs more grass, then he plows for it, as he is allowed. For his plowing rent he plows three acres and sows it from his own barn. And he pays his hearth-penny. Two by two feed one hound, and each peasant gives six loaves to the swineherd when he drives his herd to pasture. On that land where this custom holds it pertains to the peasant that he shall have given to him for his outfit two oxen and one cow and six sheep and seven acres sown on his piece of land. After that year he must perform all services which pertain to him. And he must have given to him tools for his work, and utensils for his house. Then when he dies his lord takes back all.

The land law holds on some lands, but here and there, as I have said, it is heavier or lighter, for all land services are not alike. On some land the peasant must pay honey rent, on some meat rent, on some ale rent. Let him who holds the shire take care that he knows what the old land-right is and what are the customs of the people.

The battle of Brunanburh was fought in 937 by the West-Saxon king against an allied army of Danes, Scots, and Mercians. The following poem describing it was written in Anglo-Saxon and included in the *Chronicle*.

The translation is by Tennyson. Although it does not follow the rhythm of the original, it gives the spirit of the old Anglo-Saxon poem with great success.

43. ***Battle of Brunanburh***

I

Aethelstan, king,
Lord among earls,
Bracelet-bestower and
Baron of barons,
He with his brother,
Edmund Etheling,
Gaining a lifelong
Glory in battle,
Slew with the sword-edge
There by Brunanburh;
Brake the shield-wall,
Hewed the lindenwood,
Hacked the battleshield,—
Sons of Edward with hammered brands.

II

Theirs was a greatness
Got from their grandsires—
Theirs that so often in
Strife with their enemies
Struck for their hoards and their hearths and their homes.

III

Bowed the spoiler,
Bent the Scotsman,
Fell the shipcrews
Doomed to the death.
All the field with blood of the fighters
Flowed, from when first the great
Sun-star of morningtide,
Lamp of the Lord God,
Lord everlasting,

Glowed over earth, till the glorious creature
Sank to his setting.

IV

There lay many a man
Marred by the javelin,
Men of the Northland
Shot over shield.
There was the Scotsman
Weary of war.

V

We the West-Saxons,
Long as the daylight
Lasted, in companies
Troubled the track of the host that we hated,
Grimly with swords that were sharp from the grindstone,
Fiercely we hacked at the flyers before us.

VI

Mighty the Mercian,
Hard was his hand-play,
Sparing not any of
Those that with Anlaf,
Warriors over the
Weltering waters
Borne in the bark's bosom,
Drew to this island:
Doomed to the death.

. . . . . .

XII

Then with their nailed prows
Parted the Norsemen, a
Blood-reddened relic of
Javelins, over
The jarring breaker, the deep-sea billow,
Shaping their way toward Dublin again,
Shamed in their souls.

XIII

Also the brethren,
King and Etheling,
Each in his glory,
Went to his own in his own West-Saxonland,
Glad of the war.

XIV

Many a carcase they left to be carrion,
Many a livid one, many a sallow-skin —
Left for the white-tailed eagle to tear it, and
Left for the horny-nibbed raven to rend it, and
Gave to the garbaging war-hawk to gorge it, and
That gray beast, the wolf of the weald.

XV

Never had huger
Slaughter of heroes
Slain by the sword-edge —
Such as old writers
Have writ of in histories —
Hapt in this isle, since
Up from the East hither
Saxon and Angle from
Over the broad billow
Broke into Britain with
Haughty war-workers who
Harried the Welshman, when
Earls that were lured by the
Hunger of glory gat
Hold of the land.

III. The Political Organization of England

It will be noticed in the extracts from the *Chronicle* that the defense against the Danes was often carried out by the ealdorman and men of some particular shire.

The shire was the most important subdivision of the kingdom. The semiannual meeting of the greater men of the shire in a shire court for purposes of judicial and other action is referred to in various sections of the laws and records. The following record was placed in a blank leaf in a Bible.

44. A meeting of a shire moot (ab. 1000)

Here is made known in this writing that a shire moot sat at Ægelnoth's stone, in the days of King Cnut. There sat Æthelstan, bishop, and Ranig, ealdorman, and Edwin, the ealdorman's son, and Leofwine, Wulfsige's son, and Thurkil White; and Tofig Prud came there on the king's errand; and Byrning, shire reeve, and Ægelweard of Frome, and Leofwine of Frome, and Godric of Stoke, and all the thanes in Herefordshire were there. Then came traveling there to the moot Edwin, Eanwen's son, and there raised a claim against his own mother to a portion of land, namely, at Wellington and Coadley. Then asked the bishop who would answer for his mother. Then answered Thurkil White and said that he would, if he knew the claim. Since he did not know the claim, they deputed three thanes from the moot to where she was, which was at Fawley. These were Leofwine of Frome, and Ægelsig the Red, and Winsige Scægthman. And when they came to her they asked what claim she had to the lands for which her son was suing. Then said she that she had no land that in any way belonged to him, and was bitterly angry with her son. Then she called to her Leoflæd, her kinswoman, Thurkil's wife, and spoke to her as follows, before them all: "Here sits Leoflæd, my kinswoman, to whom I give not only my land, but my gold, and garments, and robes, and all that I own, after my day." And she then said to the thanes: "Do thanelike and well; announce my errand to the moot before all the good men, and tell them to whom I have given my land and all my property; and to my own son never anything, and bid them be witnesses of this." And they then did so, rode to the moot, and declared to all the good men what she had laid upon them. Then Thurkil White stood up in the moot and prayed all the thanes

Three messengers sent from the shire moot to the lady who owned the land

to make a clear grant to his wife of the lands which her kinswoman had given her, and they did so, and Thurkil then rode to St. Æthelbert's monastery, with the leave and witness of all the folk, and caused it to be set in a Christ's book.

More frequent meetings were held of the principal men of the hundred, a subdivision of the shire. In these hundred courts most of the judicial business of the people was carried on, the customary law being enforced and ordeals being ordered or carried out. Courts or moots were also held in the boroughs.

45. Ordinance of King Edgar for the hundred moot

This is the ordinance how the hundred shall be held.

1. That they meet always within four weeks: and that every man do justice to another.

2. That a thief shall be pursued. . . . If there be immediate need, let it be made known to the hundredman, and let him inform the tithingman; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go: let them do justice on the thief, as it was formerly the enactment of Edmund. And let the money value be paid to him who owns the cattle, and the rest be divided into two; half to the hundred, half to the lord, excepting men; and let the lord take possession of the men. . . .

5. We have also ordained, if the hundred pursue a trail into another hundred, that notice be given to the hundredman, and that he go with them. If he neglect this, let him pay thirty shillings to the king. . . .

7. In the hundred, as in any other court, we ordain that folk-right be pronounced in every suit, and that a term be fixed when it shall be fulfilled. And he who shall break that term, unless it be by his lord's decree, let him make compensation with thirty shillings, and on the day fixed fulfill that which he ought to have done before. . . .

9. Let the iron that is for the threefold ordeal weigh three pounds; and for the single, one pound. . . .

And let the hundred court be attended as it was before fixed; and three times in the year let a borough court be held;

and twice a shire court, and let there be present the bishop of the shire and the ealdorman; and there let both expound as well the law of God as the secular law. Hundred, borough, and shire moots

In the hundred and shire moots guilt or innocence, or the truth or falsity of a charge, when they could not be settled by general agreement, were usually referred to some form of ordeal, carried out with religious ceremonies.

46. Rules for the ordeal of iron

If any one shall have given pledge to undergo the ordeal of iron . . . , let him go three days beforehand to the priest, whose duty it is to bless him with the sign of the cross; and let him live upon bread, water, salt, and herbs, and hear mass each one of the three days; and let him make his offering and go to the holy communion on the day when he is to be examined by the ordeal; and before he is examined let him swear that by the law of the realm he is innocent of the charge. . . . Concerning the ordeal we enjoin in the name of God and by the command of the archbishop and of all our bishops that no one enter the church after the fire with which the ordeal is to be heated has been brought in, except the priest and him who is to undergo judgment. And let nine feet be measured off from the stake to the mark, by the feet of him who is to be tried. . . . And when the ordeal is ready let two men from each side go in and certify that it is as hot as we have directed it to be. Then let an equal number from both sides enter and stand on either side of the judgment place along the church, and let them all be fasting. . . . And let the priest sprinkle them all with holy water and let them bow themselves every one to the holy water, and let the holy Gospel and the cross be given them all to kiss. And no one shall mend the fire any longer than the beginning of the hallowing, but let the iron lie on the coals until the last collect. Afterwards let it be placed on a frame, and let no one speak except to pray diligently to God, the Father Omnipotent, to deign to manifest his truth in the matter. And let the accused drink of the holy water, and then let the hand with which he is about to carry the iron be sprinkled, and so let him go. Let the nine feet that were

The ordeal a religious ceremony

measured off be divided into three sections. In the first division let him hold his right foot close to the stake. Then let him move his right foot across the second into the third division, where he shall cast the iron in front of him and hasten to the holy altar. Then let his hand be wrapped up, and on the third day let examination be made whether it is clean or foul within the wrapper. And whoever shall transgress these laws, be the ordeal of no worth in his case, but let him pay the king a fine of twenty shillings.

The last two selections, one from the laws of King Edgar, the other from those of King Æthelstan, will give some impression of the provisions of the Anglo-Saxon codes on special points. The following extracts from the *Dooms of Alfred* will give a fuller idea of their character. They were in many parts attempts to put moral law or biblical teachings into legal form; in other parts they were efforts to put the familiar customary law into more concrete shape; in still other parts they were similar to the tables of a modern accident-insurance company in their detailed provisions for the payment of fines and compensations to an injured party, in proportion to the extent of the injury.

47. The *Dooms of Alfred*

I, then, Alfred, king, gathered these together, and commanded many of those to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good; and many of those which seemed to me not good I rejected them, by the counsel of my witan, and in other wise commanded them to be holden; for I durst not venture to set down in writing much of my own, for it was unknown to me what of it would please those who should come after us. But those things which I met with, either of the days of Ine my kinsman, or of Offa, king of the Mercians, or of Ethelbert, who first among the English race received baptism, those which seemed to me the rightest, those I have here gathered together, and rejected the others.

I, then, Alfred, king of the West Saxons, showed these to all my witan, and they then said that it seemed good to them for all these to be holden. The witan join in issuing the laws

At the first we teach that it is most needful that every man warily keep his oaths and his pledges. If any one be constrained to either of these wrongfully, either to treason against his lord or to any unlawful aid, then it is juster to belie than to fulfill. But if he pledge himself to that which is lawful to fulfill, and in that belie himself, let him submissively deliver up his weapon and his goods to the keeping of his friends, and be in prison forty days in a king's town: let him there suffer whatever the bishop may prescribe to him; and let his kinsmen feed him, if he himself have no food. . . . Punishment for perjury

If any plot against the king's life, of himself, or by harboring exiles, or by his men, let him be liable in his life and in all that he has. . . .

We also ordain to every church that has been hallowed by a bishop this right of peace, if a man in a feud flee to or reach one, that for seven days no one drag him out. . . . He who steals on Sunday or at Christmas or at Easter or on Holy Thursday or on Rogation days, for each of these we will that the fine be twofold, as during the Lenten fast. . . .

If any one fight in the king's hall, or draw his weapon, and he be taken, be it in the king's doom, either death or life, as he may be willing to grant him. If he escape, and be taken again, let him pay for himself according to the value of his life. . . .

If a man strike out another's tooth in the front of his head, let him make compensation for it with eight shillings; if it be the eyetooth, let four shillings be paid as compensation. A man's grinder is worth fifteen shillings. . . . Compensations for injuries

A man's chin bone, if it be cloven, let twelve shillings be paid as compensation. . . .

If a man be wounded on the shoulder so that the joint-oil flow out, let compensation be made with thirty shillings.

If the arm be broken above the elbow, there shall be fifteen shillings as compensation.

If the forearm be broken, the compensation is thirty shillings.

If the thumb be struck off, for that shall be thirty shillings as compensation.

If the nail be struck off, for that shall be five shillings as compensation.

If the shooting finger be struck off, the compensation is fifteen shillings; for its nail it is four shillings.

If the middlemost finger be struck off, the compensation is twelve shillings; and its nail is two shillings. . . .

If a man's thigh be pierced, let thirty shillings be paid him as compensation; if it be broken, the compensation is likewise thirty shillings.

If the great toe be struck off, let thirty shillings be paid him as compensation; if it be the second toe, let fifteen shillings be paid. . . .

He who smiteth his father or his mother shall perish by death.

He who stealeth a freeman and selleth him and it be proved against him so that he cannot clear himself, let him perish by death.

If a thief break into a man's house by night and he be then slain, the slayer shall not be guilty of manslaughter. But if he do this after sunrise he shall be guilty of manslaughter, and then he himself shall die, unless he were an unwilling agent. . . .

Swear ye never by heathen gods, nor cry ye unto them for any cause.

CHAPTER VI

THE DANISH AND THE NORMAN CONQUESTS, 975–1071

I. The Danish Conquest

Although the attacks of the Northmen upon England had lasted intermittently for nearly two hundred years, they were now renewed, after a half century's interval, with still greater violence. Under the leadership of the kings of Denmark the invaders were far too strong for the English, and the fatal policy of buying them off by the payment of tribute was adopted. Even this was not successful, and after long and destructive contests the English king was forced to go into exile, while the Danish king was accepted by all the people of England, Danish and English alike. These occurrences are well brought out in the entries in the *Chronicle* for this period.

48. Extracts from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

A.D. 991. This year was Ipswich ravaged, and after that very shortly was Brihtnoth the ealdorman slain at Maldon, and in that year it was decreed that tribute for the first time should be given to the Danish men, on account of the great terror which they caused on the seacoast: that was at first ten thousand pounds. This council was first given by Archbishop Sigeric.

A.D. 994. In this year came Olaf and Swegen to London on St. Mary's day with ninety-four ships; and then they continued fighting stoutly against the city, and would also have set fire to it. . . . Then the king and his witan decreed that they should be sent to and promised tribute and food, on condition that they should cease from their plundering. . . .

A.D. 1004. This year Swegen came with his fleet to Norwich and entirely spoiled and burned the town. Then decreed Ulfkytel, with the witan of East Anglia, that it were better that they should purchase peace of the army before they did very much harm to the land; because they had come unawares, and he had not time to gather his forces. . . .

A.D. 1006. Then became the dread of the army so great that no men could think and discourse how they could be driven out of the land, or this land maintained against them; for they had every shire in Wessex sadly marked by burning and by plundering. Then the king began earnestly with his witan to consider what might seem advisable to them all, so that this land might be saved before it was utterly destroyed. Then the king and his witan decreed on behalf of the whole nation, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the army. Then the king sent to the army and directed it to be made known to them that he would that there should be a truce between them. . . .

A.D. 1007. In this year was the tribute delivered to the army, — thirty-six thousand pounds.

Ethelred goes into exile with Duke Richard of Normandy

A.D. 1013. Then departed the king at midwinter into the Isle of Wight, and was there during that season; and after that season he went over the sea to Richard, and was there with him till such time as Swegen was dead. . . .

A.D. 1014. In this year King Swegen ended his days, and all the fleet then chose Cnut for king. . . .

A.D. 1017. In this year King Cnut obtained the whole realm of the English race.

A.D. 1025. This year King Cnut went from England with fifty ships of English thanes to Norway and drove King Olaf out of the land, and possessed himself of all that land. . . .

A.D. 1031. This year King Cnut went to Rome. . . .

The same events as have just been described in the extracts from the *Chronicle*, that is to say, the return of the Danes, the battle of Maldon, in which Earl Brihtnoth was the leader, the payment of danegeld, the final

victory of Swegen and Cnut, and the banishment of Ethelred, are told in greater fullness in several other contemporary records, of which the account that follows is a good specimen.

49. The losses of the English during Ethelred's reign described in the *Life of St. Oswald*

During his reign there came to the kingdom of the Angles the abominable Danes, who, devastating and burning all things, did not spare the men, but boastfully armed themselves with glittering swords, with poisoned arrows, with helmets of bronze; thus they were accustomed to terrify those who saw them. A very severe battle was fought in the west in which our men, who are called Devonshire men, resisted bravely, gaining the victory of a holy triumph and thus acquiring glory. Very many of our men fell, but rather more of theirs. One of our very bravest soldiers, Stremwold by name, was killed, together with some others who chose rather to finish life by a warlike death than to live ignobly. Not many months after this another great battle was fought, to the east of this famous region, in which the renowned leader Brihtnoth with his followers held the chief place in the fight. What man, confiding in his style, can relate how gloriously, how manfully, how bravely, he incited his leaders of war to the line of battle? He himself stood forth a noble in stature, towering above the rest, whose hand Aaron and Hur did not sustain, but great zeal for the Lord was accustomed to support, since he himself was worthy. He struck down many to his right, forgetful of the swanlike whiteness of his hair, since alms and the holy mass supported him. Forgetful likewise of the weakness of his body, he protected himself on the left, inasmuch as prayers and good deeds sustained him. When that splendid leader of the battle saw the enemy fleeing and his own men fighting valiantly and slaying many, he began to fight for his country with all his courage. A great number of the enemy and of our men fell; Brihtnoth was slain and the rest fled. So many of the Danes were wounded that they were scarcely able to equip their ships with men.

By far the most of our information concerning the Danish invasions of England comes from English writers.

The following account of the conquest of England by Cnut comes, however, from Adam of Bremen, a Danish, or at least a North-German, writer of the next century.

50. Account by Adam of Bremen

Swegen, king of the Danes and Norwegians, working to avenge old injuries, as well the death of his brother as his own expulsion, crossed over with a great fleet into England, taking with him his son Cnut, and Olaf the son of Crocaben, of whom we have spoken above. And so after a long time and the fighting of many battles with the English, Swegen deposed the old king Ethelred and held the island under his sway; but for a short time only, for in the third month after he had obtained the victory he was overtaken with death, and succumbed.

Cnut, son of the king, having returned with the army to his native country, planned war anew against the English. Olaf, having been chosen to be their prince by the Norwegians, separated himself from the kingdom of the Danes. Then Cnut, troubled by this double contest, entered into a treaty with his half-brother Olaf, the son of Eric, who reigned in Sweden, and supported by the aid he gave, determined to subjugate first England and then Norway. So Cnut, provided with a thousand large vessels, crossed the Britannic Sea, through which, from Denmark to England, an east wind will carry vessels with their sails set, as the sailors report, in three days. This great and dangerous sea has the Orcades on the left side, on the right it reaches Frisia.

For three years Cnut attacked Britain. Ethelred, king of the English, besieged at London, died, leaving at the same time his realm and his life. This was a just judgment of God, for after the murder of his brother he had polluted the scepter with blood for thirty-eight years. Thus he expiated his parricide, leaving behind him a little son Edward, born from his wife Emma. The brother of Ethelred, Edmund, a warlike man, for the sake of the victor was removed by poison, and his sons exiled to Russia. Cnut took the kingdom of Ethelred, and his wife, Emma by name, who was sister of the duke of the Normans, Richard.

Under Cnut's wise administration the country had a period of peace and order. The king spent part of his time in each of his kingdoms, and after nine years made a journey to Rome, as mentioned in the *Chronicle* under the year 1031, whence he sent back to England the following letter:

51. A letter from Cnut to his people, written from Rome

CNUT, king of all England, and of Denmark, Norway, and part of Sweden, to Ethelnoth, metropolitan, and Ælfric, archbishop of York, and to the bishops and prelates, and to the whole nation of the English, both the nobles and the commons, greeting:

I notify to you that I have lately taken a journey to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, and for the welfare of my dominions, and of the people under my rule. I had long since vowed this journey to God, but I have been hitherto prevented from accomplishing it by the affairs of my kingdom and other causes of impediment. I now return most humble thanks to God Almighty for suffering me in my lifetime to visit the sanctuary of his apostles, Saints Peter and Paul, and all others which I could find either within or without the city of Rome, and there in person reverentially to worship according to my desire. I have performed this chiefly because I have learnt from wise men that St. Peter, the apostle, has received from God great power in binding and in loosing, and carries the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and therefore I esteemed it very profitable to seek his special intercession with the Lord.

Interview between Cnut and the Emperor Conrad

Be it known to all of you that, at the celebration of Easter, a great assembly of nobles was present with our lord, Pope John, and Conrad, the Emperor; that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighboring sea. All these received me with honor and presented me with magnificent gifts; but more especially was I honored by the Emperor with various gifts and valuable presents, both in gold and silver vessels, and in palls and very costly robes. I spoke with the Emperor himself, and the lord pope, and the princes who were there, in regard to the wants of my people, English

as well as Danes; that there should be granted to them more equal justice and greater security in their journeys to Rome, and that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the road, nor harassed by unjust tolls.

Rudolph of Arles or Burgundy

The Emperor assented to my demands, as well as King Rudolph, in whose dominions these barriers chiefly stand; and all the princes made edicts that my people, the merchants as well as those who go to pay their devotions, shall pass to and fro in their journeys to Rome in peace, and under the security of just laws, free from all molestation from the guards of barriers or the receivers of tolls. I made further complaint to my lord the pope and expressed my high displeasure that my archbishops are sorely aggrieved by the demand of immense sums of money, when, according to custom, they resort to the apostolical see to obtain the pallium; and it is decreed that it should no longer be done. All things, therefore, which I requested for the good of my people from my lord the pope and the Emperor and King Rudolph and the other princes through whose territories our road to Rome lies, they have mostly freely granted, and even ratified their concessions by oath; to which four archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles who were there present are witnesses. Wherefore I return most hearty thanks to Almighty God for my having successfully accomplished all that I had desired, as I had resolved in my mind, and for having satisfied my wishes to the fullest extent.

Be it known, therefore, to all of you that I have humbly vowed to Almighty God himself henceforward to amend my life in all respects, and to rule the kingdoms and the people subject to me with justice and clemency, giving equitable judgments in all matters; and if, through the intemperance of youth or negligence, I have hitherto exceeded the bounds of justice in any of my acts, I intend by God's aid to make an entire change for the better.

Cnut's promises of good government

I therefore adjure and command my counselors, to whom I have intrusted the affairs of my kingdom, that henceforth they neither themselves commit, nor suffer to prevail, any sort of injustice throughout my dominions, either from fear of me, or

from favor to any powerful person. I also command all sheriffs and magistrates throughout my whole kingdom, as they tender my regard and their own safety, that they use no unjust violence to any man, rich or poor, but that all, high or low, rich or poor, shall enjoy alike impartial law; from which they are never to deviate, either on account of royal favor, respect of person in the great, or for the sake of amassing money wrongfully, for I have no need to accumulate wealth by iniquitous exactions.

I wish you further to know that, returning by the way I went, I am now going to Denmark to conclude a treaty for a solid peace, all the Danes concurring, with those nations and peoples who would have taken my life and crown if it had been possible; but this they were not able to accomplish, God bringing their strength to naught. May He, of his merciful kindness, uphold me in my sovereignty and honor, and henceforth scatter and bring to naught the power and might of all my adversaries! When, therefore, I shall have made peace with the surrounding nations, and settled and reduced to order all my dominions in the East, so that we shall have nothing to fear from war or hostilities in any quarter, I propose to return to England as early in the summer as I shall be able to fit out my fleet.

I have sent this epistle before me in order that my people may be gladdened at my success, because, as you yourselves know, I have never spared, nor will I spare, myself or my exertions, for the needful service of my whole people. I now therefore command and adjure all my bishops and the governors of my kingdom, by the duty they owe to God and myself, to take care that before I come to England all dues belonging to God, according to the old laws, be fully discharged; namely, plow alms, the tithe of animals born in the current year, and the pence payable to St. Peter at Rome, whether from towns or vills; and in the middle of August the tithes of corn; and at the feast of St. Martin the first fruits of grain payable to every one's parish church, called in English church-scot. If these and such dues be not paid before I come, those who make default will incur fines to the king according to law, which will be strictly enforced without mercy. Farewell.

Peter's pence

II. The Norman Conquest

Shortly after the Norman Conquest there grew up in England a class of writers who described the events of their own time with much fullness and interest, writing in Latin instead of Anglo-Saxon. One of these was William of Malmesbury, who gives the following account of the occurrences that led to the invasion of England by William, and of the early stages of the Conquest.

52. William of Malmesbury describes the causes of the Norman Conquest and its early events

King Edward, declining into years, as he had no children himself and saw the sons of Godwin growing in power, sent messengers asking the king of Hungary to send over Edward, the son of his brother Edmund, with all his family; intending, as he declared, that either he or his sons should succeed to the hereditary kingdom of England, and that his own want of issue should be supplied by that of his kindred. In consequence Edward came, but died almost immediately at St. Paul's, in London. He was neither valiant, nor a man of abilities. He left three surviving children: that is to say, Edgar, who after the death of Harold was by some elected king, and who after many revolutions of fortune is now living retired in the country in extreme old age; Christina, who grew old at Romsey in the habit of a nun; and Margaret, whom Malcolm, king of the Scots, espoused. . . .

The three grandchildren of Edmund Ironside

The king, in consequence of the death of his relation, losing his first hope of support, gave the succession of England to William, duke of Normandy. He was well worthy of such a gift, being a young man of superior mind, who had raised himself to the highest eminence by his unwearied exertions; moreover, he was his nearest relation by consanguinity, as he was the son of Robert, the son of Richard the Second, whom we have repeatedly mentioned as the brother of Emma, Edward's mother. Some affirm that Harold himself was sent into Normandy for this purpose; others, who knew Harold's more secret intentions, say that, being driven thither against his will by the violence of the wind, he imagined this device in order to

extricate himself. This, as it appears nearest the truth, I will relate.

Harold, being at his country seat at Bosham, went for recreation on board a fishing boat, and for the purpose of prolonging his sport put out to sea; when, a sudden tempest arising, he was driven with his companions on the coast of Ponthieu. The people of that district, as was their native custom, immediately assembled from all quarters; and Harold's company, unarmed and few in numbers, were, as it easily might be, quickly overpowered by an armed multitude and bound hand and foot. Harold, craftily meditating a remedy for this mischance, sent a person, whom he had allured by very great promises, to William to say that Harold had been sent into Normandy by the king for the purpose of expressly confirming in person the message which had been imperfectly delivered by people of less authority, but that he was detained in fetters by Guy, count of Ponthieu, and could not execute his embassy; that it was the barbarous and inveterate custom of the country that such as had escaped destruction at sea should meet with perils on shore; that it well became a man of William's dignity not to let this pass unpunished. If he should suffer those who appealed to his protection to be laden with chains, it would detract somewhat from his own greatness: and if his captivity must be terminated by money, he would gladly give it to Duke William, but not to the contemptible Guy. By these means Harold was liberated at William's command, and conducted to Normandy by Guy in person. The duke entertained him with much respect, both in banqueting and vesture, according to the custom of his country. . . .

Visit of Harold to Duke William

When King Edward had yielded to fate, England, fluctuating with doubtful favor, was uncertain to which ruler she should commit herself, — to Harold, William, or Edgar; for the king had recommended him also to the nobility, as nearest to the sovereign in point of birth, concealing his better judgment because of the tenderness of his disposition. Wherefore, as I have said above, the English were distracted in their choice, although all of them openly wished well to Harold. He, indeed, once exalted by the diadem, thought nothing of the covenant

between himself and William, asserting that he was absolved from his oath because William's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, had died before she was marriageable. For this man, though possessing numberless good qualities, is reported to have been careless about abstaining from perjury provided he could by any tricks elude the reasonings of men. Moreover, supposing that the threats of William would never be put into execution, because he was occupied in wars with neighboring princes, he, along with his subjects, had felt too much security.

Except for the fact that he had learned that the king of Norway was approaching, he would neither have condescended to collect troops nor to array them. William in the meantime began mildly to address him by messengers, to expostulate on the broken covenant, to mingle threats with entreaties, to warn him that ere a year expired he would claim his due by the sword, and that he would come to that place where Harold supposed he himself had the firmer footing. Harold again rejoined what I have related concerning the nuptials of his daughter, and added that he had been precipitate on the subject of the kingdom in having confirmed to him by oath another's right without the universal consent and edict of the general meeting and of the people; again, that a rash oath ought to be broken. . . .

At that time the prudence of William, seconded by the providence of God, already looked to England with hope, and that no rashness might stain the just cause he sent to the pope, — formerly Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who had assumed the name of Alexander, — alleging the justice of the war which he had undertaken with all the eloquence that he could.

William's standard blessed by the pope

Harold omitted to do this, either because he was confident by nature, or else distrusted his cause, or because he feared that his messengers would be obstructed by William and his partisans, who beset every port. The pope, duly examining the pretensions of both parties, delivered a standard to William as an auspicious presage of the kingdom; on receiving which, the latter summoned an assembly of his nobles at Lillebourne for the purpose of ascertaining their sentiments on this undertaking. And when he had confirmed by splendid

promises all who approved his design, he ordered all to prepare supplies of ships in proportion to the extent of their possessions. Thus they departed at that time, and in the month of August reassembled in a body at St. Valéry, — for so that port is called by its new name. Collecting therefore ships from every quarter, they awaited the propitious gale which was to carry them to their destination. When this delayed blowing for several days, the common soldiers, as is generally the case, began to mutter in their tents that the man must be mad who wishes to subjugate a foreign country; that God was opposing them by withholding the wind; that William's father had planned a similar attempt, which was in like manner frustrated; that it was the fate of that family to aspire to things beyond their reach, and find God for their adversary. In consequence of these things, which were enough to enervate the force of the brave, being publicly noised abroad, the duke held a council with his chiefs and ordered the body of St. Valéry to be brought forth and exposed to the open air for the purpose of imploring a wind. No delay now interposed, but the wished-for gale filled their sails. A joyful clamor then arising, summoned every one to the ships. The duke himself, first launching from the continent into the deep, awaited the rest at anchor, nearly in mid-channel. All then assembled around the crimson sails of the admiral's ship, and having first dined, they arrived after a favorable passage at Hastings. As the duke disembarked he slipped down, but turned the accident to his advantage, a soldier who stood near calling out to him, "You hold England, my lord, its future king." He then restrained his whole army from plundering, warning them that they should now abstain from what must hereafter be their own; and for fifteen successive days he remained so perfectly quiet that he seemed to think of nothing less than of war.

The battle of Stamford Bridge

In the meantime Harold returned from the battle with the Norwegians, happy, in his own estimation, at having conquered, but not so in mine, as he had secured the victory by fratricide. When the news of the arrival of the Normans reached him, reeking as he was from battle, he proceeded to Hastings, though accompanied by very small forces. . . .

The courageous leaders mutually prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English, as we have heard, passed the night without sleep, in drinking and singing, and in the morning proceeded without delay towards the enemy. All were on foot, armed with battle-axes. Covering themselves in front by the junction of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body which would have secured their safety that day had not the Normans by a feigned flight induced them to open their ranks, which till that time, according to their custom, were closely compacted. The king himself, on foot, stood with his brother near the standard, in order that, while all shared equal danger, none might think of retreating. This standard William sent after the victory to the pope. It was samptuously embroidered of gold and precious stones, in the form of a man fighting.

On the other hand, the Normans passed the whole night in confessing their sins, and received the sacrament in the morning. Their infantry, with bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry, divided into wings, were thrown back. The duke with serene countenance, declaring aloud that God would favor his as being the righteous side, called for his arms; and presently, when through the hurry of his attendants he had put on his hauberk the hindpart before, he corrected the mistake with a laugh, saying, "My dukedom shall be turned into a kingdom." Then, beginning the song of Roland, that the warlike example of that man might stimulate the soldiers, and calling on God for assistance, the battle commenced on both sides.

The battle of Hastings or Senlac

They fought with ardor, neither giving ground for great part of the day. Finding this, William gave a signal to his party that by a feigned flight they should retreat. Through this device the close body of the English, opening for the purpose of cutting down the straggling enemy, brought upon itself swift destruction; for the Normans, facing about, attacked them thus disordered, and compelled them to flee. In this manner, deceived by a stratagem, they met an honorable death in avenging their country. Nor were they at all wanting to their own revenge, as by frequently making a stand they slaughtered their pursuers in heaps; for, getting possession of

an eminence, they drove down the Normans, when roused with indignation and anxiously striving to gain the higher ground, into the valley beneath, where, easily hurling their javelins and rolling down stones on them as they stood below, they destroyed them to a man. Besides, by a short passage with which they were acquainted, avoiding a deep ditch, they trod under foot such a multitude of their enemies in that place that they made the hollow level with the plain by the heaps of carcasses. This vicissitude of first one party conquering and then the other prevailed as long as the life of Harold continued; but when he fell, from having his brain pierced with an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night.

Alongside of this account of the first stage of the Conquest, given by an Englishman of the next generation, may be placed two other narratives of the same series of events, written by Normans who remained in Normandy. The first is a prose translation of part of an Old French poem, the *Roman de Rou.*

53. Wace *Roman de Rou*

The duke rejoiced greatly at receiving the banner and the license which the pope gave him. He got together carpenters, smiths, and other workmen, so that great stir was seen at all the ports of Normandy, in the collecting of wood and materials, cutting of planks, framing of ships and boats, stretching sails, and rearing masts with great pains and at great cost. They spent all one summer and autumn in fitting up the fleet and collecting the forces; and there was no knight in the land, no good sergeant, archer, nor peasant of stout heart and of age for battle, that the duke did not summon to go with him to England, promising rents to the vassals, and honors to the barons.

When the ships were ready they were moored in the Somme at St. Valéry, and there delivered to the barons. Many were the ships and boats in the river there, which is called the Somme, which separates Ponthieu and Vimou. Vimou extends as far as the Eu, which separates Normandy from Vimou, a country under different government. Eu is a river and Eu is also a fair castle situated upon that river.

List of some of William's barons

The duke had men from many and various parts. Haimon, the viscount of Toarz, came thither, a man of very great power, who could bring much people. Alain Felgan also came to the crossing, and brought with him great baronage from among the Bretons; and Fitz Bertran de Peleit and the Sire de Dinan came also; and Raoul de Gael, and many Bretons from many castles, and from about Brecheliant, concerning which the Bretons tell many fables. It is a forest long and broad, much famed throughout Brittany. The spring of Berenton rises from beneath a stone there. Thither the hunters are used to repair in sultry weather; and drawing up water with their horns, they sprinkle the stone for the purpose of having rain, which is then wont to fall, they say, throughout the whole forest round; but why I know not. There, too, fairies are to be seen (if the Bretons tell truth) and many other wonders happen. The background is broken and precipitous, and deer in plenty roam there, but the husbandmen have deserted it. I went thither on purpose to see these marvels, but I found none. I went like a fool, and so I came back; I sought after folly and hold myself a fool for my pains.

The fame of the Norman duke soon went forth through many lands, — how he meant to cross the sea against Harold, who had taken England from him. Then soldiers came flocking to him, one by one, two by two, four by four, by fives and sixes, sevens and eights, nines and tens; and he retained them all, giving them much and promising more. Many came by agreement made by them beforehand; many bargained for lands, if they should win England; some required pay, allowances, and gifts; and the duke was often obliged to give at once to those who could not wait the result.

I shall never put in writing, and would not undertake to set down, what barons and how many knights, how many vavassors, and how many soldiers the duke had in his company when he had collected all his navy; but I heard my father say — I remember it well, although I was but a lad — that there were seven hundred ships, less four, when they sailed from St. Valéry; and that, besides these ships, there were boats and skiffs for the purpose of carrying the arms and harness. I

have found it written (although I know not whether it be true) that there were in all three thousand vessels bearing sails and masts. Any one will know that there must have been a great many men to have furnished out so many vessels.

The landing at Pevensey

The ships steered to one port; all arrived and reached the shore together; together cast anchor, and ran on dry land; and together they discharged themselves. They arrived near Hastings, and there each ship ranged by the other's side. There you might see the good sailors, the sergeants and squires, sally forth to unload the ships,—cast the anchors, haul the ropes, bear out the shields and saddles, and land the war horses and palfreys. The archers came forth and touched land the foremost, each with his bow bent, and his quiver full of arrows slung at his side. All were shaven and shorn, and all were clad in short garments, ready to attack, to shoot, to wheel about, and skirmish. All stood well equipped and of good courage for the fight; and they scoured the whole shore, but found not an armed man there. After the archers had thus gone forth, the knights landed next, all armed with their hauberks on, their shields slung at their necks, and their helmets laced. They formed together on the shore, each armed upon his war horse. All had their swords girded on, and passed into the plain with their lances raised.

The barons had banners, and the knights pennons. They occupied the advanced ground, next to where the archers had fixed themselves. The carpenters, who came after, had great axes in their hands, and planes and adzes hung at their sides. When they had reached the spot where the archers stood and the knights were assembled, they consulted together, and sought for a good place to build a strong fort. Then they cast out of the ships the materials and drew them to land, all shaped, framed, and pierced to receive the pins, which they had brought cut and ready in large barrels; so that, before evening had well set in, they had finished a fort. Then you might see them make their kitchens, light their fires, and cook their meat. The duke sat down to eat, and the barons and knights had food in plenty; for he had brought ample store. All ate and drank enough, and were right glad that they were ashore.

This account is from a rather confused and pretentious Latin chronicle,—that of William, bishop of Poitou,—which is nevertheless of interest as giving a very full account of the battle of Hastings by one who seems to have been an eyewitness.

54. Account of the battle by William of Poitou

The duke advanced in most excellent order, with the standard which the pope had sent over leading the way. In the front row he placed foot soldiers armed with arrows and missiles for hurling, and in the second line likewise foot soldiers, who were stronger and clad in coat of mail; on the last line he placed the squads of cavalry, in the midst of which he himself took his stand firmly, from which spot he would issue his directions to all parts by gesture and by spoken word. Some one of the old writers, in speaking of that line of Harold, said that on his march the rivers were drunk dry, and the forests reduced to plains; for a vast number of English forces had collected from those regions on all sides. A part showed their zeal for Harold, all for their country, which they wished to defend against foreigners, even though unjustly. The country of the Danes, which was related to them, had also sent many auxiliaries. Nevertheless, not daring to engage with William on the plain, and fearing him more than the king of the Norwegians, they seized a higher position, which was a mountain next to a forest through which they had come. Abandoning any aid from the horses, all the foot soldiers crowded together in closely packed ranks. The leader with his men, undaunted by the roughness of the place and by the steepness of the ascent, climbed slowly up. A startling blast of the trumpets gave the signal for the battle, and on each side the ready courage of the Normans began the fight, just as when a speaker in a court is pleading a case of robbery, in advance he strikes with his speech the one who is bringing the charge.

Then the Norman foot soldiers, approaching nearer, provoke the English, aiming to wound and kill them with their missiles. They, on the other hand, resist bravely by whatever devices they can. They hurl spears and weapons of all sorts, as well as

the pitiless axes, together with stones placed on logs. One might think that our men would be buried by these as by a death-bringing mound. The horsemen bring aid and those who are behind come up to the front. It becomes a shame to fight from afar, and they dare to carry on the battle with swords. On one side the Normans arise, on the other the barbarian is overcome by the sound of arms and the groans of the dying. Thus for some time the struggle continues on both sides with the greatest violence. The English were aided greatly by the advantage of a higher situation, which they held without advancing, and were very closely crowded together; they were also aided by their great number and size; as well, too, by the implements of warfare which easily found their way through the shield or other protection. So they bravely sustained and even drove back those who dared to make an attack upon them with drawn swords; and they wounded those who were throwing weapons upon them from afar off. The British foot soldiers as well as the horsemen, terrified by this cruelty, turned aside, as did all the auxiliaries which were on the left wing; almost the entire line of the duke retreated, although it has been said of the Normans that they are one of the most invincible nations.

The English on the hill of Senlac

This army of Roman majesty standing against forces of kings, accustomed to conquer on land and sea, at length fled when it learned or believed that its leader had been slain. For the Normans believed that their lord and duke had been killed, and withdrew in a flight of which they ought not to be too much ashamed; least of all ought it to be grieved over since it aided much. The duke, seeing that a great part of the guard opposite had leaped forth and were pressing on the backs of his men, rushed up to those who were fleeing and placed himself in their path, at the same time reproving and threatening them with his sword. Tearing off his helmet, with head bare, he cried out: "Look at me. I live, and shall with God's aid conquer. What madness is driving you to flight? What road will be open to flee? Those whom you are able to punish as cattle are driving and killing you. You are deserting victory and everlasting honor; you are hastening to destruction and eternal disgrace. No one of you will escape death by going now." At

these words they recovered their courage. He himself rushed forward, striking terror with his sword, and killing the people opposite, who deserved death inasmuch as they were rebelling against their king. The Normans fiercely surrounded several thousands who had followed them, and quickly destroyed them, so that not even one survived. So encouraged, they attacked the whole army; although this had suffered great loss, yet it did not seem much smaller. The English confidently attacked with their entire force, laboring especially for this, namely, that they should allow no open approach to those wishing to break through. Nevertheless openings were soon cut with the sword through the different companies of the bravest soldiers. Through these pressed in the Cenomani, French, Bretons, Aquitanians, but with especial bravery the Normans.

A certain Norman soldier, Robert, son of Roger of Bellemonte, nephew and heir of Hugo, count of Mellento, through his sister Adeline, on that day first engaged in a battle which made his praise everlasting; with the legion of which he was in command in the right wing, he rushed forward and overcame many with great boldness. It is not in our ability nor does our intention permit us to mention the brave deeds of separate individuals in accordance with their merit. Even a man who had seen that contest with his own eyes would need to use all his powers of speech to describe what was done.

But we hasten on in order that, after finishing the praise of William the duke, we may write the glory of William the king.

Pretended flight of the Normans

The Normans and their allies noticed that the enemy, who resisted bravely, could not be overcome without great loss to themselves, so they turned their backs and pretended flight. They recalled what desirable results flight had produced a little while before. The greatest joy, together with a hope of victory, was inspired in the barbarians. Encouraging themselves with an exultant cry, they heaped curses upon our men, and threatened that they would kill all. As before, several thousands with flying steps dared to press upon those whom they thought fleeing. The Normans suddenly turned their horses, killing on all sides those whom they intercepted and surrounded, sparing no one. Twice they used the same strategy, with the same

result; with greater zeal they attacked the rest; it was still a difficult feat to surround the line of battle which up to that time had been impregnable. An unusual sort of battle then took place, as one part surged back and forth, while the other stood as if rooted to the ground. The English were tired out, and acknowledging defeat by this very failure, they suffered the penalty. The Normans discharged their arrows, struck them down, and ran them through; the dead, while falling, rather than the living, seemed to be moved. There was no chance for those slightly wounded to fall, but the vast number of the soldiers, crowding together, killed them by crushing them. So good fortune ran to meet William by hastening his triumph.

Defeat of the English

An idea of the extent to which the conquest was effected by the mere ravaging of the country is obtained from the following account, written by a monk connected with the abbey of Durham and therefore familiar with the devastation of the North.

55. From Symeon of Durham (1069)

The Normans had devastated Northumbria and certain other counties of England in the preceding year; during this and the following year through almost all England, especially Northumbria and the counties lying near it, so great a famine arose that, since necessity forced them, they ate the flesh of human beings, horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever usage shrinks from; so severe was it that some sold themselves into perpetual slavery, provided only they might in any way sustain their wretched lives; others started to go into exile, but falling on the journey lost their lives. It was horrible to see the dead bodies decaying in the houses, in the open spaces, and on the streets. The mass decaying with horrible stench, swarmed with worms. Nor was any one left to bury the dead, for all were wiped out either by sword or famine, or had departed from their homes on account of hunger. In the meantime the land was destitute of cultivators, and a broad wilderness existed for nine years. Between York and Durham nowhere was there an inhabited village, while the dens of wild beasts and robbers caused terror to travelers.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS, 1066–1154

I. Immediate Results of the Conquest

William of Malmesbury, who wrote scarcely fifty years after the Norman Conquest, already recognizes some of its most important effects,—the union of the English and the Normans by intermarriage, the introduction of Norman architecture, and the general revival of the national life.

56. The Norman race

The Normans, that I may speak of them also, were at that time, and are even now, proudly appareled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy; and where strength fails of success, ready to use stratagem, to corrupt by bribery. As I have related, they live in large edifices with economy; envy their equals, wish to excel their superiors; and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others. They are faithful to their lords, though a slight offense renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and they esteem strangers worthy of equal honor with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the observances of religion, which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites.

The chronicles of the time constantly refer to the liberal gifts of land which William made to his followers,

as fast as the Saxon nobles were removed, or their lands confiscated for rebellion or other offenses. Orderic Vitalis, from whom this selection is taken, is one of the literary historians of the period. He continued to live in Normandy, however, at the abbey of Eu, and wrote a history of England and Normandy during the eleventh century.

57. Distribution of lands to the conquerors

The two great earls of the Mercians having been gotten rid of, Edwin by death and Morcar by strict confinement, King William distributed their vast domains in the richest districts of England among his adherents, raising the lowest of his Norman followers to wealth and power. He granted the Isle of Wight and the county of Hereford to William Fitz-Osbern, high steward of Normandy, giving him the charge, in conjunction with Walter de Lacy and other tried soldiers, of defending the frontier against the Welsh, who were breathing defiance. . . .

King William gave first to Roger de Montgomery the castle of Arundel and the city of Chichester, and afterwards the earldom of Shrewsbury, which town is situated on a hill by the river Severn. This earl was wise, moderate, and a lover of justice; and cherished the gentle society of intelligent and unassuming men. For a long time he had about him three well-informed clerks, Godebald, Odelirus, and Herbert, whose advice he followed with great advantage. He gave his niece Emerie and the command of Shrewsbury to Warin the Bald, a man of small stature but great courage, who bravely encountered the earl's enemies and maintained tranquillity throughout the district intrusted to his government. Roger de Montgomery also gave commands in his earldom to William, surnamed Pantoul, Picot de Say, and Corbet, with his sons Roger and Robert, as well as other brave and faithful knights, supported by whose wisdom and courage he ranked among the greatest nobles.

King William conferred the earldom of Northampton on Waltheof, son of Earl Siward, the most powerful of the English nobility, and, in order to cement a firm alliance with him, gave him in marriage his niece Judith, who bore him two beautiful

daughters. The earldom of Buckingham was given to Walter Giffard, and Surrey to William de Warrenne, who married Gundred, Gherbod's sister. King William granted the earldom of Holdernesse to Eudes of Champagne, nephew of Count Theobald, who married the king's sister, that is, Duke Robert's daughter; and the earldom of Norwich to Ralph de Guader, son-in-law of William Fitz-Osbern. To Hugh Grantmesnil he granted the town of Leicester, and distributed cities and counties among other lords, with great honors and domains. The castle of Tutbury, which Hugh d'Avranches before held, he granted to Henry, son of Walkelin de Ferrers, conferring on other foreigners who had attached themselves to his fortunes such vast possessions that they had in England many vassals more rich and powerful than their own fathers were in Normandy.

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, of an ancient Norman family, who rendered essential services and support at the battle of Senlac, and was commander of troops in other conflicts, in which natives and foreigners crushed each other, received for his share, by grant from King William, two hundred and eighty vills, which are commonly called manors, which at his death he left to his nephew de Mowbray, who speedily lost them by his rashness and misconduct.

Likewise Eustace de Boulogne and Robert Mortain, William d'Evreux, Robert d'Eu, Geoffrey son of Rotrou de Mortagne, and other counts and lords more than I can enumerate, received from King William great revenues and honors in England. Thus strangers were enriched with English wealth, while her sons were iniquitously slain or driven into hopeless exile in foreign lands.

At some time during his reign, it is not known exactly when, William issued the following edict. By it the new method of trial, wager of battle, previously well known in Normandy but not used in England, was made legal; but at the same time trial by compurgation and by ordeal are both recognized. Englishmen are put on the same level as Normans; indeed, in this particular instance, apparently in a superior position.

58. Edict of William concerning wager of battle

William by the grace of God king of the English, to all to whom this writing shall come greeting and friendship. We order and require this to be kept by the whole nation of England.

If an Englishman shall summon any Frenchman to battle for a theft or a homicide or any other matter for which battle ought to be waged or a plea made between the two men, he shall have full liberty to do this. And if the Englishman does not wish a battle, the Frenchman who is accused may defend himself by an oath against him, by his witnesses, according to the law of Normandy.

Likewise if a Frenchman shall summon an Englishman to battle concerning the same matters, the Englishman may with full liberty defend himself by battle, or by compurgation if that pleases him better. And if he is sickly and does not wish a battle, or is not competent, let him seek for himself a legal defender. If the Frenchman shall have been conquered, let him pay sixty shillings to the king. And if the Englishman does not wish to defend himself by battle, or by testimony, let him defend himself by the judgment of God.

William seems to have made a serious effort to preserve the old customs of the land. He took the usual oath of the English kings, gave a charter of liberties to London, and to many abbeys and other churches guaranteed their old rights, as indicated in the three following documents.

59. Coronation oath of William

He swore before the altar of St. Peter the Apostle, in the presence of the clergy and people, to defend the holy churches of God and their governors, and also to rule over the whole people subject to him justly and with royal providence; to enact and to preserve right law, and straitly to forbid violence and unjust judgments.

60. William's charter to London

William the king friendly salutes William the bishop and Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare that I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir, after his

father's days, and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you.

61. Charter of William to the abbey of Abingdon

William, king of the English, to Lanfranc, archbishop, and Robert de Oyley, and Roger de Pister, and all others his faithful subjects of the whole realm of England, greeting.

Know that I have granted to St. Mary of Abingdon, and Athelelm, abbot of that place, all the customs of their lands which belong to the aforesaid church, wherever they have them, in the borough or outside of the borough, according as Abbot Athelelm is able to show by charter or brief that the church of St. Mary of Abingdon and his predecessors had these customs by the gift of King Edward.

The cruelty and impiety attributed to William by his contemporaries in the devastations that produced the New Forest, brought down upon him, in their belief, a judgment from heaven. Two of his sons, and his grandson Richard, the young prince referred to in the following passage from Orderic Vitalis, were killed within its boundaries.

62. Orderic's account of the New Forest

Learn now, my reader, why the forest in which the young prince was slain secured the name of the New Forest. That part of the country was extremely populous from early times and full of well-inhabited hamlets and farms. A numerous population cultivated Hampshire with unceasing industry, so that the southern part of the district plentifully supplied Winchester with the products of the land. When William the First ascended the throne of Albion, being a great lover of forests, he laid waste more than sixty parishes, compelling the inhabitants to emigrate to other places, and substituted beasts of the chase for human beings, that he might satisfy his ardor for hunting. Two of his sons, Richard and William Rufus, as well as his grandson Richard, of whom we have lately spoken, perished in this forest, and apparitions of various kinds were seen there, to the great alarm of some persons; and in this way the Lord manifested his displeasure that consecrated churches had been ruined to make a shelter for wild beasts.

The old *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, from which so many extracts have been taken, was still kept up at two or three monasteries. It is interesting to see how the Conqueror was looked upon by one of the continuators of this chronicle who had himself often seen him.

63. A description of William from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

If any would know what manner of man King William was, the glory that he obtained, and of how many lands he was lord, then will we describe him as we have known him, — we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This King William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honored and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England. Moreover, this land was filled with monks who lived after the rule of St. Benedict; and such was the state of religion in his days that all that would might observe that which was prescribed by their respective orders.

Battle Abbey

Three meetings of the Great Council

King William was also held in much reverence. He wore his crown three times every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thanes, and knights. So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees and abbots from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo. This Odo was a very powerful bishop in Normandy; his see was that of Bayeux, and he was foremost to serve the king. He had an earldom in England, and when William was in Normandy he was the first man in this country, and him did he cast into prison.

Good order and the Domesday Survey

Amongst other things the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosomful of gold, unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and, being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole, of which he knew not the possessor, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Welsh was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover he had full dominion over the Isle of Man; Scotland also was subject to him, from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle.

Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king also was of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver, and this either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked naught of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live, or would keep their lands, or would hold their possessions, or would be maintained in their rights. . . .

The forest laws

He left three sons: Robert, the eldest, was duke of Normandy after him; the second, named William, wore the crown of England after his father's death; and his third son was Henry, to whom he bequeathed immense treasures.

II. William and the Church

It is not known exactly at what date or under what circumstances the following royal edict was drawn up, but it was a most important step in the creation of the new group of church courts under the bishops. Previously the church courts had only disciplined churchmen and laid penance on laymen; now they decided many cases affecting both classes.

64. Edict for strengthening the church courts

William, by the grace of God king of the English, to R. Bainard and G. de Magneville and P. de Valoines and all my liege men of Essex, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex, greeting. Know ye, and all my liege men resident in England, that I have by my common council and by the advice of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and chief men of my realm, determined that the episcopal laws be amended, since they have not been kept properly nor according to the decrees of the sacred canons throughout the realm of England, even to my own times. Accordingly I command and charge you by royal authority that no bishop nor archdeacon do hereafter hold pleas concerning the episcopal laws in the hundred, nor bring to the judgment of secular men a cause which concerns the rule of souls. But whoever shall be impleaded for any cause or crime by the episcopal laws, let him come to the place which the bishop shall choose and name for the purpose, and there answer for his cause or crime, and not according to the hundred, but according to the canons and episcopal laws; and let him do right to God and his bishop.

Matters concerning the church to be tried not in the hundred courts, but before the bishops

But if any one, being lifted up with pride, refuse to come to the bishop's court, let him be summoned a first, second, and third time; if he does not then come to the judgment, let him be excommunicated; and if there is need of carrying this out, let the strength and justice of the king or of the sheriff be brought to bear. He who, summoned to the judgment of the bishop, refuses to come, shall answer to the bishop's law for each summons. This also I forbid and by my authority

prohibit, that any sheriff or reeve or minister of the king or any layman should interfere in the laws that pertain to the bishop, or any layman should bring another to judgment without the justice of the bishop. Judgment, moreover, shall not be given in any place except in the bishop's see, or in such a place as the bishop shall have appointed for it.

Although William evidently intended to strengthen the power of the bishops and other churchmen over the people who were not churchmen, yet the following bold letter written to Pope Gregory VII clearly expresses his intention to limit the papal authority as far as he could.

65. William to the pope (A.D. 1076)

To Gregory, the most noble shepherd of the holy church, William, by the grace of God crowned king of the English and duke of the Normans, greeting with amity. Herbert, your legate, Holy Father, coming to me on your behalf, bade me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to think better on the matter of the money which my predecessors were wont to send to the Roman church. The one point I agreed to, the other I did not agree to. I refused to do fealty, nor will I; because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors. The money, for nearly three years, whilst I was in France, has been carelessly collected; but now that I am come back to my kingdom, by God's mercy, what has been collected is now sent by the aforesaid legate, and what remains shall be dispatched, when opportunity serves, by the messenger of Lanfranc, our faithful archbishop. Pray for us and for the good estate of our realm, for we have loved your predecessors and desire to love you sincerely and to hear you obediently before all.

The following is the statement of a contemporary chronicler concerning William's church policy.

66. Eadmer's statement of William's rules for the church

1. He would not then allow any one settled in all his dominions to acknowledge as apostolic the pontiff of the city of Rome, save at his own bidding; or by any means to receive any letter from him if it had not first been shown to himself.

2. The primate also of his realm, I mean the archbishop of Canterbury, presiding over a general council assembled of bishops, he did not permit to ordain or forbid anything save what had first been ordained by himself as agreeable to his own will.

3. He would not suffer that any, even of his bishops, should be allowed to implead publicly, or excommunicate or constrain by any penalty of ecclesiastical rigor, any of his barons or ministers accused of incest, adultery, or any capital crime, save by his command.

III. Domesday Book

Just at the close of William's reign, at the Great Councils of the years 1085 and 1086, he ordered the Domesday survey and the Salisbury oath. The former was the first instance of such a national census since the time of the Roman Empire; the latter was an act of policy opposed to the whole feudal tendency of the period. They both alike show William's great ambition and power. The following account is from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

67. Councils at Gloucester and Salisbury

A.D. 1085. At midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his witan; and he held his court there five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy held a synod there during three days; and Maurice was there chosen to the bishopric of London, William to that of Norfolk, and Robert to that of Cheshire; they were all clerks of the king. After this the king had a great consultation and spoke very deeply with his witan concerning this land, how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, his bishops, his abbots, and his earls, and, that I may be brief,

what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do — was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in the accounts; and then all these writings were brought to him.

A.D. 1086. This year the king wore his crown and held his court at Winchester at Easter, and he so journeyed forward that he was at Westminster during Whitsuntide, and there he dubbed his son Henry a knight. And afterward he traveled about, so that he came to Salisbury at Lammas; and his witan, and all the landholders of substance in England, whose vassals soever they were, repaired to him there, and they all submitted to him and became his men and swore oaths of allegiance, that they would be faithful to him against all others. Thence he proceeded to the Isle of Wight because he was to cross over to Normandy; and this he afterwards did; but first, according to his custom, he extorted immense sums from his subjects upon every pretext he could find, whether just or otherwise. Then he went over into Normandy.

One of the reports made to William's men who carried out the Domesday survey describes, partially at least, how the information for the Domesday Book was obtained and what points it was expected to cover. The object seems to have been the collection of information that could be used for purposes of taxation. Knowledge of feudal payments was not sought for, so but little if anything can be found from it about the feudal tenure or customs of the period.

68. Report of the possessions of the abbey of Ely

Here is subscribed the survey of lands as the barons of the king have made inquiry into them; that is to say, by the oath of the sheriff of the shire, and of all the barons and their Frenchmen, and the whole hundred, the priest, reeve, and six villains of each manor: to wit, what the manor is called,

who held it in the time of King Edward, who holds it now; how many hides, how many plows in demesne, how many belonging to the men, how many villains, how many cottars, how many serfs, how many freemen, how many socmen, how much woods, how much meadow, how many pastures, how many mills, how many fish ponds, how much has been added or taken away, how much it was worth altogether at that time and how much now, how much each free man or socman had or has. All this threefold; that is to say, in the time of King Edward, and when King William gave it, and as it is now; and whether more can be had than is had.

The first of the following extracts from Domesday Book is a translation of the facsimile page opposite page 112 of the *Short History of England*. As will be seen, the statements of Domesday Book are not very easy to understand, and can only be interpreted and made to throw light on the history of the period by much study and comparison with other passages. These extracts are given here rather to show clearly what was the character of the great record than to add very much to the knowledge of the elementary student.

69. Extracts from Domesday Book

Suffolk. Land of Roger Bigot. Hundred of Bradmer. Stanhart holds from Roger Bigot, Bernham, which Ailwy of Thetford held as a manor in the time of King Edward. There is one plowland. At all times six bordars and one serf and two plows on the demesne and a half a plow of the men. Two acres of meadow; at all times one mill. At both times there were two riding horses, now there is one. At that time there were three oxen, now six. At all times fourteen swine and twelve forest horses. At that time one hundred and sixty sheep, now three hundred, and five freemen. The predecessor of Roger had forty acres of these in commendation in the time of King Edward; which Stanhart holds likewise. St. Edmund has the right of holding court there. At that time the manor was worth thirty shillings, now forty, and the freemen three

shillings. It is twelve furlongs in length and ten in width, and pays eleven pence three farthings of danegeld.

Half-hundred of Cosfort. In Watsfield one freeman under jurisdiction. And in the time of King Edward he was commended and his whole jurisdiction, and he has fifteen acres and these are worth two shillings and sixpence. He holds these from Hosdene. Biscopes Hundred. Roger Bigot holds Caranhall in domain, which Norman held in the time of King Edward. Four plowlands. At that time and afterward ten villains, now fifteen; then and afterward seven bordars, now seventeen; always three plows on the demesne and ten plows of the men, and five acres of meadow. Woods for sixty swine and now three riding horses and two oxen and thirty swine. At that time twenty-five sheep, now one hundred. The church has thirty acres and one plow. At that time it was worth one hundred shillings. In the same Ulveva held two plowlands as a manor, which Roger holds in domain. Then five villains, now seven; then four bordars, now nine; at all times two plows on the demesne, five plows of the men, and three acres of meadow. At that time it was worth sixty shillings. In that manor which Norman used to hold there are thirty-five freemen able to give and sell their lands, whom Roger holds in demesne with jurisdiction and all customs, and one acre of meadow, and now a market, of the gift of the king.

The land of Robert Malet in Suffolk. Hundred of Babenberg. Hubert holds from Robert Malet, Edwardston, which Godwin the son of Ælfric held in the time of King Edward, under the king, with jurisdiction, as a manor. It is of four plowlands. The church has thirty acres of free land. At that time there were ten villains, afterwards there were nine, now there are six. At that time and afterwards there were seven bordars, now there are thirteen. At that time and afterwards there were six serfs, now there are four. Then and afterwards three plows were on the demesne, now two. Then and afterwards the men had six plows, now three, with six acres of meadow. There is woods for ten swine; there is a winter mill. At that time there were two horses in the stable, now there is one; at that time there were seventeen cattle, now eleven; at

that time there were sixty swine, now thirty-seven. At that time and afterward it was worth one hundred shillings, now seven pounds. In the same nine socmen have half a plowland. Then and afterwards they had one plow, now half a one, proportionately. This manor is six furlongs in length and six in breadth. Each man who holds there pays tenpence danegeld. . . .

Stowe Hundred. Robert de Glanville holds from Robert Malet, Coating, which was held by Lewin, a freeman of Edric, the predecessor of Robert Malet, only commended to him. There is one plowland there in the jurisdiction of the king and the earl. . . .

In Henley a certain freeman commended to Stanwin under Harold holds three acres, and they are worth eight pence, so long as Humphrey holds them. The jurisdiction is in the hands of the abbot. In Debenham, Robert has two thirds of the church of St. Mary, twenty acres, for purposes of taxation, and the fourth part of the church of St. Andrew.

IV. William II and Lanfranc

Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, gives the following account of the accession and a glimpse of the character of William Rufus.

70. Accession and early actions of William II.

And so when King William was dead his son William succeeded him in the kingdom. But when he found the great men of the realm to be inclining towards his brother Robert, and that Lanfranc, without whose assent he was not able to attain the kingdom, was not altogether favorable to the carrying out of his desire, he feared lest the delay of his consecration would cause the loss of the honor he coveted. He therefore began both of himself and through others to promise to Lanfranc, with an oath and on his faith, that if he were king he would keep justice, mercy, and equity through the whole realm in all things; that he would defend the peace, liberty, and security of the churches against all men, and would submit to his counsels and precepts for all things, and in all things. But when after this he had been confirmed in his kingship, he

disregarded all his promises and fell into exactly contrary ways. When Lanfranc temperately remonstrated with him and charged him with the breaking of his agreement and his faith, he was stirred to fury. "Who is there," he said, "who can carry out all that he has promised?" From this time he could not look the archbishop directly in the eyes, although from some of those things to which his will summoned him he did refrain, from respect to the prelate, while he still lived. For Lanfranc indeed was a man so learned in both divine and human law, that the glances of the whole kingdom watched his face. When he departed from this life what a calamity it was to all the churches of England!

William of Malmesbury, another contemporary, tells some anecdotes showing that William II had much of the vigor, though little of the judgment, of his father.

71. Bold spirit of William II.

But still there are some proofs of noble magnanimity in the king, the knowledge of which I will not deny posterity. As he was once engaged in hunting in a certain forest, a foreign messenger acquainted him that the city of Mans, which he had lately added to his dominions on the departure of his brother, was besieged. Unprepared as he was, he turned his horse instantly, and shaped his journey to the sea. When his nobles reminded him that it would be necessary to call out his troops and put them in array, "I shall see," said he, "who will follow me: do you think I shall not have people enough? If I know the temper of the young men of my kingdom, they will even brave shipwreck to come to me." In this manner he arrived, almost unattended, at the seacoast. The sky at that time was overcast, the wind contrary, and a tempest swept the surface of the deep. When he determined to embark directly, the mariners besought him to wait till the storm should subside and the wind be favorable. "Why," said William, "I have never heard of a king perishing by shipwreck: no, weigh anchor immediately, and you shall see the elements conspire to obey me." When the report of his having crossed the sea reached the besiegers, they hastily retreated. One Helias, the

author of the commotion, was taken; to whom, when brought before him, the king said jocularly, "I have you, master." But he, whose haughty spirit, even in such threatening danger, knew not how to be prudent, or to speak submissively, replied: "You have taken me by chance; if I could escape, I know what I would do." At this William, almost beside himself with rage, seizing Helias, exclaimed: "You scoundrel! And what would you do? Begone, depart, fly: I give you leave to do whatever you can; and by the crucifix at Lucca, if you shall conquer me, I will ask no return for this favor." Nor did he falsify his word, but immediately suffered him to escape.

It was not only the unquestioning belief in the religious teachings of the church, but the embodiment of these in various forms, that took hold on the minds and played a large part in the lives of the people of the Middle Ages. The fondness for keeping visible mementos of famous persons is a familiar human characteristic, as shown in our museums and private collections. In the Middle Ages this took the form of preserving as relics parts of the bones or clothing or other objects connected with saints, martyrs, and persons of conspicuous piety. In the century after the Norman Conquest, while the cathedrals and monasteries were being built or rebuilt and increased in size and wealth, such objects of pious devotion were being continually added to their contents. The following is a list of the relics contained in the cathedral at York at about this period.

72. Relics in York minster

In the name of God, Amen. These are the relics found in the church of the Blessed Peter at York:

To wit, in a great cross which stands before the pulpit at the entrance to the choir, which the archbishop Roger caused to be made and afterwards dedicated, in the body of the crucifix, the relics of the holy apostles Peter, Paul, and Matthew, and of the

holy martyrs Maurice and his companions, Sebastian, and Calixtus the pope; bishop Cyprian; Justina the mother of Felix, bishop of Trier; St. Rusticus, bishop of Trier; and St. Felicitas.

In another cross which stands behind the high altar, which the same Roger the archbishop caused to be prepared and afterwards dedicated, in the body of the image on the crucifix, relics of St. Luke the evangelist, of the holy martyrs Marcellianus and Peter, of St. Ciriacus the martyr, of St. Eufemia the virgin, of St. Tiburtius the martyr, of St. Nereus the martyr.

In the great shrine behind the high altar in the large white box are contained the following relics: one joint of the finger of St. John the Baptist; a stone from the sepulcher of the Lord; one from the sepulcher of St. Macharius, archbishop of Antioch; a tooth of St. Stephen the protomartyr; a tooth of St. Bridget the virgin; a piece of the stone on which St. John the Baptist sat.

In another green box in the same shrine are contained the relics of the bones of St. Ciriacus the martyr; part of the sarcophagus of St. Macharius, archbishop of Antioch; some of the bones of St. Fergussanus the bishop; some of the bones of St. Edward the martyr and St. Etheldreda the virgin; a finger of St. Pancras the martyr; a portion of the manna which rained from heaven for the people of Israel; some of the bones of St. Dion the bishop; a stone from the sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ; some engraved stones; a rib of St. Cassian the bishop; some of the bones of St. Damian the bishop; part of the manger of our Lord; likewise part of the sepulcher of the Lord and relics of St. Lazarus, St. Eustachius, St. Urban, Sts. Gervase and Prothasius, martyrs, St. Remigius the confessor, St. Catherine the virgin, St. Gregory the pope; part of the arms of St. Sebastian, of St. Felix and St. Adauctus, St. Vincent the martyr, Sts. Primus and Felician, St. Hilarius bishop of Poitou, Sts. Gordian and Epimachius, St. Julitta the virgin, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Innocent, St. Ipolitus the martyr, St. Tiburtius; a part of the clothing of the holy apostles Simon and Jude.

Likewise in the same shrine in a reddish box are contained the relics of the head of St. Christopher the martyr; two teeth

of St. Paulinus, archbishop of York, and other bones of the same; bones of St. Ceadd the confessor; part of the rod of Moses; a portion of the stone on which the Lord Jesus sat during his forty days' fast; bones of St. Folewin, bishop and confessor; the dalmatic of St. Ambrosius; the bones of St. Pelagia; part of the sepulcher of St. Peregrinus the martyr, first bishop of Autun; part of the head of St. Bartholomew the apostle; part of the head of St. Susanna; part of the clothing of St. Agatha the virgin. Likewise the jawbone of St. Susanna; part of the sepulcher of St. Mary the virgin; a portion of St. Martin the archbishop; some of the bones of St. Laurence the martyr; relics of four sainted kings; a portion of the stone on which the angel sat; a part of St. Dunstan the archbishop and of St. Cedda the bishop.

Likewise in the same shrine in the smaller white box are contained these relics: some of the bones of St. Maurice the martyr; some of St. Dionysius; a portion of the clothing of St. Etheldreda the virgin; some of the manna which rained from heaven; some of the bones of St. Sebastian the martyr and of St. Birinus the bishop; an undergarment of St. Cuthbert the bishop, as well as a portion of the sepulcher of Lazarus; relics of St. Christopher and of St. Oswald the king; a portion of the cross of the Lord; part of the clothing of St. Mary the virgin; part of the head of St. Nicholas the bishop and confessor; relics of St. Elphege; part of the angelic clothing of St. Agnes the virgin. Likewise in the same shrine is the head of St. Everildis the virgin, wrapped up in a white linen cloth.

In a shrine behind the altar of St. James are the bones of the body of St. Everildis the virgin and certain garments of the same.

Relics whose names have been lost

In a shrine behind the altar of St. Andrew are bones and other relics. . . . the names are not known because there are certain writings there which are illegible on account of age and poor writing. . . .

In a shrine covered with silver leaf are placed relics of which these are the names: one of the bones of St. Peter the apostle, which the venerable Roger, archbishop of York, brought from the home of the Lord. Likewise relics which the blessed William brought and Henry the archbishop and Thurstinus the

archbishop, to wit, the bones of the apostles Simon and Jude; some of the blood of the blessed Stephen the protomartyr; some of the blood of St. Laurence the martyr; relics of Sts. Felix and Adauctus; a finger of St. Dionysius the martyr; some bones from the head of St. Benedict the abbot; a portion of the cross on which the blessed Andrew was crucified; relics of the holy martyrs Largus and Smaragdus; some of the bones of St. Januarius the martyr; bones of St. Lazarus and his sister Martha; bones of St. Cornelius the pope; relics of St. Nicholas, Sts. Crisas and Daria; bones of St. Calixtus the pope; some of the blood of St. Sebastian the martyr; bones of Blessed Boniface the martyr; bones of St. Matthew the apostle; a piece of the stone above the sepulcher of the Lord.

Relics brought from Rome

In the shrine covered with silver leaf are placed these relics: bones of St. John the Baptist; one of the bones of St. Paul the apostle in a crystalline jar; one of the bones of St. Quintinus, martyr; one of the bones of St. Cornelius the pope; one of the bones of St. Clement, pope and martyr; four bones of Sts. Mary and Agatha, Audifax, and Abacuc; vestments of the apostles Peter and Paul; some of the bones of St. Felicitas, . . . of the holy martyrs Rusticus and Eleutherius; one of the bones of St. Cyprian, martyr; some of the bones of St. Maurice . . .; bones of St. Calixtus, pope and martyr; bones of St. Sebastian the martyr; bones of St. Matthew the apostle; the chin and rib of a certain saint whose name was not able to be read on account of the age of the writing; bones of Justina, martyr, and St. Felix, bishop of Trier; a portion of the sandals of St. Peter the apostle. All the above things contained in the shrine covered with silver leaf were brought by Roger of venerable memory, archbishop of York, from the home of the lord pope. And besides, in this shrine there is a beam of wood covered with copper on which the blessed Bridget was accustomed to weave. . . .

V. The Reign of Henry I

The most marked characteristic of the reign of Henry I was his desire to conciliate all classes. This is shown most

clearly by the charter that he issued soon after his coronation. Every king when he was crowned took an oath in which he promised to his people good government, but Henry followed this up with this additional written declaration in which he promised relief from the harshness of his brother's reign.

73. Coronation charter of Henry I (A.D. 1101)

In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1101, Henry, son of King William, after the death of his brother William, by the grace of God king of the English, to all faithful, greeting.

1. Know that by the mercy of God, and by the common counsel of the barons of the whole kingdom of England, I have been crowned king of the same kingdom; and because the kingdom has been oppressed by unjust exactions, I, from regard to God, and from the love which I have toward you, in the first place make the holy church of God free, so that I will neither sell nor place at rent, nor, when archbishop, or bishop, or abbot is dead, will I take anything from the domain of the church, or from its men, until a successor is installed into it. And all the evil customs by which the realm of England was unjustly oppressed will I take away, which evil customs I partly set down here.

2. If any of my barons, or earls, or others who hold from me shall have died, his heir shall not redeem his land as he did in the time of my brother, but shall relieve it by a just and legitimate relief. Similarly also the men of my barons shall relieve their lands from their lords by a just and legitimate relief.

3. And if any of the barons or other men of mine wishes to give his daughter in marriage, or his sister or niece or relation, he must speak with me about it, but I will neither take anything from him for this permission, nor forbid him to give her in marriage, unless he should wish to join her to my enemy. And if when a baron or other man of mine is dead, a daughter remains as his heir, I will give her in marriage according to the judgment of my barons, along with her lands. And if when a man is dead his wife remains and is without children, she

shall have her dowry and right of marriage, and I will not give her to a husband except according to her will.

4. And if a wife has survived with children, she shall have her dowry and right of marriage, so long as she shall have kept her body legitimately, and I will not give her in marriage, except according to her will. And the guardian of the land and children shall be either the wife or another one of the relatives, as shall seem to be most just. And I require that my barons should deal similarly with the sons and daughters or wives of their men. . . .

7. And if any one of my barons or men shall become feeble, however he himself shall give or arrange to give his money, I grant that it shall be so given. Moreover, if he himself, prevented by arms or by weakness, shall not have bestowed his money, or arranged to bestow it, his wife or his children or his parents, and his legitimate men shall divide it for his soul, as to them shall seem best.

8. If any of my barons or men shall have committed an offense, he shall not give security to the extent of forfeiture of his money, as he did in the time of my father, or of my brother, but according to the measure of the offense so shall he pay, as he would have paid from the time of my father backward, in the time of my other predecessors; so that if he shall have been convicted of treachery or of crime, he shall pay as is just.

9. All murders, moreover, before that day in which I was crowned king, I pardon; and those which shall be done henceforth shall be punished justly according to the law of King Edward.

10. The forests, by the common agreement of my barons, I have retained in my own hand, as my father held them.

11. To those knights who hold their land by the cuirass, I yield of my own gift the lands of their demesne plows free from all payments and from all labor, so that as they have thus been favored by such a great alleviation, so they may readily provide themselves with horses and arms for my service and for the defense of the kingdom.

12. A firm peace in my whole kingdom I establish and require to be kept from henceforth.

13. The law of King Edward I give to you again, with those changes with which my father changed it by the counsel of his barons.

14. If any one has taken anything from my possessions since the death of King William, my brother, or from the possessions of any one, let the whole be immediately returned without alteration; and if any one shall have retained anything thence, he upon whom it is found shall pay it heavily to me. Witnesses Maurice, bishop of London, and Gundulf, bishop, and William, bishop-elect, and Henry, earl, and Simon, earl, and Walter Giffard, and Robert de Montfort, and Roger Bigod, and Henry de Port, at London, when I was crowned.

Half a century had now passed since the Normans had become rulers of England, and the time of Edward the Confessor had already begun to be looked upon as the "good old times," as appears from the thirteenth paragraph of Henry's charter. The monks of Westminster, strongly impressed with this feeling, sent an embassy to the pope to ask that Edward should be put on the list of saints. This was at first refused, as is shown in the following reply from the pope, but it was afterward granted and he was canonized.

74. Pope Innocent to the monks of Westminster (A.D. 1138)

Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons, Geoffrey, abbot, and the brothers of St. Peter of Westminster, greeting and apostolic benediction. When we received that religious man Prior Osbert with letters directed from your brotherhood to us, we sent him back to you as if he were our beloved son, so much were we impressed with his honesty and his brilliant conversation. Indeed his honorable importunity so nearly induced us to satisfy your desires, that if we had had sufficient testimony over the signature of bishops and abbots, he would have come back from the Roman court with your king duly canonized in the list of saints. But from the following cause, with the advice of our brothers the bishops and cardinals, we have decided to postpone your petition for the present.

that is to say, because a blessing which is to redound to the honor of the whole kingdom should be petitioned for by the whole kingdom alike.

It depends upon you, therefore, if you wish it, to secure suitable testimonies and to present these to our examination through suitably instructed persons from your monastery. In this and all other godly things we wish freely to grant your prayers, and to preserve the privileges of your monastery uninjured. It is for this reason that we have given command in our apostolic writings to our beloved brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, legate of the apostolic see, that he should give you full justice against all such as detain the churches, possessions, and goods of your monastery from you. It is to your interest, therefore, beloved sons in the Lord, so to live religiously according to your profession, and so to observe the rule of the blessed Benedict, that the example of your good conversation should lead all others to good living, and your mother, the holy Roman church, should be able to exult in your good actions. Given at the Lateran on the 25th of November.

In several countries of Europe about this period the rising claims of the church led to conflicts with the rulers. In England this difficulty was met by Henry I in the same spirit of conciliation that has already been shown in his coronation charter. The following is his letter to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, summoning him home from the exile into which he had been driven by William II, and apologizing for not postponing the coronation till his return.

75. King Henry to Archbishop Anselm (A.D. 1101)

Henry, by the grace of God king of the English, to his most good spiritual father, Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, greeting and demonstration of all friendliness. Know, my dearest father, that my brother King William is dead, and I, by God's will, having been elected by the clergy and people of England, and already consecrated king, — although, owing

to your absence, against my will, — I, with all the people of England, require you, as our father, that with all speed you come to take care of me, your son, and this same people, the care of whose souls has been committed to you. My own self, indeed, and the people of the whole realm of England I commend to your counsel and theirs who with you ought to take counsel for me. And I pray that it displease you not that I have received the royal blessing without you, from whom, had it been possible, I would have received it more willingly than from any other. But there was such necessity, because enemies wanted to rise against me and the people which I have to govern, and so my barons and this same people did not wish it to be deferred longer. By reason of this, then, I received it from your representatives. Indeed, I would have sent to you from my person some by whom I might have dispatched money to you, but, owing to the death of my brother, the whole world is so disturbed round about the realm of England that they would not have been in any wise able to reach you safely. I advise you then and enjoin you not to come through Normandy, but by Witsand, and I will have my barons at Dover to meet you and money to convey you, and you will find, by God's help, means to pay off well anything you have borrowed. Hasten, therefore, father, to come, lest our mother, the church of Canterbury, so long tempest-tossed and desolate, should any further for your sake experience the loss of souls. Witness, Gerard, bishop, and William, bishop-elect of Winchester, and William Warlewast, and Earl Henry, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, and Hamon my steward, and others, as well my bishops as barons. Farewell.

The following letter from the pope to Henry I was a warning to him not to invest bishops, abbots, or other clergymen with their offices by his own hands or those of his lay officials; that power being reserved, in the pope's opinion, to the clergy. By not making any mention of the king's demand that bishops and abbots should pay homage to him, the pope tacitly yielded this point.

76. Pope Paschal to Henry I

Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son Henry, king of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction.

We thank the Lord, King of kings, who has in his own good pleasure raised you up to this kingdom, and in his ineffable kindness has kept watch over you as a Christian king through his own good will. We beg that he may increase even more the excellent beginnings of your kingdom, and even to the end preserve his gifts to you. For you have deserted the wickedness of the king your brother, which you see has been punished by a divine judgment. You have restored liberty to the churches, you have begun to venerate the leaders of the church, the bishops, and through these even Jesus Christ himself. We trust, therefore, that you will show wisdom in these things to the end, and will continue in the same uprightness; although there are some men of wicked intention, who are trying to prepare the royal heart for divine anger through the investitures of bishops and abbots.

Their plans ought to be avoided by you as though poisonous, lest you offend Him through whom kings reign and the powerful decree just things. If you are favorable to Him, you will rule successfully and will have great power and riches. If you offend Him, although absent, neither the advice of the nobles, nor the aid of the soldiers, nor arms, nor riches will be able to save you when once He has turned from you. Moreover, in the honor of the Lord, in the liberty of the church, we will hold you as a friend and helper. Do not think that any one will tear us from your friendship, if you refrain from investitures, and if you maintain the honor due the church and its liberty founded by God.

Prohibition of lay investitures

Accordingly, by command of the Holy Spirit we forbid kings and princes, even more all other laymen, from investitures of the churches. For it is not fitting that a mother should be led into slavery by the son, that she should accept a husband whom she has not desired. She has as her husband our King and Master, who in his mercy will guard you in power and uprightness, and will lead you from an earthly kingdom to a heavenly. Amen.

The results of this compromise are shown in the succeeding extract from the history of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury.

77. The compromise on investitures

On the first of August an assembly of bishops, abbots, and nobles of the realm was held at London in the king's palace. And for three successive days, in Anselm's absence, the matter was thoroughly discussed between king and bishops concerning church investitures, some arguing that the king should act after the manner of his father and his brother, not according to the injunction and obedience of the pope. For the pope in the sentence which had been then published, though standing firm, had conceded homage, which, as well as investiture, Pope Urban had forbidden, and in this way had won over the king about investiture, as may be gathered from the letter we have quoted above. Afterward, in the presence of Anselm and a large concourse, the king agreed and ordained that henceforward no one should be invested with bishopric or abbacy in England by the giving of a pastoral staff or the ring by the king or any lay hand; Anselm also agreeing that no one elected to a prelacy should be deprived of consecration to the office undertaken on the ground of homage which he should make to the king. After this decision, by the advice of Anselm and the nobles of the realm, bishops were appointed by the king, without any investiture by pastoral staff or ring, to nearly all the churches of England which had been so long widowed of their shepherds.[1]

VI. Stephen and the Anarchy

The very last entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which had been continued in one monastery clear down to this time, are accounts of the death of Henry I, and of the confusions and miseries of the reign of Stephen.

[1] For a number of extracts from continental writers describing the similar, though much more imbittered conflict there, see Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 272–293.

78. Last entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

A.D. 1135. This year, at Lammas, King Henry went over the sea; and on the second day, as he lay asleep in the ship, the day was darkened universally, and the sun became as if it were a moon three nights old, with the stars shining around it at midday. Men greatly marveled, and great fear fell on them, and they said that some great event should follow thereafter; and so it was, for the same year the king died in Normandy on the day after the feast of St. Andrew. Soon did this land fall into trouble, for every man greatly began to rob his neighbor as he might. Then King Henry's sons and his friends took his body, and brought it to England, and buried it at Reading. He was a good man, and great was the awe of him. No man durst illtreat another in his time; he made peace for men and deer. Whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good. In the meantime his nephew, Stephen de Blois, had arrived in England, and he came to London, and the inhabitants received him, and sent for the archbishop, William Corbeil, who consecrated him king on Midwinter Day. In this king's time was all discord, and evildoing, and robbery; for the powerful men who had kept aloof soon rose up against him; the first was Baldwin de Redvers, and he held Exeter against the king, and Stephen besieged him, and afterwards Baldwin made terms with him. Then the others took their castles and held them against the king; and David, king of Scotland, betook him to Wessington, but notwithstanding his array messengers passed between them, and they came together and made an agreement, though it availed little.

Coronation of Stephen

Stephen arrests the great officers of state of Henry I

A.D. 1137. This year King Stephen went over sea to Normandy, and he was received there because it was expected that he would be altogether like his uncle, and because he had gotten possession of his treasure, — but this he distributed and scattered foolishly. King Henry had gathered together much gold and silver, yet did he no good for his soul's sake with the same. When King Stephen came to England he held an assembly at Oxford; and there he seized Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and Roger the chancellor, his nephew, and he kept them all in prison till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that

he was a mild man, and a soft, and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept; all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. They hung some up by their feet and smoked them with foul smoke, some by their thumbs or by the head; and they hung burning things at their feet. They put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it till it went into the brain. They put them into dungeons wherein were adders and snakes, and toads, and thus wore them out. Some they put into a crucet house, — that is, into a chest that was short and narrow and not deep; and they put sharp stones in it, and crushed the man therein so that they broke all his limbs. There were hateful and grim things called "sachenteges" in many of the castles, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. The sachentege was made thus: it was fastened to a beam, having a sharp iron to go around a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but that he must bear all the iron. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and I may not tell of all the wounds and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse. They were continually levying an exaction from the towns, which they called "tenserie," and when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give, then plundered they, and burnt all the towns, so that then well mightest thou walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled.

The oppression of the people by the barons

Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land; wretched men starved with

Anarchy and confusion of the country

hunger; some lived on alms who had been erewhile rich; some fled the country — never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these. At length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but they took all that was valuable therein, and then burned the church and all together. Neither did they spare the lands of bishops, nor of abbots, nor of priests; but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbor as much as he could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, and thought that they were robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed and forsworn, and reprobate. The earth bare no corn; you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and his saints slept. These things, and more than we can say, did we suffer during nineteen years because of our sins.

Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, may be taken to represent the lawless nobles of the time of Stephen. The latter part of his career and the fate of Ramsey abbey are described in the following extract from the contemporary history of William de Newburgh.

79. Seizure of Ramsey abbey by a disorderly nobleman

Deprived of means of defense, but nevertheless allowed his freedom, Geoffrey de Mandeville, always active, great in mind, endowed with craft scarcely credible, wise beyond measure in doing evil, collected a band of outlaws and attacked the monastery of Ramsey; nor did he fear, after he had driven forth the monks, to make their celebrated and holy place a den of thieves, and to turn the sanctuary of God into an abode for the devil. From here he terrorized the neighboring shires by frequent sallies and raids. Gaining confidence through the success of his undertaking, he advanced farther, descending on Stephen, the king, and terrifying him by his bold attacks. While he was thus reveling, God seemed to be asleep, and not to be watching over human affairs, or, rather, over his ecclesiastical matters; and pious workers said, "Awake! why sleepest Thou,

O Lord?" But after, as the apostle says, the Lord had endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, "then the Lord," as the prophet said, "awaked as one out of sleep, and smote his enemies in the hinder parts," although the former deeds of these seemed fortunate. Finally, a little before the destruction of this wicked robber, the walls of the church which he had seized, as well as the adjoining cloister, sweat true blood; by which, as was afterwards apparent, was shown the wickedness of the crime and the judgment already threatening this wickedness. But when those wicked men, entirely devoid of any sense of uprightness, were not frightened by this horrible sign, that worthless man attacked the hostile camp, and, while closely surrounded by his own men, was struck on the head by an arrow from a common soldier. After several days this most insolent man died of this little wound,—although at first he made a jest of it,—carrying with him to the lower regions the bond of ecclesiastical anathema, from which he should never be freed.

VII. Feudalism

Two codes of laws or statements of legal customs, drawn up by unknown writers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, known as the *Laws of William the Conqueror* and the *Laws of Henry I*, occasionally give statements of feudal custom in definite terms, as in the two extracts that follow.

80. Reliefs to be paid to a feudal lord

The relief of an earl, which comes to the king, is eight horses, of which four shall have saddles and bridles, and along with them four breastplates, four helmets, four lances, four shields, and four swords; and the other four horses are to be riding horses or hunting horses, with bridles and coverings.

The relief of a baron is four horses, of which two are to have saddles and bridles, and with them two breastplates, two shields, two helmets, two lances, and two swords; and of the other two horses one shall be a riding horse, the other a hunter, with bridles and coverings.

The relief of a vassal, which comes to his liege lord, is the horse of his father, such as he had it on the day of his death, and a breastplate, helmet, shield, lance, and sword. If perchance he did not have these, he shall be able to acquit himself of it by paying a hundred shillings.

The relief of a villain is his best beast; whether it is an ox or a horse, it shall be his lord's.

He who holds the land for a yearly payment, his relief shall be as much as the payment of one year.

The following rules are of a more general character.

81. Duties of lords and vassals

It is allowable to any one, without punishment, to support his lord, if any one assails him, and to obey him in all legitimate ways, except in theft, murder, and in all such things as are not conceded to any one to do, and are reckoned infamous by the laws.

The lord ought to do likewise equally with counsel and with aid; and he may come to his man's assistance in his vicissitudes in all ways, without forfeiture.

To every lord it is allowed to summon his man that he may be at right to him in his court; and even if he is resident at the most distant manor of that honor from which he holds, he shall go to the plea if his lord summons him. If his lord holds different fiefs, the man of one honor is not compelled by law to go to another plea, unless the cause belongs to the other to which his lord has summoned him.

If a man holds from several lords and honors, however much he holds from others, he owes most and will be subject for justice to him of whom he is the liegeman.

Every vassal owes to his lord fidelity concerning his life and members and earthly honor, and keeping of his counsel in what is honorable and useful, saving the faith of God and of the prince of the land. Theft, however, and treason and murder and whatever things are against the Lord and the Catholic faith, are to be required of or performed by no one; but faith shall be held to all lords, saving the faith of the earlier, and the more to the one of which he is the liege. And let permission be given him, if any of his men seek another lord for himself.

In 1166 the king issued orders requiring all his feudal tenants to make acknowledgment in writing of the number of knights or armed men each was bound to furnish. The amount of land for which the service of one knight was owed was called a knight's fee or a knight's fief. The following are some of the replies sent to this demand for information. In some cases the tenant in chief fulfilled the service in his own person, which was called "holding his estate in domain"; in other cases he had subinfeudated the land to others and reports the names of those holding it and owing him the service which he in turn owes the king.

82. Acknowledgments of feudal service

To Henry, king of the English, his most revered lord, Herbert Fitzherbert, greeting.

I notify you that I hold one knight's fee from you, which I have in my demesne and for which I myself do service to you.

Robert de Beauchamp

To his dearest lord, Henry the king of the English, Robert de Beauchamp, greeting and faithful service. Lord, according to your command, I signify to you as to my lord, that from the fief which I hold from you in chief, Hugh de Vauburt holds seven knight's fees; William de Minster, three knight's fees; Simon Fitzhubert, one knight's fee; Robert Germain, one knight's fee; Lucas Herbein, one knight's fee; a certain boy of three years of age, named Philip of Dorset, one knight's fee. And from my demesne I owe the service of two knights.

William de Colecherche

I, William de Colecherche, owe to my lord King Henry half the service of one knight, in Norfolk, of an ancient holding from the Conquest of England. I do not wish to conceal my service which I ought to do to you, but to do it; and I have done homage to you, O lord, and to my lord Henry your son, and I have done service to your sheriff.

Similar records of tenants and subtenants are to be found in the document known as the *Hundred Rolls*.

83. Records of tenants and subtenants

John Fitzjohn holds two plowlands in Repinghall and in Ringsdon, mediately, from William de Ros for the service of half a knight's fee, and it is taxable and is worth £10 per year; and the same William de Ros holds these two plowlands from Elias de Raban, mediately, and the same Elias holds them from the king in chief.

The same John Fitzjohn holds half a plowshare in Kirkby from Adam Holyland, mediately, for the service of the eighth part of one knight's fee; and the same Adam holds this mediately from Elias de Raban, and the same Elias holds it from the king in chief.

Reginald de Evermere holds in Rouceby two plowlands and a half from Baldwin Wake for military service, and they are worth £5 per year. And the same Baldwin holds for military service from the lord bishop of Durham; and the lord bishop from the king in chief.

The right of the king to the feudal dues of wardship and marriage was frequently transformed into cash by selling it to some person willing to give money for the privilege of using the heir's land during his minority and choosing a wife or husband for the heir when he or she became of age. Such grants by the king or payments to the king are recorded very frequently in the treasury records.

84. Wardship, marriage, and relief

Jordan de Valence and Robert his son promise to pay 20 marks to have the guardianship of the heir of Rowland de Avers with all his inheritance; and to have license to marry the heir to any one they wish, so long as he is not disparaged, with the promise that if either of them die the survivor shall have the aforesaid guardianship in the aforesaid way and for the aforesaid payment.

The payment of relief is illustrated by the following account in the rolls of the Exchequer of a mistake by which the heir was in the first place only charged a relief

of fifty shillings, when he ought really to have paid two hundred pounds.

85. Payment of relief

The king accepted the homage of William Longespee, son and heir of Idonea, widow of William Longespee, for all the lands which the said Idonea had held. And the abbot of Pershore, escheator of the king, received orders to collect from the same William fifty shillings to the king's use, as his relief. And afterward, when the records at the treasury had been searched, it was found that the said Idonea had held from the king, *in capite*, two baronies; that is to say, the barony which had formerly been that of Nicholas de la Hay in the county of Lincoln, and the barony which was formerly that of Gerard de Camville in the county of Oxford and elsewhere. Therefore it was decided by the barons that the aforesaid William should pay to the king two hundred pounds for his relief for the aforesaid baronies, instead of the fifty shillings as was contained in the former order.

The right to hold a court in which his tenants' suits must be tried was one of the invariable feudal customs; and nobles, knights, abbots, and other feudal lords were constantly appealing to the king to be supported in their rights, as in the following case which guarantees his feudal court to the abbot of Abingdon.

86. Writ of the king to the sheriff of Oxfordshire

Henry, king of England, to Ralph Basset, greeting.

I command you to cause Vincent, abbot of Abingdon, to have his court in Oxfordshire as well and fully as that church of Abingdon ever had it, or any one of his predecessors had it, best and most fully and honorably. And his men shall not plead outside of his court unless the abbot has first failed to give right in his court, and as you are able to make inquisition through the legal men of Oxfordshire that he ought to have his court. Witness the chancellor; at Woodstock.

If a vassal refused or neglected to perform his military service to his lord, his land might be confiscated. It is such a case that is described in the following extract.

87. Confiscation and regrant of a fief

It is presented by the jurors above named that the manor of Chinnore along with the hamlet of Sydenham was held of old, from the time of the Conquest, from the lord king of England, by a certain man who was named Walter de Vernon, as one knight's fee ; and because the said Walter de Vernon refused to perform his due service from the said manor to the lord king John, in the time of the war which sprang up between the lord king John and the king of France, the lord king John with the advice of his council seized that same manor with its appurtenances, and removed the said Walter de Vernon, on account of his ingratitude, from the possession of the aforesaid manor forever. And the lord king John granted that same manor with its appurtenances, for the services that to the same lord king were due from it, to Saer de Quincy, formerly earl of Winchester, to hold to himself and his heirs *in capite* from the lord king as one knight's fee ; and the heirs of the said Saer held the aforesaid manor in succession, and still hold it, except the hamlet Sydenham, which the abbot of Thame holds as a gift from Roger de Quincy.

CHAPTER VIII

FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL UNITY, 1154–1216

I. Henry II and his Reforms

There was so much writing during this period that the principal circumstances of the time have come down to us fully described in the contemporary literature. Only short extracts can of course be given from these long accounts. The first describes the personality of Henry II, which counted for so much in the history of the time. It is taken from Gerald de Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, "Gerald of Wales," as he called himself, who knew Henry well.

88. Henry's personal appearance, habits, and character

Henry Second, king of the English, was a man of ruddy complexion, large, round head, piercing, blue-gray eyes, fierce and glowing red in anger, with fiery face and a harsh voice. He was short of neck, square of chest, strong of arm, and fleshy in body. By nature rather than from over-indulgence he had a large paunch, yet not such as to make him sluggish. For he was temperate in food and drink, sober and inclined to be prudent in all things so far as this is permitted to a leader. And that he might overcome this unkindness on the part of nature by diligence, and lighten the fault of the flesh by greatness of spirit, often by an internal warfare, as it were conspiring against himself, he exercised his body with unbounded activity. Besides, wars frequently occurred; in these he was preëminent in action and gave himself not a moment of rest. In times of peace as well, he took no rest or quiet for himself. Immoderately devoted to hunting, he went out at early dawn

on a swift horse. Now descending into the valleys, now penetrating the forests, now ascending the peaks of mountains, he spent his days in activity; when he returned to his home in the evening, either before or after the meal one rarely saw him seated. Then after such strenuous exertion on his part he used to weary the whole court by continual marches.

Henry and Richard, Geoffrey and John

He was a man of medium height, a thing which could not be said of any of his sons, — the two elder a little exceeding medium height, while the two younger remained below that stature. Setting aside the activities of his mind and his impulse to anger, he was chief among the eloquent, and — a thing which is most conspicuous in these times — he was most skilled in letters; a man easy to approach, tractable, and courteous; in politeness second to none. A leader so strong in sense of duty that, often as he conquered in arms, he himself was more often conquered by his sense of justice. Strenuous in war, in peace he was cautious. Often in martial affairs he shrank from the possible disasters of war, and tried wisely all things before resorting to arms. He wept over those lost in the line of battle more than their leader; he was more gentle to the dead soldier than to the living, mourning with much greater grief over the dead than winning the living with his love. When disasters threatened, none was kinder; when security was gained, no one was more severe. Fierce towards the unconquered, merciful towards the conquered; strict towards those at home, easy towards strangers; in public lavish, prudent in private. If he had once hated a man, rarely afterwards would he be fond of him; scarcely ever would he hate one whom he had once loved. He was especially fond of hawking; he was equally delighted with dogs, which followed wild beasts by sagacity of scent, taking pleasure as well in their loud sonorous barkings as in their swift speed.

His preference for the army over the church

Would that he had been as much inclined to devotion as he was to hunting! Although he was a son of the church and had drawn from her the honor of his position, either unmindful or inattentive to the holy power which had been conferred upon him, he devoted scarcely any time to divine services; and even this little time, perhaps on account of great affairs of state and

for the sake of the public welfare, he consumed more in plans and talk than in true devotion. The revenues of the vacant sees he turned into the public treasury. The mass became corrupted by the working of the leaven, and while the royal purse kept receiving that which Christ demands as his own, new troubles kept arising. In the meantime he kept pouring out the universal treasure, giving to a wicked soldiery what ought to have been given to the priesthood.

Very wisely he planned many things, arranging them carefully. These affairs did not always result successfully, — in fact, often turned out quite the opposite. But never did any great disaster occur which did not spring from causes connected with his family. As a father he enjoyed the childhood of his children with natural affection ; through their older years, however, looking at them more as a stepfather. And although great and famous sons were his, nevertheless they were a hindrance to his perfect happiness. Perhaps this was according to his deserts, since he always pursued his successors with hatred.

Whomsoever he once had carefully observed, although surrounded daily by so great a number, he never afterwards forgot. Whatever he heard anywhere which was worthy of being remembered, he never allowed to slip from his memory. He thus had at hand ready knowledge on almost all historical subjects, and experience in almost all affairs. And to conclude these remarks by a few additional words, if he had been finally elected by God, and would finally turn himself to allegiance to Him, among the leaders in the world he would be incomparable on account of his many gifts of nature.

The early events of Henry's reign are described with great fullness by William of Newburgh, who lived in the latter part of Henry's reign and wrote a history of his own period.

89. The policy of Henry II

In the year 1154 Henry, a grandson of Henry the elder through his daughter, formerly the empress, came into England from Normandy after the death of King Stephen. He received there his hereditary kingdom, and, after being warmly

greeted by all, was consecrated king with the holy oil, while all the people throughout the kingdom exclaimed, "Long live the king!" Having experienced the unhappiness of the former reign, in which so many evils had arisen, all hoped for better things from the new king, especially since great wisdom, together with a great zeal for justice, seemed to possess him, and since he already gave the appearance of a great leader in his very first acts. Soon he published an edict that those who had come to England from foreign nations during the reign of Stephen, to enrich themselves under the guise of performing military service, and especially the Flemings, of whom there was a great abundance dwelling in England then, should return to their own countries, and he set a day for their departure, beyond which day it would be very hazardous for them to remain in England. Frightened by this edict, they slipped away in so short a time that they seemed to have disappeared like phantoms, leaving many to wonder how they had vanished so quickly. Presently the new strongholds, which had not existed in the days of his grandfather, he ordered to be demolished, with the exception of a few situated in most excellent positions, which either he himself wished to retain or to be retained for the protection of the kingdom by the peaceable. Especially did he take care of the public order, and that the strength of the law might be felt again in England, which seemed to have been destroyed and buried under Stephen. Thus he had his hands full of weighty matters.

Expulsion of the Flemings

The king, considering that the royal revenue was small which had been large under his grandfather, because the crown lands through the weakness of King Stephen had been transferred for the most part to many other lords, ordered these to be resigned completely, by whomsoever held, and to be returned to their former condition. The men who were prominent in the royal towns and manors brought forward charters, which they had either extorted from King Stephen or bought from him by service. But since the charters of a usurper ought by no means to harm the right of the legitimate prince, they could not be safe with these documents. And so at first angry, then frightened and saddened, with difficulty

indeed, but nevertheless wholly, did they resign these things which had been taken and retained so long as if by legitimate right. . . .

Humbling of Hugh de Mortimer

The king therefore carried out all these things in this district according to his wish, and then went to the north of England. Here he found that Hugh de Mortimer, a brave and highborn man, had been rebelliously holding for many years the royal stronghold of Bridgenorth. When he was ordered to be content with his own and to return those things which he possessed by royal gift, he refused most obstinately and prepared to resist in whatever ways he could. But that his pride and indignation were more than his courage appeared in the outcome. For the king quickly collected an army and besieged Bridgenorth, which after a few days' siege surrendered; and he pardoned this man humbled and a suppliant, whose heart a few days before had been the heart of a lion.

The most important work of Henry II, however, was not the mere restoration of order at the beginning of his reign, but the establishment of rules and a procedure which should keep the country in order for the future. The Assize of Clarendon, issued by him in 1166, after a council held at his hunting seat of Clarendon in Wiltshire, is perhaps the most striking instance of this. The following are its more important provisions.

90. Extracts from the Assize of Clarendon

Here begins the Assize of Clarendon, made by King Henry II, with the assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons of all England.

1. In the first place, the aforesaid King Henry, with the consent of all his barons, for the preservation of the peace and the keeping of justice, has enacted that inquiry should be made through the several counties and through the several hundreds, by twelve of the more legal men of the hundred and by four of the more legal men of each manor, upon their oath that they will tell the truth, whether there is in their hundred or in their manor any man who has been accused or publicly suspected of himself being a robber, or murderer, or thief, or of being a

Accusation to be made by a grand jury

receiver of robbers, or murderers, or thieves, since the lord king has been king. And let the justices make this inquiry before themselves, and the sheriffs before themselves.

Trial by ordeal

2. And let any one who has been found by the oath of the aforesaid to have been accused or publicly suspected of having been a robber, or murderer, or thief, or a receiver of them, since the lord king has been king, be arrested and go to the ordeal of water, and let him swear that he has not been a robber, or murderer, or thief, or receiver of them since the lord king has been king, to the value of five shillings, so far as he knows.

12. And if any one is captured who has in his possession the fruits of robbery or theft, if he is of bad reputation and has an evil testimony from the public, and has not a warrant, let him not have law. And if he shall not have been accused on account of the possession which he has, let him go to the water.

14. The lord king wills, moreover, that those who make their law and shall be absolved by the law, if they are of very bad testimony, and publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and legal men, shall abjure the lands of the king, so that within eight days they shall go over the sea, unless the wind shall have detained them; and with the first wind which they shall have afterward they shall go over the sea, and they shall not afterward return into England, except on the permission of the lord king; and then let them be outlawed if they return, and if they return they shall be seized as outlaws.

Opposition to vagabonds or unknown men

15. And the lord king forbids any vagabond — that is, a wandering or an unknown man — to be sheltered anywhere except in a borough, and even there he shall be sheltered only one night, unless he shall be sick there, or his horse, so that he is able to show an evident excuse.

16. And if he shall have been there more than one night, let him be arrested and held until his lord shall come to give securities for him, or until he himself shall have secured pledges; and let him likewise be arrested who has sheltered him.

Another assize or law passed by Henry II, requiring all men to keep in their possession arms according to their

rank, shows how completely the king trusted all classes of the people to refrain from violence, and how strong his government really was.

91. Extracts from the Assize of Arms

1. Whoever holds one knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; and every knight shall have as many coats of mail and helmets and shields and lances as he has knight's fees in his demesne.

2. Every free layman who has goods or rent to the value of sixteen marks shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; every free layman who has in goods or rents ten marks shall have a shirt of mail and a headpiece of iron and a lance.

3. Likewise all burgesses and the whole body of freemen shall have padded coats and headpieces of iron and lances.

4. Every one of these shall swear that before the feast of St. Hilary he will have these arms, and will bear faith to his lord King Henry, son of Empress Matilda, and will keep these arms for his service according to his command and in fidelity to his lord the king and his realm. And no one of those who have these arms shall sell them or pawn them or give them away, or in any other way alienate them from himself; nor shall any lord alienate them in any way from his man, either by forfeiture, or by gift, or by pledge, or in any other way whatsoever. . . .

II. The Struggle with Thomas

A great many contemporary descriptions of Thomas of Canterbury, narratives of his life, accounts of his struggle with the king, and letters from him and to him written by prominent men of the time still exist, filling seven portly printed volumes. The first of the following short selections from these refers to the time when Thomas was chancellor.

Such is the dignity of the chancellor of England that he is considered second only to the king in power; that he signs

92. William Fitz-Stephen's account of Thomas

his own commands with the reverse side of the royal seal, which is intrusted to his custody; that the chapel of the king is under his direction and care; that he himself receives and preserves the vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, and baronies falling into the hands of the king; that he is present at all the councils of the king, and that he comes even though not summoned; that all things are signed by the hand of the royal seal bearer, his clerk; that all things are arranged in accordance with the plans of the chancellor. . . .

Thomas as chancellor

The home and table of the chancellor was open to all the needy of all orders coming to the court of the king, who were honest or who seemed to be. Almost never did he sit down to a meal without earls and barons whom he himself had invited. He ordered every day in winter his place for the entertainment of guests to be strewn with fresh straw or hay, and in summer with fresh rushes and green leaves, in order that he might receive in a clean and cheerful place a great number of knights which could not be otherwise accommodated at his humble table; and also that any costly clothing and fine shirts might not receive a spot from the dirt of the floor. His house was resplendent with gold and silver vases, and abounded in expensive dishes and drinking cups. If he could procure anything choice for eating or drinking, a high price did not deter his purchasers from obtaining it. Nevertheless, he was extremely moderate in all these things, so that even the rich might collect alms from his rich table. . . .

Story of King Henry and Thomas's cloak

On account of his many virtues, his greatness of mind, his many deeds of kindness coming from a natural sweetness of disposition, the chancellor was most acceptable to the king, the clergy, the soldiers, and the people. After serious matters had been carefully considered, the king and he would have their sport together like boys of the same age, in castle, in church, in meetings, on horseback. One day they were riding in the streets of London; the day was raw and disagreeable; from afar the king espied a man coming towards them who was poor, old, and clad in tattered garments. The king said to the chancellor, "Do you see that man yonder?" The chancellor answered, "Yes." Then the king said: "How poor, how

feeble, how ragged! Would it not be a great act of charity to give him a warm heavy cloak?" The chancellor replied, "A very great act of charity indeed, and one which you ought to perform, having discernment for affairs of this kind." In the meantime the poor man was near at hand; the king halted, and the chancellor with him. The king addressed the poor man kindly and asked whether he would like to have a good cloak. The poor man, not knowing them, thought it a joke not to be taken seriously. Then the king addressed the chancellor, saying, "You will have a chance to perform this great act of charity," and laying his hands on the hood of the chancellor, the king tried to tear from the chancellor his cloak in which he was clad, and which was new and made of the very best of scarlet and miniver, while the chancellor struggled to retain it. Then there arose in that place a great disturbance; the great men and the knights who were following them hastened in curiosity to find out what was the reason for so sudden a struggle between them; nor was there any one to tell; each was so intent on taking his own part that they seemed as if about to fall. At length the chancellor reluctantly allowed the king to conquer, to draw the cloak from him as he bent over, and to present it to the poor man. Then the king related to his friends what had taken place. Great laughter followed. Some stretched out to the chancellor their cloaks and mantles. The poor man went away with the garment of the chancellor, rich and happy far beyond his expectation, and joyfully praising God. . . .

The outbreak of the great dispute between Henry and Thomas is described by Roger of Hoveden, one of the best known of the contemporary chroniclers.

93. The dispute between Henry and Thomas

In the year of grace 1163, which was the ninth year of the reign of King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda, this same king of England returned from Normandy into England; and King Malcolm having recovered at Doncaster from a great illness, peace was established between him and the king of England. In the same year Alexander, the pope, held a general council at Tours, in which he excommunicated Octavianus, the antipope.

In the same year a serious conflict arose between the king of England and Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, concerning ecclesiastical dignities which this same king of the English was attempting to disturb and diminish, while that famous archbishop was striving in all ways to preserve the laws and authority of the church unimpaired. The king wished to bring to secular trial priests, deacons, subdeacons, and other churchmen if caught in robbery, murder, felony, arson, or any like misdemeanor, and then to punish them the same as laymen. Against this the archbishop said that if a clerk, established in holy orders, or any other churchman, should have been charged with anything, he ought to be judged by ecclesiastical men and in the ecclesiastical court, and if he were convicted he ought to lose his rank; then if, removed from office and his ecclesiastical benefice, he should afterwards do wrong, he should be judged according to the will of the king and his officers.

In the year 1164, which was the tenth year of the reign of King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda, this same Henry gave to Henry, duke of Saxony, his daughter Matilda in marriage.

In the same year the king summoned a great council, including all the bishops and archbishops of England, and begged that they would receive the laws of Henry his grandfather and carefully guard them, for love of him and for the good of the kingdom. Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of himself and others, replied to the king that they would receive those laws which he called his grandfather's, and would preserve them in good faith, saving always the dignity of the archbishop's rank, and the honor of God and the holy church. This kind of assent displeased the king very much, and he tried in every way to accomplish his design, that the bishops should promise without any exception that they would observe those laws; but the archbishop of Canterbury was unwilling to promise this in any way. . . .

The Council of Clarendon

Then there came into England a certain religious man, Philip d'Aumâle, sent as legate *a latere* from Alexander the pope, and all the cardinals, to make peace between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury; through him the chief pontiff

and all the cardinals commanded the archbishop of Canterbury that he should make peace with the lord king of England and promise to obey his laws without any exception. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, agreeing to these and other plans of the great men, came to the king at Woodstock, and there promised the king that he would, in good faith and without any evil thoughts, keep his laws. A little afterwards the king summoned the clergy and people of the kingdom to Clarendon, where the archbishop regretted having made this concession to the king. Wishing to withdraw from his promise, he said that he had sinned greatly in ever yielding, but that he would sin no farther. The king was greatly angered by this and threatened him and his followers with death and exile. And so there came to him the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, as well as Robert, earl of Leicester, and Reginald, earl of Cornwall; and likewise two Templars came, Richard of Hastings and Tostes of St. Omer. Weeping they threw themselves at the feet of the archbishop and begged that he would, on account of the honor of the king, go to him and say before the people that he would receive his laws.

Constitutions of Clarendon

The archbishop was moved by the entreaties of so many men, and, coming to the king before the clergy and people, made the statement that he would accept those laws which the king called his grandfather's; and he granted that the bishops should receive those laws and that they should promise to enforce them. Then the king ordered all the earls and barons of the kingdom to go apart and collect all the laws of Henry the king, his grandfather, and put them in writing. When this had been done the king ordered the archbishops and bishops to place their seals to that writing; and although the rest were ready to do this, the archbishop of Canterbury swore that he would never affix his seal to that writing nor confirm those laws. When the king had seen that he could not get on in this way, he had those laws carefully written out in duplicate, and he handed one copy to the archbishop, which he received, contrary to the prohibition of the whole clergy, from the hand of the king himself. Turning to the clergy, he said, "Permit it, brothers; for by this writing we can know the

ill will of the king, and against whom we should be on guard." The archbishop then departed from the court; and in no way could he gain the favor of the king. Inasmuch as he had done this thing without advice, he absented himself from that hour from the celebration of his divine duties until either he himself or his messenger should have spoken with the lord pope.

The following are the most important clauses of that collection of the old ecclesiastical laws or constitutions which was drawn up at Clarendon, which Thomas at first promised, and then refused, to sign.

94. Extracts from the Constitutions of Clarendon

In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1164, of the papacy of Alexander the fourth year, of the most illustrious king of the English, Henry II, the tenth year, in the presence of the same king, has been made this memorial or acknowledgment of a certain part of the customs and franchises and dignities of his predecessors, that is to say of King Henry his grandfather, and of other kings, which ought to be observed and held in the kingdom. And on account of the discussions and disputes which have arisen between the clergy and the justices of our lord the king and the barons of the kingdom concerning the customs and dignities, this acknowledgment is made in the presence of the archbishops and bishops and clergy and earls and barons and principal men of the kingdom.

1. If any controversy has arisen concerning the advowson and presentation of churches, between laymen, or between laymen and ecclesiastics, or between ecclesiastics, it is to be considered or settled in the court of the lord king.

3. Clergymen charged and accused of anything, when they have been summoned by a justice of the king shall come into his court, to respond there to that which it shall seem good to the court of the king for them to respond to, and in the ecclesiastical court to what it shall seem good should be responded to there; so that the justice of the king shall send into the court of holy church to see how the matter shall be treated there. And if a clergyman shall have been convicted or has confessed, the church ought not to protect him further.

4. It is not lawful for archbishops, bishops, and clergymen of the realm to go out of the realm without the permission of the lord king. And if they go out, if it please the lord king, they shall give security that neither in going, nor in making a stay, nor in returning, will they seek evil or loss to the king or the kingdom.

6. Laymen ought not to be accused except by definite and legal accusers and witnesses, in the presence of the bishop, so that the archdeacon shall not lose his right, nor anything which he ought to have from it. And if there are such persons as are suspected, but no one wishes or no one dares to accuse them, let the sheriff, when required by the bishop, cause twelve legal men of the neighborhood or of the township to take an oath in the presence of the bishop that they will show the truth about it according to their conscience.

7. No one who holds from the king in chief or any one of the officers of his demesnes shall be excommunicated, nor shall the lands of any of them be placed under an interdict, unless the lord king, if he is in the land, first agrees, or his justice, if he is out of the realm, in order that right may be done concerning him. Then what shall pertain to the king's court shall be settled there, and that which has respect to the ecclesiastical court shall be sent to the same to be considered there.

8. Concerning appeals, if they should occur, they ought to proceed from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. And if the archbishop should fail to show justice, it must come to the lord king last, in order that by his command the controversy should be finally terminated in the court of the archbishop, so that it ought not to proceed further without the assent of the lord king.

11. Archbishops, bishops, and all clergymen of the realm, who hold from the king in chief, have their possessions from the lord king as a barony, and are responsible for them to the justices and officers of the king, and follow and perform all royal rules and customs; and, just as the rest of the barons, ought to be present at the judgment of the court of the lord king along with the barons, at least till the judgment reaches to loss of limbs or to death.

12. When an archbishopric or bishopric or abbacy or priory of the demesne of the king has become vacant, it ought to be in his hands, and he shall take thence all rights and products, just as other demesnes. And when it comes to providing for the church, the lord king ought to summon the more powerful persons of the church, and the election ought to be made in the chapel of the lord king himself, with the assent of the lord king and with the agreement of the clergymen of the realm whom he has called to do this. And there the clergyman elected shall do homage and fealty to the lord king as to his liege lord, concerning his life and his limbs and his earthly honor, saving his order, before he shall be consecrated.

14. No church or churchyard must detain the chattels of those who are in forfeiture to the king, against the justice of the king, because they are the king's, whether they have been found within the churches or without.

After the dispute had continued with increasing bitterness for some time and Thomas had refused to accept the Constitutions of Clarendon, both parties appealed to the pope. The king sent to represent him at Rome five bishops who had taken his side, two earls, two barons, and three of the officials of his household. The scene before the pope, with the speeches of the bishops, one of whom brings ridicule upon himself by his excessive zeal, another by his bad Latin; the recognition of the high station of the pope and the cardinals, accompanied by a low estimate of their personal honesty, and the evident preference of the pope for Thomas's side, are all well described in the following account, given by one of the archbishop's clerks, Alan of Canterbury, who was probably present.

In the meantime there arose much disturbance, each one consulting his own best good, and seeking by the will of the

king a chance to destroy the anointed of the Lord [i.e. Thomas]. An embassy was sent from the king to the lord pope, consisting of the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Chichester, Exeter, Worcester, and Louvain, besides a great number of earls and barons, all in great splendor, with gifts and presents with which to corrupt the court and blind the eyes of the wise. In this way they believed the Roman court, sometimes wavering between the two, could be influenced to what they wished; for certain of the bishops had given this advice against the interests of the archbishop of Canterbury.

95. An appeal to the pope at Rome

As a matter of fact, on their arrival at Rome, the fear of public disturbance which might arise from the anger of the king, on one side, and on the other the hope of gain, forced very many of the cardinals to waver; and a dissension arose among them. While by some Thomas was called the defender of ecclesiastical liberty, and on this account was said to be favoring a just cause, by others he was called a disturber of peace and unity, and his bold attack therefore to be checked rather than encouraged. The suggestion of the enemy prevailed, for the messengers of the lord of Canterbury (for men of extraordinary valor and wisdom had been sent ahead) were not received by the cardinals even with a kiss. And they were disturbed, seeing the cause of their lord was in jeopardy.

Speech of the bishop of London

On the next day, however, the lord pope seated himself at the tribunal, a meeting of the cardinals was held, and the subject was brought up: the messengers of Canterbury attended, in order that they might see the result. Then the messengers of the king arose, and the bishop of London, their leader, taking his place in front of them, began as follows: "O father, the care and protection of the universal church devolves upon you, so that the wise may be guided by your wisdom to the advancement of morals; and the foolish may be corrected by apostolic authority and induced to become wise. But in our opinion that man is not to be considered wise who, trusting in his own wisdom, seeks to disturb the unity of brethren, the peace of the church, and the devotion of the king.

"Recently, indeed, there arose in England a difference between the church and the state on a trivial and unnecessary

pretext, which could easily have been avoided if a moderate amount of discretion had been shown. But the lord of Canterbury, following his own judgment and not listening at all to ours, decided more harshly than was just, not taking into consideration the evil of the times, what and how great loss might come from such an attack; and he laid pitfalls for himself and his brethren. If we had favored this by our assent, the thing would have come to a worse pass. But inasmuch as he could not have our ready consent, as indeed he ought not, to that which he was attempting, he strove to lay the blame for his rashness on the lord king and us, — nay, more, on the whole kingdom. Wherefore, in order that he might tarnish the reputation of mutual brotherhood, although no one brought violence against him or even made threats, he fled. As it is written, 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth.'"

To these things the lord pope said, "Spare, my brother"; and the London bishop made answer, "Lord, I will spare him." Then the lord pope said, "I do not ask, brother, that you spare him but yourself." At this apostolic word the bishop perceived that he was being made a jest of by the lord pope, so he was unable to speak farther.

Speech of the bishop of Chichester

Then the eloquent Hilary, the bishop of Chichester, began, trusting more to his brilliant style of speaking than to his justice or truth; a thing which was evident from the outcome. "Father and lord," he said, "it is greatly to the interest of your holiness, inasmuch as an act has been wrongly committed, to the confusion of all the world, to recall it quickly to its usual state of peace and concord, so that the unbounded presumption of one man may not produce disorder and even a division in the universal church. The lord of Canterbury, paying too little attention to this and abandoning safer plans, took counsel with himself alone, and in this way brought upon himself and his followers, upon the king and kingdom, upon the clergy and people, greater and more serious dangers. It was not proper, it was not fitting, nor would it ever be fitting (*oportuebat*, — for such grammar did Hilary of Chichester use), for a man of such authority to act thus. The wise among his followers ought not to have agreed that such things were fitting." After he had

Bishop Hilary uses the verb *oportet* three times, once incorrectly; hence the laugh at his expense and the jests about "port"

spoken thus, this man, who was so excellent in grammar, went from "port" to "port." All were convulsed with laughter. Among these one cried out, "You came unluckily into port at last." The Lord so confused the bishop with that word that he was silent and speechless for the rest of the time.

The archbishop of York, seeing the downfall of those who had preceded him, tried to curb his impetuosity. "Father," said he, "the habits of that lord of Canterbury and his desires are known to no one better than to me. This is characteristic of his mind, that when a new proposition is shown him and he has thoroughly approved it, it cannot be easily torn from him. Wherefore it ought to be believed that he fell into this obstinacy through his customary rashness. And I see no other way to correct this except that you lay upon him a restraining hand. I think this is sufficient to say to an intelligent man."

Then the bishop of Exeter spoke: "Father, it is not necessary to delay long on this subject. This cause does not have to be terminated in the absence of the archbishop of Canterbury. We beg, therefore, that you send legates who shall be able to hear the cause between the lord king and the archbishop of Canterbury, and when they have heard to give a decision." Then he was silent. After him no more of the bishops spoke.

The bishops had spoken in Latin; the earl of Arundel could not understand them, and makes his speech, doubtless, in French

When the earl of Arundel saw this (for he was standing in his place with a number of knights) he demanded an audience. When there was silence he began: "Lord, what the bishops have said, we who are uneducated do not know. Therefore it is necessary that we who have been sent on this errand should speak as we can; not that we should contend for this, or heap reproaches upon any one, especially in the presence of so great a man, to whose will and authority the whole world justly bows; but we come hither, laying doubt aside, that we may show to you in your presence and in the presence of the whole Roman court the loyalty and love of the lord king, which he has been accustomed to bear to you and which he still bears. Through whom, do I say? Through the clergy and nobles whom he has in all the lands subject to him; that is, through the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons. He has not found any superior to

these in his dominions; and if he had found them, he would have without fail appointed them on account of your reverence and that of the Holy Roman church. We add to this the fact that your fatherly zeal, shortly after he became king, often tested his fidelity and devotion, when he placed at your disposal himself, his followers, his possessions, all of which were thoroughly devoted to your will; and certainly in the whole universal church over which you preside in Christ, as we believe, no one is more faithful than he, no one more devoted to God, no one more desirous of keeping this peace into which he has been received. Nevertheless the archbishop is equally well versed in his rank and order, provident and determined in those things which pertain to him, although, as it seems to certain men, a little too severe. If that struggle which is now taking place had not arisen between the lord archbishop and the king, the clergy and the kingdom would now be rejoicing mutually in peace and unity under an excellent leader and the best of shepherds. Therefore this is our prayer, that your grace should bestow all your care and attention on the removal of this disagreement and the restitution of peace and love." The earl spoke these words fluently in his own language, so that his modest discretion was admired by all.

Answer of the pope

The lord pope, after thinking the matter over carefully, made answer as follows: "We know, O son and earl, and still cherish in memory with what great devotion the king of England has conferred many great favors upon us, which, if opportunity arise, we shall, in our love for his soul, requite in proportion to his deserts, with as much power as we have with God. But inasmuch as you have demanded legates, legates you shall have."

After kissing the foot of the lord pope they retired, thinking that they had gained much for their cause, all the more so because they hoped that they could bribe the cardinals. In accordance with this plan the bishop of London returned to ask the lord pope under what power the cardinals would come. "With proper power," said the lord pope. "Then," said the bishop of London, "we beg this, that they may decide the case without appeal." "This is," said the lord pope, "my especial right, which I shall not grant to another, and assuredly, since he

must be judged, he will be judged by us, because no method of procedure permits us to send him to England to be judged by adversaries and among enemies." The hostile party, hearing these things, angrily withdrew, with shattered hopes, to carry back these replies to the lord king.

The quarrel continued to its well-known termination, — the hasty words of the angry king, the too literal acceptance of them by his four knights, their journey to Canterbury, and the murder of the archbishop in the transept of his own cathedral. The incidents of the murder are given by Edward Grim, one of the archbishop's attendants, who was with him at the time, and holding Thomas in his arms as he died, was accidentally wounded. The skull of the martyr was long afterwards found with a long straight sword cut across the top.

96. Account of the murder of Thomas (1170)

When the monks entered the church the four knights followed immediately behind with rapid strides. With them was a certain subdeacon, armed with malice like their own, Hugh, fitly surnamed for his wickedness, Mauclerc, who showed no reverence for God or the saints, as the result showed. When the holy archbishop entered the church the monks stopped vespers which they had begun and ran to him, glorifying God that they saw their father, whom they had heard was dead, alive and safe. They hastened, by bolting the doors of the church, to protect their shepherd from the slaughter. But the champion, turning to them, ordered the church doors to be thrown open, saying: "It is not meet to make a fortress of the house of prayer, the church of Christ: though it be not shut up it is able to protect its own; and we shall triumph over the enemy rather in suffering than in fighting, for we came to suffer, not to resist." And straightway they entered the house of peace and reconciliation with swords sacrilegiously drawn, causing horror to the beholders by their very looks and the clanging of their arms.

All who were present were in tumult and fright, for those who had been singing vespers now ran hither to the dreadful spectacle.

Thomas refuses to be called a traitor

Inspired by fury the knights called out, "Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the king and realm?" As he answered not, they cried out the more furiously, "Where is the archbishop?" At this, intrepid and fearless (as it is written, "The just, like a bold lion, shall be without fear"), he descended from the stair where he had been dragged by the monks in fear of the knights, and in a clear voice answered: "I am here, no traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me?" And whereas he had already said that he feared them not, he added, "So I am ready to suffer in His name, who redeemed me by His blood; be it far from me to flee from your swords or to depart from justice." Having thus said, he turned to the right, under a pillar, having on one side the altar of the Blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, on the other that of St. Benedict the Confessor, by whose example and prayers, having crucified the world with its lusts, he bore all that the murderers could do, with such constancy of soul as if he had been no longer in the flesh.

The murderers followed him. "Absolve," they cried, "and restore to communion those whom you have excommunicated, and restore their powers to those whom you have suspended." He answered, "There has been no satisfaction, and I will not absolve them." "Then you shall die," they cried, "and receive what you deserve." "I am ready," he replied, "to die for my Lord, that in my blood the church may obtain liberty and peace. But in the name of Almighty God I forbid you to hurt my people, whether clerk or lay." Thus piously and thoughtfully did the noble martyr provide that no one near him should be hurt or the innocent be brought to death, whereby his glory should be dimmed as he hastened to Christ. Thus did it become the martyr knight to follow in the footsteps of his Captain and Saviour, who, when the wicked sought Him, said, "If ye seek me, let these go their way."

Then they laid sacrilegious hands on him, pulling and dragging him that they might kill him outside the church, or carry

him away a prisoner, as they afterwards confessed. But when he would not be forced away from the pillar, one of them pressed on him and clung to him more closely. Him he pushed off, calling him "pander," and saying, "Touch me not, Reginald; you owe me fealty and subjection; you and your accomplices act like madmen." The knight, fired with terrible rage at this severe rebuke, waved his sword over the sacred head. "No faith," he cried, "nor subjection do I owe you against my fealty to my lord the king." Then the unconquered martyr, seeing the hour at hand which should put an end to this miserable life, and give him straightway the crown of immortality promised by the Lord, inclined his head as one who prays, and, joining his hands, lifted them up and commended his cause and that of the church to God, to St. Mary, and to the blessed martyr Denys. Scarce had he said the words when the wicked knight, fearing lest the archbishop should be rescued by the people and escape alive, leapt upon him suddenly and wounded this lamb who was sacrificed to God, on the head, cutting off the top of the crown which the sacred unction of the chrism had dedicated to God; and by the same blow he wounded the arm of him who tells this. For he, when the others, both monks and clerks, fled, stuck close to the sainted archbishop and held him in his arms till the arm he interposed was almost severed.

His rebuke to Reginald Fitz-Urse

Wounding of Edward Grim, the chronicler

Behold the simplicity of the dove, the wisdom of the serpent, in the martyr who opposed his body to those who struck, that he might preserve his head, that is, his soul and the church, unharmed; nor would he use any forethought against those who destroyed the body whereby he might escape. O worthy shepherd, who gave himself so boldly to the wolves that his flock might not be torn. Because he had rejected the world, the world in wishing to crush him unknowingly exalted him. Then he received a second blow on the head, but still stood firm. At the third blow he fell on his knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim, and saying in a low voice, "For the name of Jesus and the protection of the church I am ready to embrace death." Then the third knight inflicted a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was broken against the pavement, and the crown, which was large, was separated from

Death of Thomas

the head ; so that the blood white with the brain, and the brain red with blood, dyed the surface of the virgin mother church with the life and death of the confessor and martyr in the colors of the lily and the rose.

The fourth knight prevented any from interfering, so that the others might freely perpetrate the murder. In order that a fifth blow might not be wanting to the martyr who was in other things like to Christ, the fifth (no knight, but that clerk who had entered with the knights) put his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr, and, horrible to say, scattered his brains and blood over the pavement, calling out to the others, "Let us away, knights ; he will rise no more."

The murder of the archbishop brought the struggle to a crisis, and the king either was smitten with remorse or bowed to the storm. The scene of his self-humiliation and penance is given in the following extract from Ralph of Diceto, a contemporary chronicler.

97. The penance of King Henry (1172)

When he had come near Canterbury, concealing his royal identity, he leaped from his horse, barefooted, assuming the appearance of a pilgrim, a penitent, a suppliant. On Friday, the tenth of June, he came to the great church. There, with many tears, groans, and sighs, he sought the tomb of the blessed martyr. With outstretched hands he prostrated himself, remaining for a long time in prayer. By means of the bishop of London preaching to the people, the king publicly protested, calling God as a witness to his soul, that he had never ordered the death of the archbishop, nor desired it, nor sought it by craft. But since the murderers had taken license from words which he had spoken with too little caution, he begged absolution from the bishops who were then present. Placing himself under their discipline, he was beaten with rods by the various religious men, of whom a great number had assembled, receiving three or even five blows from each one. Rising from prayer, he resumed the clothing which he had taken off. He honored the most precious martyr with costly gifts, giving besides an

annual payment of £40 for lights to be kept perpetually burning about the martyr in his honor. He spent the rest of the day and almost all of the following night in anguish of soul, given up to prayers and watches, continuing the fast even into the third day. Inasmuch as his spirit was troubled and his heart contrite, his sacrifice was most acceptable to God. Often exclaiming, after the manner of King David, "I have sinned against God, I have sinned against God," he deserved to hear from the prophet, "The Lord also has put away thy sin."

A few months after the death of Thomas he was canonized, as described in the following official letter of the pope, and he soon became the most popular of English saints. Pilgrimages were made to the tomb at Canterbury, water blessed at the place of his death was carried away for its curative qualities, and numberless stories of miracles due to his interposition grew up and were spread abroad and believed by the more simple-minded of the people.

98. Pope Alexander to the legates in England

Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest sons, Albert, titular bishop of St. Lawrence, and Theodwine of St. Vitalis, cardinal priests, legates of the apostolic see, greeting and apostolic benediction. Although some of the miracles of that holy man Thomas, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, had been brought to our ears by many in whom we were accustomed and ought to have faith, nevertheless we have awaited your testimony in order that we might be able to proceed more freely in canonizing him, when we should have been fully informed by you of the miracles of that holy man. And so since the testimony of your letters was received, just at the beginning of the fast, when a large number of priests were standing in the church, we have solemnly canonized that holy man, and formally decreed that he is to be enrolled in the glorious body of martyrs. Since, therefore, we have directed that these things be written not only to the English church but also to the kings themselves, we order you with discretion to

Henry II and his son, King Henry

give over these writings to these same kings yourself, in person, if possible, and see that the writings which we have directed to the monks of Canterbury and the English church be distributed to them. Dated at Segni, March tenth.

A few of the many scores of stories concerning St. Thomas that have come down from that period are here given.

99. Miracles of St. Thomas

Three days after the suffering of the glorious martyr Thomas, Honorius, a monk of Canterbury, a man of veracity, in his sleep saw himself entering the monastery. And behold, before the altar of the Lord our Saviour a youth of beautiful glowing appearance stood with unsheathed sword. When Honorius approached nearer and with timid voice said, "Who are you, master? It is not fitting for an armed man to be seen in this holy and religious place in this way," he replied, "Do not fear; the custody of this place has been appointed to me, who was given the belt of a knight on the day that Thomas was promoted to the archbishopric to rule the church."

An angel guardian of Thomas's church

The vision of the grieving woman

Seven days had passed since the death of the martyr. A certain freeborn woman, wife of one Ralph, a man of honor according to this world, was resting on her bed at home. This woman, hearing of the death of the martyr, began to be somewhat sad, mourning as a good sheep for the death of a kind shepherd, for the dishonor to the church and the wickedness of the crime. Because of this sorrow she obtained the honor of seeing a vision in her sleep. On entering her place of prayer she found a man standing before the altar, wearing a hood and clad in white, as though he were performing the divine service. When he saw her he seated himself near the southern part of the room, nodding familiarly to her as if seeking to ask that she draw nearer. She asked what she could do to gain salvation for her soul. He replied, "Every week the sixth day must be observed as a fast day by you, and when you have passed a year in this way come to me." Then he added, "Do you know who it is with whom you are conversing?" "You are the one," she answered, "whom those four wicked men presumed to murder with such insolent boldness."

The rich man and the poor woman's sheep

A rich man named Ralph, of the town of Nottingham, detained some few sheep of a poor woman. This latter begged to be permitted to buy them back, saying, "Grant this kindness, I beg, my master, to your handmaid, that I may receive my sheep as the others, provided I pay eight pieces of silver for each one." He refused, since he wished to transfer to his own possession those sheep which she owned. Hear what happened, in order that you may not be enticed to become rich from the goods of another. He was riding along seated on his pacer, snapping a switch which he was carrying in his hand. The woman pressed him that she might have the property which was really hers by paying therefor. "Do not hinder my journey, my master," said she; "I have planned to go to the holy martyr Thomas; I have destined the wool of my sheep to pay my expenses on the way. Show mercy to me, that the martyr may do the same to you." Hearing this he looked down at her, calling out in terrible tones, "Depart, you low and worthless slave, I shall do nothing for you." She kept urging him, adding prayers to her money; but seeing that she gained nothing either from prayers or money, she ended with a curse. "May the curse of God and of the martyr Thomas fall on this man who has offered violence to me concerning my own property." At this word the rich man, struck by the divine hand, fell heavily forward on the pommel of his saddle, where, groaning, he moaned, "I die"; for the blow had stopped his breath.

The little Norman girl who was drowned

Thanks be to God, he glorifies his martyr Thomas everywhere. In Normandy there was a little girl, Hawisia, daughter of a peasant of the village of Grochet, who, as she was wandering along in her thoughtless childish way, fell into a pond. She was only two years and three months old. When she was not found by her mother the next day or the day following that, she was sought for and found in the pool. The mother, crying out, ran to her, while the father hastened to her all dripping as she was, and, seizing her, held her by the feet. The neighbors came running up and she was pronounced dead. But at the advice of a priest she was dedicated to the holy martyr Thomas, and life was restored the instant the vow was made.

The young monk with leprosy

The venerable queen Eleanor, finding a little boy who had been cast out into the streets and deprived of a mother's love, ordered that he be brought up in the monastery of Abingdon. After living there many years and learning much, he was seized with a virulent form of leprosy, separated from the other scholars, and removed from the monastery at the command of the bishop, Geoffrey of St. Asaph, who was in charge there. His face became blotched, from his eyes streamed water, his eyebrows thinned out, sores covered his arms and limbs, reaching to the bone; all these things produced nausea. His voice became rough and almost inaudible, even to those standing near; cloths had to be changed every day or every other day on account of the bloody matter which came from the sores. These things kept him from dwelling with others or holding any social intercourse with them.

But this youth, trusting in the mercy and merits of the blessed Thomas, whom heavenly love glorified in all ways, departed to Canterbury, and even on the journey felt the beginning of his cure within. Returning home, after two days, from the tomb of St. Thomas, he brought with him merely traces of his healed disease. One day he seized the bishop by his clothing as he was taking a walk, and said to him that he had been cleansed through the merits of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The bishop, however, did not know him, so changed was he, and asked his name and position. He told his name, and by the same reply indicated his position, at the same time rendering speechless the man whom he was addressing. The bishop carefully considered the case and thought over the length of the disease, which had been running for two years. Nevertheless, after physicians had been consulted, he could no longer refuse to believe them, assuring him of the cure, nor could he refuse longer to believe the evidence of his own eyes, so he finally recalled this man to the life of the monastery and the daily intercourse. And he himself came to pray at the tomb of the martyr with the healed man.

A shipwreck on the Mediterranean

Certain pilgrims were voyaging on the Mediterranean Sea when their vessel struck on a rock and began to be in danger. The danger was of this kind: the stern and keel stuck fast on

the rocks, while the prow, hanging down, touched the waters near by. The canvas had been torn from the mast, and, saturated with water, was pulling on the sailyard so that the mast would be dragged into the water. Certain of the sailors were climbing on the rigging, others anxious over their sins were offering vows, and all were calling on the name of the martyr Thomas. Then a clearly manifest and wonderful sign was given: the ship rose at the prow and settled at the stern, so that no one doubted but that the martyr had placed his hand under the prow.

A German pilgrim

A certain German pilgrim who had devoted himself to the service of this martyr, while on his way to Jerusalem to offer up prayers, became ill and died, while on a vessel on the Mediterranean Sea. The sailors, in accordance with their custom, cast him into the sea on the same day, stripped of his clothing. The ship, borne on, continued on the journey which it had begun. The thing which I am about to relate is wonderful, yet I am not stretching the truth. Late in the night, behold, the man who had been cast overboard rose above the waters and entered the ship from the stern. The helmsman of the ship, who was seated near the stern, watching the winds and stars, was much astonished at this apparition, and asked whether he were propitious or otherwise, to which he replied: "I am the dead man whom you cast into the sea; the blessed Thomas has restored me to life and to this vessel. Restore to me the place which I hired and my clothes, for I am very cold." All were filled with astonishment and delight over this thing which had happened. This occurrence, received from the helmsman himself, was reported to us by a clerk of Canterbury. A certain man of Brindisi, a fellow-citizen and neighbor of the helmsman of this boat, told us the same thing in the same way.

A poor woman's cow

A woman by the name of Beatrice lived in the coast regions near where the marsh separates Kent and Sussex. When she saw that a pestilence was carrying off the cattle, and by this sudden outbreak the pastures were being stripped of their flocks, she made a vow, saying, "Preserve, O martyr, this one cow of mine, that it be not carried off by this pestilence. I

promise you its calf or the value thereof." She prayed and her prayer was answered, for although the rest of the animals were carried off, the murrain did not touch her property.

III. Giraldus Cambrensis and the Conquest of Ireland

A glimpse of the literary life and interests so conspicuous during the reign of Henry II may be obtained from the following extracts from the autobiography of Gerald de Barri, or Giraldus Cambrensis, who has been quoted before. Giraldus was a Welsh monk born about 1147, who studied in various universities, especially in Paris, as he himself recounts. He attached himself to Henry's court, but was much disappointed at not being made a bishop or otherwise suitably rewarded. He was almost childishly vain, though he speaks of himself in his autobiography and in some of his other works in the third person. He was much inclined to criticise the monks of his own order for their various irregularities.

100. Extracts from the autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis

Giraldus was born in the southern part of Wales near the seacoast of Dyved, not far from the principal town of Pembroke, the castle of Mainarpir. He sprang from freeborn parents; for his mother was Angarath, daughter of Nesta, the noble daughter of Rhys, chieftain of South Wales, and a son of Theodore. She married a most excellent man, William de Barri, and from this marriage Giraldus was born. He was the youngest of four brothers. When the three others were busy in their childish pleasures, building in the sand and gravel now camps, now towns, now palaces, he, in his own fashion, alone in his play, devoted his entire energy to the construction of churches or monasteries. After his father, watching him, had considered this with admiration, influenced as if by inspiration, he determined with prophetic soul that this son must devote himself

to literature and the liberal arts. He was accustomed to call him, playfully, his bishop. . . .

Giraldus studies in the University of Paris

In the process of time a desire for higher study and progress led him to cross over three times to France. For three periods of several years he studied the liberal arts in Paris, and at length, equaling the greatest teachers, excellently taught the *trivium* and obtained especial praise for his rhetorical ability. He was thoroughly devoted to his studies, showing no levity or jesting in deed or in spirit, so much so that when the doctors of arts wished to give an example of the good scholar, they mentioned Giraldus above all others. So, as he was worthy to give an example of all scholarly excellence and preëminence in early childhood, since his good deeds continued, he could do so in youth as well. . . .

After arrangements had been completed, Giraldus, since he believed nothing finished as long as anything higher remained, looking not back but ever striving towards the future, ascended step by step without cessation. Since the treasures of books were greater abroad, he determined to cross over to France for higher and more mature study, and in Paris to apply himself diligently anew to his choicer studies. He was to erect on the foundation of arts and letters the walls of canon law, and to finish the sacred roof of theology above. Thus a building of triple structure connected by the firmest of joints would be strong in lasting qualities. When for many years he had applied his studious mind to civil law, then at length had turned it to more sacred heights, he obtained so great influence in cases of canon law, which by established custom were discussed on Sundays, that on the day on which it was known that such questions were to be debated, so great a throng of almost all of the doctors with their scholars came forth for the pleasure of hearing him, that scarcely was there a house large enough to hold the audience. For so much did he aid the reasonings of canon law by his rhetorical skill, so much did he adorn the cause, as well by his figures of speech and brilliant style as by depth of thought, and so well did he adapt the sayings of philosophers and authors, with wondrous skill fitting them in proper places, that just as the more learned and skilled agreed

with him, so much the more eagerly and attentively they applied their minds and thoughts to listen and commit to memory. . . .

Giraldus is in debt

Let us now return to our own affairs and likewise to the continuation of the narrative. Giraldus, after a long period of study, determined to return to his fatherland. He waited for his messengers to bring him money until long after the date set for their return. Meanwhile his creditors, to whom he was greatly in debt, kept pressing him impatiently and rudely from day to day. Grieving, anxious, and almost desperate he went to the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Germain d'Auxerre, founded and dedicated by the archbishop of Rheims, brother of King Louis. To this chapel, founded in honor of that saint at the time of his martyrdom, Giraldus fled for refuge, with his friends, to beg and implore the aid of the martyr, knowing indeed, as the philosopher Philo says, that when human aid fails then we must hasten to divine. When the mass had been piously heard and an offering presented, a reward for his piety was divinely given, for he received in the same hour his messenger with joy and prosperity. It was indeed a wonderful interposition of God, who gains in his own way from human affairs his holy results, and although he knows that his things are given purely from love, nevertheless wishes them to be gained, as it were, by prayers and deeds. . . .

Proceeding on his way, he crossed the sea through Flanders and came to Canterbury. Sought out by the prior on Trinity Sunday he dined with the monks of this place in the refectory. When seated there with the prior and elders at the principal table, he noticed two things, an excess of signals and too many courses at the meal. Communication kept going on between the prior and the monks who were serving; the latter, on the one hand, in bringing in the food, and the former, on the other hand, to whom it was brought, by way of thanks, kept up a gesticulation with fingers, hands, and arms, as well as a whistling in place of speech, rendering the entire situation far more sportive and undignified than was fitting. It was just as if one were placed before players or mountebanks. It would be much more consistent with the rule and with propriety

It was against the rules of the order to talk during meals

to speak with moderation in human words than by silent garrulity to make use of signs and whistling after this fashion.

What shall I say about the dishes and their abundance? I might mention that sixteen or more courses were served up very lavishly, in order, and even I might say beyond order. Finally between courses vegetables were brought about to all the tables, but were little tasted. One saw fish of all kinds, boiled and roasted, stuffed and fried. Food prepared by the skill of the cook with eggs and pepper; many relishes and salted fish, for tempting the tooth and whetting the appetite, were made by his skill. Besides, there was a great abundance of wines and intoxicating drinks, colored and clear, unfermented liquor, mead, and other drinks. So much were these drinks used that ale, even the best, such as is brewed in England, especially in Kent, found no place here. Ale, however, was served between the courses of the other liquors, as vegetables between the courses of more solid food.

One sees here, in short, much that is unnecessary and extravagant both in food and drink, which must be considered not only a luxury to those partaking of them, but a vexation to those looking on. What would Paul the hermit say to such things? What would Anthony? What would Benedict, the author and founder of the monastic life? Let us seek examples even farther removed. What would our Jerome, who, in his *Lives of the Fathers*, extolled with praises the thrift, restraint, and moderation of the early church? Among other things he says that the church in proportion as it increased in possessions had decreased in virtue.

Giraldus, indeed, told one time how the monks of St. Swithin at Winchester, together with their prior, prostrated themselves on the ground before Henry II, complaining with tears and grief that Richard, their bishop, whom they had in the place of an abbot, had taken away from them three courses. When the king had inquired how many remained, they replied ten, whereas from early times they had been accustomed to enjoy thirteen. "And I," answered the king, "in my court am contented with three. And may your bishop perish unless he reduces your meals to this number of courses."

This was evidently written by another author at a later time

Among the works of this author is a description of Ireland and an account of the conquest of that country by Henry II and the English-Norman nobles of the time. Some of his descriptions and wonderful tales are here given.

101. Some current stories about Ireland

Ireland is a land of irregular, even mountainous, surface; mild and wet, wooded and swampy. In fact, it is almost a wilderness; quite pathless, though especially well watered. You will find here waters standing on the mountains; on the very tops of wind-blown and rugged hills you can find swamps and marshes. Yet Ireland has here and there beautiful plains, but small in comparison with the forests, and therefore, by the requirements of nature, beautiful rather than spacious.

This country has been divided from of old into five almost equal parts, that is to say, two Munsters, northern and southern, Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught. The two Munsters cover the southern part of Ireland, Ulster the northern, Leinster the eastern, and Connaught the western. . . .

Barnacle geese

There are here many birds which are called barnacles, which nature produces in a wonderful manner, and, as it were, against nature. They are similar to marsh geese, but smaller. For they grow from spruce logs, carried down to the sea. At first they are like drops of gum; afterwards, like seaweed clinging to the log, inclosed for their freer growth in a covering of shell, they hang down by the beak. In the course of time, being covered closely with a vesture of feathers, they either drop down into the water, or, by flying away, betake themselves to the liberty of the air. . . .

No snakes in Ireland

Of all kinds of reptiles Ireland possesses only such as are not injurious, for it is entirely without those which are poisonous. It is free from snakes and lizards, it has neither toads nor frogs, it lacks turtles and scorpions, nor has it any dragons. It has, however, spiders, salamanders, and chameleons; but these are harmless. Some, by a flattering pretense, declare that St. Patrick and other saints of the country purged the whole island from all such destructive beasts. But history asserts with greater probability that from the very earliest

times, long before the foundations of our faith, the island was always without these, as it was without some other things, by a certain natural defect.

Nor does it seem to me a matter of wonder that the land should lack these reptiles, as it lacks certain fish, birds, and animals. But what does seem strange is that it cannot and never could retain anything poisonous when brought thither. For we read in the ancient writings of the saints of that country, that sometimes, for the sake of experiment, reptiles were brought thither in brass jars, but as soon as they had passed the middle of the Irish Sea they were found lifeless and dead. . . .

To so great a degree is this land antagonistic to poison that if gardens or other places in other countries are sprinkled with its soil, this drives all poisonous reptiles completely away from them.

Among the contemporary accounts of the conquest of Ireland is a long narrative poem in French, from which the following is taken, in the form of a modern translation. The poem is commonly known as *The Story of Dermot and the Earl.*

When Henry II had been acknowledged as lord by all the barons who had come over from England before him, he proceeded to make grants to them of the land they had conquered in Ireland, to be held from him on feudal tenure.

102. Grants of King Henry to the English conquerors in Ireland

To Hugh de Lacy he granted
All Meath in fee;
Meath the king granted
For fifty knights,
Whose service the baron should let him have,
Whenever he should have need of it.
To one John he granted Ulster,
If he could conquer it by force:
John de Courcy was his name,
Who afterwards suffered many a trouble there.

Just as the king made these great grants to his nobles, so Earl Richard, Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy, and

the other great barons granted parts of their dominions to lesser nobles for feudal services to themselves.

Sub-infeudations to English nobles and knights

To Maurice de Prendergast
The valiant earl Richard
Had already given Fernegenal,
And in his council confirmed it,
Before the renowned earl
Had landed in Ireland;
Ten fiefs he gave him on this condition,
For the service of ten knights.

. . . . . .

Carbery he gave to the good Meiler,
Who was such a noble lord.
The earl Richard next gave
To Maurice the son of Gerald,
The Naas the good earl gave
To the son of Gerald, with all the honor:
This is the land of Offelan
Which belonged to the traitor MacKelan.
He gave him, too, Wicklow,
Between Bray and Arklow:

. . . . . .

[The Irish chieftains, although many of them had given their allegiance to King Henry, were not inclined to allow their whole land to be divided among English-Norman overlords without a struggle. When Hugh de Lacy built and fortified a dwelling house at Trim in Connaught, and began to rule the surrounding country as an English feudal noble did at home, the king of Connaught called out the heads of the tribes, and they led their followers in one of those wild efforts to drive out the invaders that continued to take place from time to time for more than five hundred years.]

The chiefs of the Irish clans

All at once O'Connor,
The proud king of Connaught,
Led with him O'Flaherty,
MacDermot and MacGeraghty,
O'Kelly, king of Hy Many,

O'Hart and O'Finaghty,
O'Carbery and O'Flanagan,
And then next O'Monaghan,
O'Dowd and O'Monaghan,
O'Shaughnessy of Poltilethban;
King Melaghlin went also,
And his neighbor king O'Rourke,
O'Malory of the Kinel O'Neill,
And likewise MacDunlevy;
King O'Carroll went also,
And MacTierney, who was so base,
MacScelling and MacArtan,
And the rebel MacGaraghan;
MacKelan likewise
Went with all his men;
O'Neill, the king of Kinel Owen,
Brought with him three thousand Irish.
The Northerners were assembled,
And all the kings of Leath-Cuinn,
Towards Trim they set out marching
To demolish the castle.

IV. Richard I and the Third Crusade

The guilt of rebellion of Henry's sons, and their responsibility for his death, is well expressed in this instance of the familiar belief that the body of a murdered man will bleed when his murderer approaches.

103. Scene at the burial of Henry II

Henry, king of England, died in the year of our Lord 1189, in the month of July, on the sixth day, in the octave of the apostles Peter and Paul, the nineteenth day of the moon, on the fifth day of the week, at Chinon, and he was buried at Fontevrault, in the abbey of the monks serving God there. On the day after his death, when he was carried to his burial, clothed in his royal apparel, wearing a gold crown on his head, and having gloves on his hands and a gold ring on his finger,

a scepter in his hand, shoes embroidered in gold upon his feet, and girded with his sword, he lay with his face uncovered. When this was told to Count Richard, his son, he came hastening to meet him. But as he stood bending over him, immediately blood ran from the nostrils of the dead king, as if his spirit was indignant at his coming. Then the aforesaid count, weeping and moaning, proceeded with the corpse of his father to Fontevrault, and there caused it to be buried.

The admiration for the person and character of Richard, which has lasted, however undeserved, through all subsequent times, began in his own lifetime, and is reflected by all his early biographers; for example, in the following extract from the contemporary account known as the *Itinerary* of King Richard.

104. A contemporary description of Richard Cœur de Lion

The Lord of the ages had given him such generosity of soul and endued him with such virtues that he seemed rather to belong to earlier times than these. . . . His was the valor of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles; he was no whit inferior to Alexander, or less than Roland in manhood. Of a truth he easily surpassed the more praiseworthy characters of our time in many ways. His right hand, like that of a second Titus, scattered riches. Moreover — a thing that is, as a rule, but very rarely found in so famous a knight — the tongue of a Nestor and the prudence of a Ulysses (as they well might) rendered him better than other men in all kinds of business, whether eloquence or action was required. His military knowledge did not slacken his inclination for vigorous action; nor did his readiness for action ever throw a doubt upon his military prudence. If any one chances to think him open to the charge of rashness, the answer is simple; for, in this respect, a mind that does not know how to submit itself, a mind impatient of injury, urged on by its inborn high spirit to demand its lawful rights, may well claim excuse. Success made him all the better suited for accomplishing exploits, since fortune helps the brave. And though fortune wreaks her spleen on whomsoever she pleases, yet he was not to be drowned, for all her adverse waves.

He was lofty in stature, of a shapely build, with hair halfway between red and yellow. His limbs were straight and flexible, his arms somewhat long, and for this very reason better fitted than those of most folk to draw or wield the sword. Moreover he had long legs, matching the character of his whole frame. His features showed the ruler, while his manners and his bearing added not a little to his general presence.

So much of Richard's career gathers around the Third Crusade that the remaining selections are drawn from that episode in his life.

105. Richard prepares for the crusade

Meanwhile the king of England set out for Gascony, and, besieging William de Chisi's castle, took it. William himself, the lord of the castle, he hanged, because he had robbed the pilgrims to St. James [of Campostella] and other folk passing through his land. Then came the king of England to Chinon, in Anjou, where he appointed Gerard, archbishop of Auch, Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sablun, Richard de Camville, and William de Forz of Oleron leaders and constables of his whole fleet that was about to set sail for the land of Syria. And he gave them his charter as follows:

Regulations for the crusading fleet

Richard, by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to all his men who are about to journey to Jerusalem by sea, greeting. Know that with the common counsel of approved men we have had the following regulations drawn up. Whoever on board ship shall slay another is himself to be cast into the sea, lashed to the dead man; if he have slain him ashore, he is to be buried in the same way. If any one be proved by worthy witnesses to have drawn a knife for the purpose of striking another, or to have wounded another so as to draw blood, let him lose his hand; but if he strike another with his hand and draw no blood, let him be dipped three times in the sea. If any one cast any reproach or bad word against another, or invoke God's curse on him, let him for every offense pay an ounce of silver. Let a convicted thief be shorn like a hired champion; after which let boiling pitch be poured on his head and a feather pillow

be shaken over it, so as to make him a laughing stock. Then let him be put ashore at the first land where the ships touch. Witness, myself at Chinon.

Moreover the same king in another writ enjoined all his men who were going to sea to yield obedience to the words and ordinances of the aforesaid justiciars of his fleet. Then the king went to Tours, where he received the pilgrim's staff and wallet from the hand of William, archbishop of Tours. And when the king leaned on the staff it broke.

The sudden contrition and humble penance of Richard, described in the following passage, are characteristic of his hot-blooded race and of the sentiment of the twelfth century, as well as of his own emotional character. His humiliation is not unlike his father's at Canterbury.

106. The penance of Richard (1190)

In the same year Richard, king of England, inspired by the divine grace, called to mind the foulness of his past life, and after contrition of heart gathered together the bishops and archbishops, who were with him at Messina, in Reginald de Moyac's chapel. Then, falling naked at their feet, he did not blush to confess the foulness of his life to God, in their presence. For the thorns of his evil lusts had grown higher than his head, and there was no hand to root them up. Yet did God, the father of mercies, who willeth not the death of a sinner but that he may be converted and live, turn on him once more the eyes of his mercy, giving him a penitent heart and calling him to repentance. For he in his own person received penance from the aforesaid bishops; and from that hour once more became a man fearing God, shunning ill and doing good. Happy he who so falls only to rise up stronger. Happy he who, after repentance, has not slipped back into sin.

Religious interests of Richard

In the same year Richard, king of England, hearing by common fame and the report of many that there was in Calabria a certain monk named Joachim, a Cistercian, and abbot of Corazzo, sent for him and willingly listened to the words of his prophecy, his wisdom, and his teaching. For this Joachim had the spirit of prophecy and used to foretell what was going

to happen. Moreover he was a man learned in the divine scriptures and used to set forth the meaning of St. John's visions,— those visions which St. John narrates in the Apocalypse and wrote with his own hand. In hearing his words the king of England and his followers took much pleasure.

We get some idea of the experiences of King Richard and his followers after reaching the Holy Land, from the following account.

107. A battle of the crusaders in the Holy Land (1191)

On the appointed day the host armed early and ranged itself in proper order. At the very rear went the king, to guard against the Turks who hung threateningly near. That day's journey was but short. From the very moment this accursed race saw our army on the move, like mountain torrents they began to rush down the heights in many separate bands: here maybe by twenties, there by thirties, and so on. And being so scattered they took every opportunity of doing our army what damage they could, for they grieved sorely at the death of their relatives, whose mangled bodies they had seen; wherefore they harassed our army more keenly, constantly following it up and annoying it by every means in their power. But by the divine grace our army crossed the river of Acre unharmed, pitched on the other side not far beyond the river, and waited there till the whole army should be collected, on Friday, the eve of St. Bartholomew. On the following Monday two full years had passed since the Christians began to besiege Acre.

August 23, 1191

So, on Sunday, the morrow of St. Bartholomew, at early morn the army was ranged in battalions for its march along the seashore. King Richard led the vanguard. The Normans stood like a wall round the standard. . . . The duke of Burgundy and his French, who were in the rear, followed at less speed, and, thanks to their delay, came near to suffering a most terrible loss. The army was marching, having the sea on its right, whilst from the mountain heights on the left the Turks kept a watch on all our movements. Suddenly there swelled up a black and dangerous cloud, and the air grew troubled. The army had now reached a narrow pass, along which the

provision wagons had to go. Here, on account of the narrowness of the way, there was some confusion and disorder; the Saracens, noting this, swept down upon the pack horses and wagons, cutting off unwary men and steeds, plundering much of the baggage, breaking through and dispersing those who offered any resistance, and driving them in flight and slaughter to the brink of the sea. There both sides fought with manful courage for dear life. On this occasion, when a Turk had cut off the right hand of a certain Everard, one of the bishop of Salisbury's men, he, without changing countenance, seized his sword with the left hand and, closing with the Turks, stoutly defended himself against them all, brandishing his weapon.

Richard comes to the rescue of the rear guard

The rear of the army was exceedingly perturbed at this onset till John Fitz-Luke, urging his horse forward at full speed, bore news of all that had happened to King Richard, who, coming back with a band of his own men, brought aid to the rear and thundered on against the Turks, slaying them right and left with his sword. Nor was there any loitering, but right and left, as of old the Philistines fled from the face of the Maccabee, so now did the Turks scatter and flee from the face of King Richard, till they gained the mountain heights, leaving, however, some of their number headless in our hands. In this conflict one of the French, William des Barres by name, who had formerly incurred Richard's displeasure, was now restored, thanks to his signal valor, to his former favor.

Saladin was not far off, with the flower of his army; but, after this repulse, the Turks, despairing of gaining any advantage, contented themselves with watching our movements from a distance. Accordingly our army, resuming its line of march, came to a great river and cisterns, which they found to be good. There, in a pleasant plain, they fixed their tents, for they saw indications that Saladin had pitched there before them, and, noting the way in which so wide a district was trodden down, judged his army to be very large.

V. The Reign of John

The two great crises of John's reign were the struggle with the church and the struggle with the barons,

culminating respectively in the interdict and the granting of Magna Carta. It is difficult now to realize how deeply the life of the people was affected by the imposition of an interdict, but some idea of this may be obtained from the details in the following account, taken from the annals of the abbey of Waverley.

108. Account of the interdict of 1208–1213

Finally, after many petitions were made, as well to the king as to the bishops, and these were not listened to, it was enjoined on the bishops of the whole kingdom by the authority of the lord pope that, unless the king should admit the archbishop and the monks, they should lay, throughout the whole English church, an interdict on all the holy offices, except the baptism of infants and the confession of the dying. William of London, Eustace of Ely, and Mauger of Worcester were made special executors of this command. When they had received this order they came again to the king, and on bended knees and with tears in their eyes begged that he would quietly allow Stephen, the archbishop of the Anglican church, to return to his church at Canterbury, showing to him several letters which had been sent to them by the lord pope and by the archbishop concerning this affair. But since his heart had become hardened and he would not hear them, they showed him the order of the lord pope for laying a general interdict on all the holy offices throughout the English church, unless he would admit the archbishop.

The interdict is laid (April, 1208)

After the date for laying the interdict had been postponed several times for the king, since he persisted in his obstinacy, on the first day of the month beginning after the Sunday on which is sung "*Isti sunt dies*," to wit, the day before the Annunciation of the Lord, March 24, a general interdict was placed on all the holy offices, and the doors of the churches were closed by the authority of the lord pope.

The king in retaliation confiscates the property of the clergy

When this edict was pronounced generally throughout England the king was greatly disturbed, and ordered in the entire kingdom a general confiscation of the possessions of all bishops, clergy, and religious men, as well as of all other ecclesiastical possessions, and sent throughout all the shires

his own officers, clergy as well as laymen, to confiscate the possessions of the churches. These men went through the country, seizing the personal property of the clergy and the immovable goods within and without the churches, intrusting the care of those things in the separate villages to men near by, through whose hands the clergy might obtain necessities. In many places they even broke the bars on the granaries of the clergy. On account of these erroneous sins, by order of the bishops a sentence of excommunication was passed on all those who should lay violent hands upon ecclesiastical possessions, excepting the persons of the king and the queen and the justiciar of the lord king.

Exile of the bishops

When, even after a lamenting petition on the part of the bishops, such madness could in no way be checked, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Gilbert of Rochester, and afterwards Mauger of Worcester and Giles of Hereford crossed over the sea. The anger of the king was by no means abated, but rather became more severe. He ordered the soldiers and officers, in the confiscation of the goods of the church and clergy, to seize the housekeepers, mistresses, and concubines of the priests and clergy which they found, and to detain them until they should be redeemed with money by the priests and clergy, which was afterwards done. While the bishops were delaying in foreign parts, the king sent abbots and other messengers for the archbishop, that he should come to England, but not as archbishop. When the archbishop had been dissuaded from this, he ordered the three bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to come to England. Since they were summoned they came, and after waiting for an audience with the king for eight weeks they returned without having completed the matter. The evil became even greater, and Henry, duke of Saxony, came into England to his uncle, King John, begging him to make peace with the church and to recall the archbishop. Afterwards King Otto wrote to King John, both concerning the peace of the church and reconciliation with the archbishop. Later the king sent four of his leading men into Germany to Otto, after whose return the king softened somewhat his anger and moderated his actions against the church.

Other rulers expostulate with John

The growing unpopularity of John finally led to the formation of the conspiracy of the nobles against him, described in the following account from the chronicle of Roger of Wendover.

109. The conspiracy of the barons (1213)

About this time the earls and barons of England assembled at St. Edmund's, as if for religious duties, although it was for some other reason; for after they had discoursed together secretly for a time, there was placed before them the charter of King Henry the First, which they had received, as mentioned before, in the city of London from Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury. This charter contained certain liberties and laws granted to the holy church as well as to the nobles of the kingdom, besides some liberties which the king added of his own accord.[1] All therefore assembled in the church of St. Edmund, the king and martyr, and, commencing from those of the highest rank, they all swore on the great altar that if the king refused to grant these liberties and laws, they would withdraw themselves from their allegiance to him, and make war on him, till he should, by a charter under his own seal, confirm to them everything they required; and finally it was unanimously agreed that, after Christmas, they should all go together to the king and demand the confirmation to them of the aforesaid liberties, and that they should, in the meantime, provide themselves with horses and arms, so that if the king should endeavor to depart from his oath, they might, by taking his castles, compel him to satisfy their demands; and having arranged this, each man returned home. . . .

The first rising of the barons

The seventeenth year of the reign of King John he held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London and took up his abode at the New Temple. At that place the above-mentioned nobles came to him in gay military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of King Edward, with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and church of England, as were contained in the charter and above-mentioned laws of

[1] This was the coronation charter of Henry I, given on pp. 121–123.

Henry the First. They also asserted that, at the time of his absolution at Winchester, he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was bound by his own oath to observe them.

The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle; he made answer, however, that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due deliberation, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown. After much discussion on both sides the king at length, although unwillingly, procured the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and William Marshal as his sureties, that on the day agreed on he would, in all reason, satisfy them all, on which the nobles returned to their homes.

. . . . . .

The second rising of the barons

In Easter week of this same year the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford, with horses and arms. They had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them, and constituted a very large army; for in their army there were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped. . . . The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford. On the Monday next after the octaves of Easter the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley; and when the king learned this he sent the archbishop of Canterbury and William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, with some other prudent men, to them to inquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that unless the king immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to the before-named demands. The archbishop with his fellow-messengers then carried the paper to the king, and read to him the heads of the paper one by one throughout.

The king, when he heard the purport of these heads, said derisively, with the greatest indignation: "Why, amongst these

unjust demands, did not the barons ask for my kingdom also? Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever." And at length he angrily declared with an oath that he would never grant them such liberties as would render him their slave. . . .

The barons march against the king

As the archbishop and William Marshal could not by any persuasions induce the king to agree to their demands, they returned by the king's order to the barons, and duly reported to them all they had heard from the king; and when the nobles heard what John said, they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter commander of their soldiers, giving him the title of Marshal of the Army of God and the Holy Church, and then, one and all flying to arms, they directed their forces towards Northampton.

The king yields to superior force

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons would attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their so doing; and he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, to them, and told them that, for the sake of peace, and for the exaltation and honor of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required. He also sent word to the barons, by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect. The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and without deceit reported to the barons all that had been deceitfully imposed on them; they, in their great joy, appointed the fifteenth of June for the king to meet them at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. Accordingly, at the time and place agreed on, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference, and when each party had stationed themselves apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties. . . . At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, King John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty granted the underwritten laws and liberties, and confirmed them by his charter as follows:

Runnymede, on the Thames

110. Extracts from the Great Charter (1215)

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, reeves, servants, and all bailiffs and his faithful people, greeting. Know that by the inspiration of God and for the good of our soul and those of all our predecessors and of our heirs, to the honor of God and the exaltation of holy church, and the improvement of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry, archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, and Benedict of Rochester, bishops; of Master Pandulf, subdeacon and member of the household of the lord pope, of Brother Aymeric, master of the Knights of the Temple in England; and of the noblemen William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, William, earl of Salisbury, William, earl of Warren, William, earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway, constable of Scotland, Warren Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh, steward of Poitou, Hugh de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Bassett, Alan Bassett, Philip d'Albini, Robert de Roppelay, John Marshal, John Fitz-Hugh, and others of our faithful.

Freedom to the church

1. In the first place, we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed, for us and for our heirs forever, that the English church shall be free, and shall hold its rights entire and its liberties uninjured; and we will that it be thus observed; which is shown by this, that the freedom of elections, which is considered to be most important and especially necessary to the English church, we, of our pure and spontaneous will, granted, and by our charter confirmed, before the contest between us and our barons had arisen; and obtained a confirmation of it by the lord pope, Innocent III; which we shall observe and which we will shall be observed in good faith by our heirs forever.

We have granted, moreover, to all free men of our kingdom, for us and our heirs forever, all the liberties written below, to be had and holden by themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding from us in chief by military service, shall have died, and when he has died his heir shall be of full age and owe relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl for the whole barony of an earl a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron for a whole barony a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight for a whole knight's fee a hundred shillings at most; and who owes less let him give less according to the ancient custom of fiefs.

A promise of moderate feudal claims; taken from the charter of Henry I

3. If, moreover, the heir of any one of such shall be under age, and shall be in wardship, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without a fine.

6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, so, nevertheless, that before the marriage is contracted it shall be announced to the relatives by blood of the heir himself.

7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall have her marriage portion and her inheritance immediately and without obstruction, nor shall she give anything for her dowry or for her marriage portion, or for her inheritance, which inheritance her husband and she held on the day of the death of her husband; and she may remain in the house of her husband for forty days after his death, within which time her dowry shall be assigned to her.

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry so long as she prefers to live without a husband, provided she gives security that she will not marry without our consent, if she holds from us, or without the consent of her lord from whom she holds, if she holds from another.

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter; and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid. In the same way it shall be done concerning the aids of the city of London.

13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water. Moreover,

we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs and villages and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

A plan for a common council or parliament. This promise was withdrawn in the next reign

14. And for holding a common council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of an aid otherwise than in the three cases mentioned above, or concerning the assessment of a scutage, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons by our letters under seal; and besides we shall cause to be summoned generally, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold from us in chief, for a certain day, that is at the end of forty days at least, and for a certain place; and in all the letters of that summons we will express the cause of the summons, and when the summons has thus been given the business shall proceed on the appointed day, on the advice of those who shall be present, even if not all of those who were summoned have come.

15. We will not grant to any one, moreover, that he shall take an aid from his freemen, except for ransoming his body, for making his oldest son a knight, and for once marrying his oldest daughter; and for these purposes only a reasonable aid shall be taken.

16. No one shall be compelled to perform for a knight's fee or for any other free tenement any greater service than is owed from it.

The king's courts shall be held at convenient times and places

17. The common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place.

18. The recognitions of *novel disseisin*, *mort d'ancestor*, and *darrein presentment* shall be held only in their own counties and in this manner: we, or, if we are outside of the kingdom, our principal justiciar, will send two justiciars through each county four times a year, who, with four knights of each county, elected by the county, shall hold in the county and on the day and in the place of the county court the aforesaid assizes of the county.

28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take any one's grain or other chattels without immediately paying for them in money, unless he is able to obtain a postponement at the good will of the seller.

29. No constable shall require any knight to give money in place of his ward of a castle, if he is willing to furnish that ward in his own person or through another honest man, if he himself is not able to do it for a reasonable cause; and if we shall lead or send him into the army, he shall be free from ward in proportion to the time which he has been in the army.

30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours or any one else shall take horses or wagons of any freeman for carrying purposes except on the permission of that freeman.

31. Neither we nor our bailiffs will take the wood of another man for castles, or for anything else which we are doing, except by the permission of him to whom the wood belongs.

35. There shall be one measure of wine throughout our whole kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of grain, that is the London quarter, and one width of dyed cloth and of russets and of halbergets, that is two ells within the selvages; of weights, moreover, it shall be as of measures.

General freedom from oppression

39. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed or banished or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice.

41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in going out from England and coming into England, and in remaining and going through England, as well by land as by water, for buying and selling, free from all evil tolls, by the ancient and rightful customs, except in time of war, and if they are of a land at war with us; and if such are found in our land at the beginning of war, they shall be attached without injury to their bodies or goods, until it shall be known from us or from our principal justiciar in what way the merchants of our land are treated who shall be then found in the country which is at war with us; and if ours are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

47. All forests which have been afforested in our time shall be disafforested immediately; and so it shall be concerning river banks which in our time have been fenced in.

Expulsion of mercenaries

51. And immediately after the reëstablishment of peace we will remove from the kingdom all foreign-born soldiers, crossbowmen, servants, and mercenaries who have come with horses and arms for the injury of the realm.

52. If any one shall have been dispossessed or removed by us without legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or his right, we will restore them to him immediately; and if contention arises about this, then it shall be done according to the judgment of the twenty-five barons, of whom mention is made below concerning the security of the peace. Concerning all those things, however, from which any one has been removed or of which he has been deprived without legal judgment of his peers by King Henry our father, or by King Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or which others hold, and which it is our duty to guarantee, we shall have respite till the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which the suit has been begun or the inquisition made by our writ before our assumption of the cross. When, however, we shall return from our journey, or if by chance we desist from the journey, we will immediately show full justice in regard to them.

60. Moreover, all those customs and franchises mentioned above, which we have conceded in our kingdom, and which are to be fulfilled, as far as pertains to us, in respect to our men, all men of our kingdom, as well clergy as laymen, shall observe as far as pertains to them, in respect to their men.

The crude plan for enforcing these promises

61. Since, moreover, for the sake of God, and for the improvement of our kingdom, and for the better quieting of the hostility sprung up lately between us and our barons, we have made all these concessions; wishing them to enjoy these in a complete and firm stability forever, we make and concede to them the security described below; that is to say, that they shall elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whom they will, who ought with all their power to observe, hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have conceded to them, and by this our present charter confirmed to them.

Thus if we or our justiciar, or our bailiffs, or any of our servants shall have done wrong in any way toward any one, or shall have

transgressed any of the articles of peace or security, and the wrong shall have been shown to four barons of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, let those four barons come to us, or to our justiciar, if we are out of the kingdom, laying before us the transgression, and let them ask that we cause that transgression to be corrected without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression, or, if we shall be out of the kingdom, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it, within a period of forty days, counting from the time in which it has been shown to us, or to our justiciar, if we are out of the kingdom, the aforesaid four barons shall refer the matter to the remainder of the twenty-five barons, and let these twenty-five barons with the whole community of the country distress and injure us in every way they can; that is to say, by the seizure of our castles, lands, possessions, and in such other ways as they can until it shall have been corrected according to their judgment, saving our person and that of our queen, and those of our children; and when the correction has been made, let them devote themselves to us as they did before. And let whoever in the country wishes take an oath that in all the above-mentioned measures he will obey the orders of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, and that he will injure us as far as he is able with them, and we give permission to swear publicly and freely to each one who wishes to swear, and no one will we ever forbid to swear. . . .

63. Wherefore we will and firmly command that the church of England shall be free, and that the men in our kingdom shall have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peacefully, freely and quietly, fully and completely, for themselves and their heirs, from us and our heirs, in all things and places, forever, as before said. It has been sworn, moreover, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all these things spoken of above shall be observed in good faith and without any evil intent. Witness the above named and many others. Given by our hand in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORMATION OF A UNITED ENGLISH NATION, 1216–1337

I. The Universities

The growing activity and importance of the universities, which was so characteristic of this period, is marked by the adoption by the various colleges and by the university authorities, of a great number of rules on a variety of academic subjects. Some of the most familiar of these were for taking books from the college libraries, restricting expenditures at the common tables, regulating fees to the masters, requiring the use of Latin in conversation, establishing the conditions of graduation, etc. The following are examples, given in the collection called *Munimenta Academica*, describing conditions at Oxford from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

111. Rules for taking out books, etc.

Each book of the house, now or hereafter to be given out, shall be taken only after leaving a large deposit, in order that the one having it may the more fear to lose it; and let a duplicate receipt be made, of which one part shall be kept in the common custody, and the other be taken by the scholar having the book; and let no book be given out outside of the college without a still better bond, and with consent of all the scholars. . . .

No one shall interfere with the regular arrangement of the household either in the choice of dinners or in the occupation of the rooms of the house, but each scholar shall give diligent assistance; and especially they shall not exceed an expense of twelve pence a week each from the common treasury, except

in the three principal weeks, unless a special dispensation has been given by the university. . . .

All the scholars of the house shall often speak Latin, in order that they may obtain an easier and more ready and more decorous manner of speaking in disputations and in other proper circumstances.

Let them all live honorably, like clerics, as becometh saints, not fighting, nor using base or scurrilous language, nor singing love songs, nor telling tales of love adventures or such as lead to evil thoughts; not ridiculing any one or stirring him to anger, nor shouting so that students may be interfered with in their study or their rest.

Fees to be paid by students

Masters of the liberal arts willingly perform varied and heavy labors in lecturing and discussing, for the profit and advantage of their scholars, but on account of stinginess, which has grown up in these modern days more than formerly, they are not sufficiently rewarded by them for these labors, as is befitting and as was formerly done; therefore it is made a rule, that each scholar of the faculty of arts attending in the hall at the usual weekly exercises shall pay, for either the old or new logic, at least twelve pence for the whole year, dividing it in proper proportions for the separate terms.

Those who shall regularly hear lectures on books on physics must pay eighteen pence for hearing these books for a year.

It is made a rule that masters of the grammar schools shall be required to dispute on grammar on Thursdays.

Since it has been made a law from old time, that masters holding schools of grammar should, on their oath, give attention to the positive knowledge of their scholars; yet some, looking for gain and profit and forgetful of their own salvation, treating that statute with contempt, have presumed to give what they call "cursory lectures," to the evident injury of their scholars; the chancellor, wishing to look out for the profit of the same scholars, and especially the younger ones, as he is bound to do, has suspended such attendance, which is not only frivolous but injurious to the advancement of the said younger scholars, and

has made a law, that whosoever shall in future wish to conduct schools of grammar shall desist from cursory lectures of this kind, under pain of being deprived of the rule of the schools and of undergoing imprisonment at the will of the chancellor. Neither in the schools nor anywhere in the university shall they give such courses of lectures as these, or allow them to be given, but shall attend diligently to the positive instruction of their scholars.

Books to be studied before graduation

The bachelors about to take their degree in a certain year must appear before certain masters, with the good testimony of some other masters and bachelors. They shall then swear, touching the sacred objects, that they have heard all the books of the old logic at least twice, except the books of Boethius, which it is enough to have read once, and the fourth book of the *Topics* of Boethius, which they are not required to have read. Of the new logic they shall swear that they have read the books of *First Topics* and *Outlines* twice, the book of *Later Topics* at least once. Of grammar they must swear that they have heard *Concerning Constructions* of Priscian twice, the *Barbarism* of Donatus once, or three books of physical matters; viz. *Physics*, *Of the Soul*, *Of Generation and Corruption*.

For the assistance of poor scholars, chests, or endowments, were established by gift or bequest, from which under various regulations temporary loans were made; books, garments, and other pledges being left as security. The bequest referred to in the following document was made to one of the Oxford colleges in 1306 by the bishop of Winchester.

112. Acknowledgment of a bequest by college authorities

Since it is one of the works of piety to give relief to the poverty of pious scholars, who in seeking the pearl of knowledge in the field of the Lord are exposing themselves to labor, conflict, and various troubles, the executors of Lord John of Pontisara, formerly bishop of Winchester, who had a special affection for the masters and scholars of this university, have generously given and delivered to us 200 marks, which we acknowledge

to have received from the said executors, to be converted to the use and advantage of the masters and scholars of the said university under the following regulations. Every year, on St. Nicholas eve, in winter, shall be celebrated a solemn anniversary of the said bishop with the full service of the dead.

Scholars of each faculty, if they are needy, shall enjoy the benefit of this fund, on condition that a master who lectures may borrow forty shillings, a master who does not lecture two marks and a half, a bachelor two marks, a sophist one mark.

Each scholar receiving any of the money is required to say the Lord's prayer and the Ave Maria each five times for the soul of the dead above mentioned.

Students at the universities were numerous and disorderly. They were under very insufficient restraint, many of them remained at the universities for years, and there was much drinking and fighting. Some of these conflicts were between students and townsmen of Oxford and Cambridge, some among the students themselves. The following instances are of the latter class.

113. Fighting between students from the northern and the southern shires

In Lent there arose a painful conflict in Oxford; the trouble of the preceding year had not been entirely allayed, but still kept irritating the parties. The scholars from Wales, always restless, rose, along with the scholars from the south, who stood by them against the northern scholars, and many evils and even deaths resulted. This disagreement increased to such an extent that a day for an open battle in the field was fixed between the parties. But God intervened, and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, came in and arranged matters with slight loss; many of the students of Wales were banished from the University of Oxford. They were compelled to this by some of the scholars from the north, who were prepared for this when they came to the gates to offer reconciliation.

Not infrequently these students' fights resulted in actual murder, as in the following case.

114. A coroner's inquest at Cambridge

Pleas of the crown held in the presence of Stephen Morys and Edmund Listere, coroners of the liberty of Cambridge, from the Monday after the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, in the forty-third year of the reign of King Edward the Third, even to the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the fourth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.

On the Sabbath day, in the vigil of Pentecost, in the forty-eighth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it happened at Cambridge that a certain Roger Kebbel was found dead, bearing a wound on the right side of his head four inches in length and two in depth. Inquiry concerning the death was made of William de Cumberton, William Hyndercle, John Colvile, skinner, John de Norfolk, John Coupere, Robert de Holm, Richard Bowyer, Andreas Breustere, Richard Ferrour, John Albyn, John Hosyere, and Thomas Maydenston. These men declared on oath that on Wednesday, on the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, in the year above mentioned, just before midnight, a certain quarrel arose in Cambridge near the corner of St. Benedict, between Master Robert Utesle and John de Stowe, John Saunford, and other clerks, who began to fight among themselves. When this was announced to the friends of the said John Saunford, clerks came from the different inns and from the castle to the said corner to aid the said John, among whom came the above-mentioned Roger Kebbel. One Richard Reyner came with a poleax and dealt the said Roger the above-mentioned blow, from which he died, after lingering from the said feast of St. Mark even to the vigil of Pentecost. Immediately after this wicked deed the said Richard fled. They say that the said Richard has no lands, dwellings, goods, or chattels which can be valued or appraised.

Two bodies of students fight

Students in the universities, notwithstanding their occasional disorderliness, ranked as clerics. They were tonsured, that is to say, a small circle on the top of the head was kept shaved, and they could be tried only by the officers of the university, or, like other clerics, in the church courts. The usual procedure, when a clergyman

was charged with offenses in a civil court, was to show his tonsure, and then to ask for a book and prove that he was a clergyman by his ability to read it. Then he was released or turned over to the bishop's court, where the punishment was always light, never extending to the death penalty. In a book called *Philobiblon*, written about this time by a bishop of Durham, books, which are personified, are made to set forth their various claims for consideration. They address themselves to the clergy as follows:

115. From the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury

Remember therefore, we pray, how many and how great liberties and privileges are conferred upon you, the clergy, through us books. Instructed by us, at a tender age, while you were yet without down upon your chins, you received the tonsure upon your crowns, being protected by the dread claim of the church, in the decree, "Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no harm; and whoever rashly toucheth them, his own blow shall instantly recoil upon him with the wound of an anathema." At length, however, falling into the age of wickedness, arriving at the double way of the Pythagoric symbol, you chose the left-hand branch, and, turning aside, cast off the preassumed destination of the Lord and became companions of thieves; and thus ever progressing to worse, you were defiled by robberies, homicide, and various shameful crimes, your character and conscience being equally corrupted by wickedness.

The wicked career of the former students

Being called to justice, you are bound in manacles and fetters, to be punished by a most ignominious death. Then your friend and neighbor fails you, nor is there any one to pity your fate. Peter swears he never knew the man; the mob cries out to the judge, "Crucify him! Crucify him! For if you discharge this man you are not Cæsar's friend." It is now too late to fly; you must stand before the tribunal; no place of appeal offers itself; nothing but hanging is to be expected. When sorrow and the broken song of lamentation alone fill the heart of the wretched man, when his cheeks are watered with tears,

and he is surrounded with anguish on every side, then let him remember us; and in order to avoid the peril of approaching death, let him display the little token of the ancient tonsure which we gave him, begging that we may be called in on his behalf, and bear witness of the benefit conferred. Then, moved by pity, we instantly run to meet the prodigal son, and snatch the fugitive servant from the gates of death. The well-known book is tendered to be read, and after a slight reading by the criminal, stammering from fear, the power of the judge is dissolved, the accuser is withdrawn, death is put to flight.

The culprit proves by reading the book that he is a clergyman

Many of the most valued privileges of the universities were grants from the pope, as the general head of the church, of which the universities were considered to be a part.

116. John, bishop of Carlisle, to the pope, asking for Oxford the same privileges that have been given to Paris

To the most holy father in Christ, Lord Boniface, by divine providence of the very holy Roman and universal church highest pontiff, John, by the mercy of the same, humble minister of the church at Carlisle, with reverential obedience sends kisses for his blessed feet.

Great fertility gladdens a mother, and the more virtuous the offspring the greater is the occasion for joy. The inexhaustible fertility of the University of Oxford does not cease to produce many great and useful sons for the ranks of the Lord, so that it is truly rated as the mother and nurse of English learning, and is deserving of being held in honor with the affection due to a mother. Therefore, since a wise son is the gladness of a father, she ought to be held in favor who increases the house of God with the wisdom and devotion of such sons.

As I have learned, the apostolic foresight has considered it best to distinguish the university of the kingdom of France by such a privilege that all who have attained in any faculty the rank of the honor of master shall be permitted to deliver lectures in the same faculty anywhere, and to continue these as long as they please, without a new examination or approbation, without the duty of going back to the beginning, or of seeking the favor of any one. I therefore affectionately and devotedly

beg your pious fatherly care that, for increasing with kind affection the peace and uniformity among scholastics, it may be pleasing to your apostolic kindness to extend the common privilege of this dispensation to the said University of Oxford. There is truly a fear felt by many of the great men of the kingdom of England, that peace cannot long be preserved inviolate by the students, — a thing which is especially necessary among universities, — unless the English university is acknowledged to be deserving of being ranked with the rest in liberties and scholastic powers. May the lord preserve your holiness to rule the universal church through all time! Dated at Berwick, on the third day of September, 1296.

II. The Monasteries

The monasteries, many of which had come down from a period before the Norman Conquest, were growing steadily in the extent of their possessions, and in the number of their inmates. Among the largest, richest, and most influential of the old Benedictine monasteries was that of St. Albans, situated about twenty miles north of London. Its records, which are still preserved, fill several volumes, and are occupied with notices of the erection of new buildings, ornamentation of the shrines in the abbey church, gifts of books, loans obtained from the Jews, settlement of disputes about property, and such matters, as is indicated in the following extracts.

117. Extracts from the annals of the abbey of St. Albans (1166–1260)

When the above-mentioned Abbot Robert had ruled excellently for fifteen years, four months, and some days over the church of St. Alban, which had been intrusted to him, being very ill with pleurisy, on a certain Sabbath night, the twenty-third of October, he was anointed with the oil for the sick by the venerable Lawrence, abbot of Westminster, who was present; and just at dawn he departed this life, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1166. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of

London, Lawrence, abbot of Westminster, and Simon, then prior of the church of St. Alban, were all present to bury him. He was interred in the chapter house, which he had so fittingly erected, at the feet of Abbot Paul, who was the first man in this church who is known to have been decked in pontifical array, as his likeness on his marble sarcophagus bears witness.

After the abbot died the whole abbey was taken possession of by the justiciar of the king, but its care was intrusted by the same justiciar, Robert, earl of Leicester, to the prior, and to brother Adam, the cellarer, and other brethren of the place.

Debts to the Jews and others

The church was found to be burdened with many debts, the amount of which was discovered to be six hundred marks, as was estimated by the royal officials. It owed much to Christians, but more to the Jews. The abbot was excusable for this on account of the reasons for such difficulties, and was pardoned, at the earnest request of the best men. From a feeling of relationship and fellowship, however, since flesh and blood had revealed themselves to him, he had bestowed many gifts upon his own people. He had also caused the estate of Gorham with its belongings to be rashly regranted and wrongfully increased; and at the beginning of the erection of the chapter house which he intended to build, he had, at the advice of his architect, caused the bodies of the old abbots to be buried too meanly, and without any record of those distinguished men. So when the architect died of apoplexy, the memory of the place was lost. First carnal affection, and then negligence, weakened the heart of the man.

Appeal to the king for permission to elect a new abbot

Announcement was made to the lord king of the death of Robert, abbot of the church of St. Alban, and the king lamented his loss. The monks therefore immediately begged that permission be granted them to choose another in his place; for four months and more the license to elect was postponed. Finally the king, overcome with weariness at their ceaseless prayers, wrote to the bishop of London to go to the monastery of St. Alban, where three names should be presented in his presence, and the whole affair should then be reported by him in a letter to the king. An account of the family and character of those nominated should also be sent, together with

their acquirements and wisdom, in order that he himself might choose from the three the one whom he preferred.

Election of Abbot Simon

This was done, and when the family and career of the three nominees had been announced to the king, he replied that his choice rested on the prior of the place, that is to say, Lord Simon; and Simon was installed abbot of the church of St. Alban, a man of worthy life, well skilled in letters, and an especial lover of the Scriptures and of books. And immediately on the same day, that is, the twentieth of May, which day was in that year the day of the Lord's Ascension, he was consecrated by the lord of London, Gilbert, whose cognomen is Foliot, with no pledge except that to the Roman church. And at this consecration he was adorned with the pontifical insignia. . . .

Building of the shrine of St. Alban

Abbot Simon of pious memory from that time began carefully and wisely to collect an immense treasure of gold, silver, and precious gems. And he began also to construct a receptacle which we call a shrine[1] (and up to this time we have seen none better) by the hand of a most excellent workman, Master John, a goldsmith; and within a few years he successfully completed this piece of work, so laborious, so rich, and so finely wrought. When it was completed he placed it in a more prominent position, that is, above the high altar, opposite the person celebrating, so that each one celebrating the mass might have, in his face and in his heart, over this same altar, the memory of the martyr; and so in the sight of the one celebrating there was constantly portrayed that vision which showed the martyrdom, that is to say, the murder of this same man. On two sides of the shrine were figured a series of the occurrences in the life of the blessed martyr, which were a pledge and a preparation for his passion, with raised figures of gold and silver of beaten work, which is commonly called relief work. On the top facing the east he reverently placed an image of the crucifix, with the figures of Mary and John and a most suitable display of precious gems. On the front, looking towards the west, he placed an image of the Blessed Virgin, seated on a throne

[1] For the remains of St. Alban, the patron saint of the monastery, who had been put to death there according to tradition in A.D. 286.

and holding her babe on her lap; these figures were made of raised work and gems, including a precious gold necklace. A row of martyrs was arranged on top, and the shrine rose in a curving and elaborate finial. At the four corners were towers, with windows, beautifully completed with wonderfully constructed crystal domes. The coffin of the martyr himself, made by Abbot Geoffrey, is fittingly placed within this shrine just as if it were his room in which his bones are known to be secretly hidden.

Abbot Simon repairs and endows the scriptorium and has books copied

It must be noted, too, that Abbot Simon of immortal memory supported two or three most excellent writers continually about him; by whose industry he had priceless copies of the best books made to perfection, and placed them in a special decorated case. He also repaired the scriptorium, which had at that time fallen into decay and had been neglected. In the case of this scriptorium he brought in certain praiseworthy customs, and he so enriched it by endowments that in all future times the abbot of the period would be able to have one special writer. Besides these most precious books, which it would take too long to enumerate, he presented silver basins and many other vases and ornaments to God and to the church, by bestowing them upon the holy martyr. . . .

Profusion and nepotism of the abbot

But inasmuch as no man upon earth, no, not even a babe a day old, is without sin, let us run briefly over the errors of this man, although they are few in comparison with the number of his good works. At his death he left his abbey in debt more than six hundred marks to the Jews, besides other debts which had increased to the sum of two hundred marks or more. Wherefore Aaron the Jew, who held us bound to him, came to the house of St. Alban in great pride and arrogance and with threats boasted that he had made a shrine for our blessed St. Alban, and had prepared a dwelling place for him, when homeless, with his own money. Besides, and to this thing we refer not without a bleeding heart, he, weakened by carnal affection, loved his relations more than was fitting in a religious man, — dead, as he should be, to the world, — and enriched them with the goods of the cross. And not only the poor and needy who presented themselves, but also the knights and the

powerful, were enriched by him, as well as those pretending a relationship, although none existed. For this purpose he cut down in great part the woods of St. Alban. He moreover omitted doing many good deeds which he could have done.

Death of Abbot Simon (1183)

This Abbot Simon, after he had ruled the church of St. Alban for about fifteen years, and had commendably observed the monastic rule, with rigor of discipline and justice, in the year of grace 1183 paid the debt of nature and entered the way of all flesh. . . .

The next abbot but one was John, who was a great builder, increasing the abbey buildings, especially with living rooms for the monks and guests of the abbey. He also rebuilt its mills, and attended to other matters more closely connected with its secular than its religious life.

Actions of Abbot John

In the fifth year of his rule as prelate he made a law that the number of the brethren should in no case exceed one hundred, unless a certain person was worthy to be received on account of eminence of dignity or learning, or on the petition of some powerful person who could not be denied without serious injury. . . .

Rooms with the new-fashioned fireplaces

Likewise he built a very fine hall for the use of the guests, with several sleeping apartments adjoining. One very finely ornamented suite may be mentioned, with dining room and fireplace, with a room and hall adjoining which is called the "royal palace" because it is double. It was also furnished with vaults. There is a very beautiful hall at the entrance, which is called "the portico" or "oriolum," and several sleeping chambers for the reception of guests, very beautiful indeed, together with dining rooms and fireplaces. The hall which was formerly built in the same place had fallen into gloomy and unsightly ruins, with its old walls tumbling down. It had then been covered and patched on the roofs and sides. The same abbot caused the new hall, of which we shall speak presently, with its chapels and outhouses, to be covered with lead. Besides this he caused it to be painted and delicately decorated,

together with the chamber next to it, by the hand of Richard, our monk, a most excellent workman.

This same abbot built opposite the large gate a beautiful house; this was long, made of stone, and covered with tiles; in it there were three fireplaces, and by its appearance the whole court was made more beautiful. Inasmuch as this house had a double court, the upper part was considered best suited for the higher officials of the abbot, the lower part for the pantry. . . .

A house for the monks, and houses to rent as an investment at London

He acquired for us an establishment at London where certain houses had fallen in ruins; this was next to the houses which his predecessor, Abbot William, had bought there; there he erected new houses and raised the rents. He likewise bought for us land which had belonged to John Astmer. For the granting of these, the abbot gave by charter the necessaries of life to this same John, who was to wait upon him.

A horse mill added to the water mill

Inasmuch as the water supply failed our water mill, which was built next to the alehouse; and sometimes on account of the tangle of reeds which choked the stream, sometimes in the summer on account of the hot, dry season, there was not a sufficiency of water for the use of all the buildings, this same Abbot John constructed a very fine horse mill next to the alehouse. It would have been necessary otherwise to prepare for the grinding of seven thousand bushels of grain, which would have been difficult and injurious. In the construction and the repairing of these mills he is believed to have paid out more than £100.

The monks' ale made stronger

The above-mentioned Abbot John has greatly improved our ale, which as well to our injury as to our shame had shown itself poor beyond measure, by adding to it about eight thousand bushels of grain suitable for ale, that is, a mixture of barley and wheat, which is commonly called brase. . . .

He devoutly presented also to the church two sets of the Decretals for the bookcase; epitomes also of Raymond, Godfrey, and Bernard on the Decretals, and, written in his own hand, one book in which are contained Seneca and his speeches, together with many other books and booklets.

A very full and interesting description of the abbey of St. Edmunds, situated in Suffolk, about sixty miles

northeast of London, is found in the history of the abbey written by one of its monks, Jocelin of Brakelond. This account is the source of Carlyle's *Past and Present*. The debts to the Jews, the disputes with the Londoners about toll, and such questions make up the staple of the narrative. Most of it falls within the stormy administration of Abbot Sampson, which covered a period of more than thirty years.

118. Jocelin of Brakelond's narrative of occurrences at St. Edmunds

There was but one resource and relief to the abbot, and that was to borrow money on interest, so that thereby he might be able in some measure to keep up the dignity of his house. There befell not a term of Easter or St. Michael, for eight years before his decease, but that the principal of our debt increased one or two hundred pounds at least; the securities were always renewed, and the interest which accrued was converted into principal. This laxity descended from the head to the members, from the superior to the subjects. Hence it came to pass that every official of the house had a seal of his own, and bound himself in debts at his own pleasure, to Jews as well as to Christians. Oftentimes silken caps, and golden phials, and other ornaments of the church were pledged without the knowledge of the convent. I myself saw a security passed to William Fitzisabel for one thousand and forty pounds, but I never could learn the consideration or the cause. I also saw another security passed to Isaac, the son of Rabbi Jocee, for four hundred pounds, but I knew not wherefore.

Carelessly contracted debts

I saw a third security passed to Benedict the Jew, of Norwich, for eight hundred and fourscore pounds. This was the origin of that debt: our parlor was destroyed, and it was given in charge to William, the sacrist, without any choice on his part, that he should restore it. He privily borrowed from Benedict the Jew forty marks at interest, and gave him a security, sealed with a certain seal which used to hang at the shrine of St. Edmund, wherewith the gilds and fraternities were wont to be sealed. This seal at last, but in no great haste, was broken

by order of the convent. Now when that debt had increased to one hundred pounds, the Jew came, bearing the precept of our lord the king touching this debt of the sacrist; and then it was that all that had been secret from the abbot and convent was laid open. . . .

A description of Abbot Sampson (1180–1211)

Abbot Sampson was of middle stature, nearly bald, having a face neither round nor yet long, a prominent nose, thick lips, clear and very piercing eyes, ears of the nicest sense of hearing, bushy eyebrows often cut; and he quickly became hoarse from short exposure to cold. On the day of his election he was forty and seven years old, and had been a monk seventeen years. He had a few gray hairs in a reddish beard, and just a few more, which were somewhat curly, among the black ones on his head; but within fourteen years after his election it all became white as snow. He was an extremely temperate man, never slothful, well able and willing to ride and walk, till old age gained upon him and moderated such inclination. On hearing the news of the cross being captive, and the loss of Jerusalem, he began to use under-garments of horsehair and a horsehair shirt, and to abstain from flesh and flesh meats; nevertheless he desired that meats should be placed before him while at table, for the increase of the alms dish. Sweet milk, honey, and such like sweet things he ate with greater appetite than other food. He abhorred liars, drunkards, and talkative folk; for virtue ever is consistent with itself and dislikes contraries.

He also much condemned persons given to murmur at their meat or drink, and particularly monks who were dissatisfied therewith, himself adhering to the uniform course he had practiced when a mere monk; he had likewise this virtue, that he never changed the meat you set before him. Once when I, then a novice, happened to serve in the refectory, it came into my head to ascertain if this were true, and I thought I would place before him a mess which would have displeased any other but him, being served in a very black and broken dish. But when he had looked at it, he was as one who saw it not. Some delay taking place, I felt sorry that I had done so, and so snatching away the dish I changed the meat and the

dish for a better, and brought it to him; but this substitution he took in ill part, and was angry with me for it.

Abbot Sampson's knowledge of languages

An eloquent man was he, both in French and Latin, but intent more on the substance and method of what was to be said than on the style of words. He could read English manuscript very critically, and was wont to preach to the people in English, but in the dialect of Norfolk, where he was born and bred; wherefore he caused a pulpit to be set up in the church for the advantage of the hearers, and for the ornament of the church. The abbot also seemed to prefer an active life to one of contemplation, and rather commended good officials than good monks. He very seldom approved of any one on account of his literary acquirements, unless he also possessed sufficient knowledge of secular matters; and whenever he chanced to hear that any prelate had resigned his pastoral care and become an anchorite, he did not praise him for it. He never applauded men of too complying a disposition, saying, "He who endeavors to please all is like to please none."

The fair at St. Edmundsbury

The merchants of London claimed to be quit of toll at the fair of St. Edmund; nevertheless many paid it, unwillingly indeed, and under compulsion; wherefore a great tumult and commotion was made among the citizens of London in their hustings. However, they came in a body and informed Abbot Sampson that they were entitled to be quit of toll throughout all England, by authority of the charter which they had from King Henry the Second. Whereto the abbot answered that were it necessary he was well able to vouch the king to warranty, that he had never granted them any charter to the prejudice of our church, nor to the prejudice of the liberties of St. Edmund, to whom St. Edward had granted and confirmed toll and team and all regalities before the conquest of England; and that King Henry had done no more than give to the Londoners an exemption from toll throughout his own lordships, and in places where he was able to grant it; but so far as concerned the town of St. Edmund he was not able so to do, for it was not his to dispose of. The Londoners, hearing this, ordered by common council that no one of them should go to the fair of St. Edmund; and for two years they kept away,

whereby our fair sustained much loss. At last, upon the mediation of the bishop of London and many others, it was settled between us and them, that they should come to the fair, and that some of them should pay toll, but that it should be forthwith returned to them, so that by such a dissembled act the privilege on both sides should be preserved.

But in process of time, when the abbot had made agreement with his knights, and, as it were, slept in tranquillity, behold again "the Philistines be upon thee, Sampson!" Lo, the Londoners, with one voice, were threatening that they would lay level with the earth the stone houses which the abbot had built that very year, or that they would take distress by a hundredfold from the men of St. Edmund, unless the abbot forthwith redressed the wrong done them by the bailiffs of the town of St. Edmund. These had taken fifteen pence from the carts of the citizens of London, who on their way from Yarmouth, laden with herring, had made passage through our demesnes. Furthermore the citizens of London said that they were quit of toll in every market, and on every occasion, and in every place throughout all England, from the time when Rome was first founded, and that London was founded at the very same time. Also that they ought to have such an exemption throughout all England, as well by reason of its being a privileged city, which was of old time the metropolis and head of the kingdom, as by reason of its antiquity. But the abbot sought reasonable postponements thereupon, until the return of our lord the king of England, that he might consult with him upon this; and having taken advice of the lawyers, he returned to the claimants those fifteen pence, without prejudice to the question of each party's rights.

The greater rigidity of the Cistercian rule appears from the following account of the foundation of that order. It was established at Citeaux in France, whence the name of the order is drawn, a generation after the Norman Conquest, and by the thirteenth century had a number of monasteries in England, almost equaling the older Benedictine houses in extent and influence.

119. How the Englishman Stephen Fitz-Harding helped to found the Cistercian Order

At this time began the Cistercian order, which is now both believed and asserted to be the surest road to heaven. To speak of this does not seem irrelevant to the work I have undertaken, since it redounds to the glory of England to have produced the distinguished man who was the author and promoter of that rule. To us he belonged, and in our schools passed the earlier part of his life. Wherefore, if we are not envious, we shall embrace his good qualities the more kindly, in proportion as we knew them more intimately. And, moreover, I am anxious to extol his praise, because it is a mark of an ingenuous mind to approve that virtue in others, of which in yourself you regret the absence. He was named Harding, and born in England of no very illustrious parents. From his early years he was a monk at Sherborne; but when secular desires had captivated his youth he grew disgusted with the monastic garb, and went first to Scotland and afterwards to France. Here, after some years' exercise in the liberal arts, he was reawakened to the love of God. For he went to Rome with a clerk who partook of his studies; neither the length and difficulty of the journey, nor the scantiness of their means of subsistence by the way, preventing them, both as they went and returned, from singing daily the whole psalter.

Fitz-Harding takes the Benedictine vows, but questions the divergences from them

Indeed the mind of this celebrated man was already meditating the design which soon after, by the grace of God, he attempted to put in execution. For returning into Burgundy, he was tonsured at Molêmes, a new and magnificent monastery. Here he readily admitted the first elements of the order, as he had formerly seen them; but when additional matters were proposed for his observance, such as he had neither read in the Benedictine rule nor seen elsewhere, he began, modestly and as became a monk, to ask the reason of them. . . .

Determination to return to the spirit of the Benedictine rule

The subject, then, being canvassed in frequent chapters, ended by bringing over the abbot himself to the opinion that all superfluous matters should be passed by, and merely the essence of the rule be scrutinized. Two of the fraternity, therefore, of equal faith and learning, were elected, who, by vicarious examination, were to discover the intention of the founder's rule; and when they had discovered it, to propound it to the

rest. The abbot diligently endeavored to induce the whole convent to give their concurrence, but as it is difficult to eradicate from men's minds what has early taken root, since they reluctantly relinquish the first notions they have imbibed, almost the whole of them refused to accept the new regulations, because they were attached to the old. Eighteen only, among whom was Harding, otherwise called Stephen, persevering in their holy determination, together with their abbot, left the monastery, declaring that the purity of the institution could not be preserved in a place where riches and gluttony warred against even the heart that was well inclined. They came therefore to Citeaux, a situation formerly covered with woods, but now so conspicuous from the abundant piety of its monks, that it is not undeservedly esteemed blessed by the Divinity himself. Here, by the countenance of the archbishop of Vienne, who is now pope, they entered on a labor worthy to be remembered and venerated to the end of time.

Severity of the Cistercian rule

Certainly many of their regulations seem severe, and more particularly these: they wear nothing made with furs or linen, nor even that finely spun linen garment which we call *staminium:* neither breeches, unless when sent on a journey, which at their return they wash and restore. They have two tunics with cowls, but no additional garments in winter, though, if they think fit, in summer they may lighten their garb. They sleep clad and girded, and never after matins return to their beds; but they so order the time of matins that it shall be light ere the lauds begin. So intent are they on their rule that they think no jot or tittle of it should be disregarded. Directly after these hymns they sing the prime, after which they go out to work for stated hours. They complete whatever labor or service they have to perform by day without any other light. No one is ever absent from daily services or from complines except the sick. The cellarer and hospitaller, after complines, wait upon the guests, yet observing the strictest silence. The abbot allows himself no indulgence beyond the others. He is everywhere present, everywhere attending to his flock; except that he does not eat with the rest, because his table is with the strangers and the poor. Nevertheless, be

he where he may, he is equally sparing of food and of speech; for never more than two dishes are served either to him or to his company; butter and meat never but to the sick.

From the Ides of September till Easter they do not take more than one meal a day, no matter what festival it may be, except on Sunday. They never leave the cloister but for the purpose of labor, nor do they ever speak, either there or elsewhere, save only to the abbot or prior. They pay unwearied attention to the canonical services, making no addition to them except the vigil for the dead. They use in their divine service the Ambrosian chants and hymns, as far as they have been able to learn them at Milan. While they bestow care on the stranger and the sick, they inflict intolerable mortifications on their own bodies, for the health of their souls.

The first abbot and more than half the monks return to their old abbey

The abbot at first both endured these privations with much alacrity himself and compelled the rest to do the same. In process of time, however, the man repented; he had been delicately brought up, and could not well bear such continued scantiness of diet. The monks, whom he had left at Molêmes, getting scent of this disposition either by messages or letters, for it is uncertain which, drew him back to the monastery by his obedience to the pope, for such was their pretext, compelling him to a measure to which he was already extremely well disposed. For, as if wearied out by the pertinacity of their entreaties, he left the narrow confines of poverty and sought again his former magnificence. All followed him from Citeaux who had gone thither with him, except eight. These, few in number but great in virtue, appointed Alberic, one of their party, abbot, and Stephen prior.

The former, not surviving more than eight years, was, at the will of heaven, happily called away. Then, doubtless by God's appointment, Stephen, though absent, was elected abbot, — the original contriver of the whole scheme, the especial and celebrated ornament of our times. Sixteen abbeys which he has already completed, and seven which he has begun, are sufficient testimonies of his abundant merit. . . . The Cistercian monks at the present day are a model for all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent.

III. Towns and Gilds

The period in which most of the large towns obtained their first charters was during the reigns of Henry II, Richard, and John ; but it was during the period covered by this chapter, the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, that they first became really important. Each city or borough of any size in England had a charter, somewhat like that of Lincoln, which is here given, granting or confirming to it various rights and privileges of self-government.

120. Charter of the city of Lincoln

Henry, by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to the bishop of Lincoln, justiciars, sheriffs, barons, officers, and all his faithful, French and English, of Lincoln, greeting. Know that I have conceded to my citizens of Lincoln all their liberties and customs and laws, which they had in the time of Edward and William and Henry, kings of England ; and their gild merchant of the men of the city and of other merchants of the county, just as they had it in the time of our aforesaid predecessors, kings of England, best and most freely. And all men who dwell within the four divisions of the city and attend the market are to be at the gilds and customs and assizes of the city as they have been best in the time of Edward, William, and Henry, kings of England. I grant to them, moreover, that if any one shall buy any land within the city, of the burgage of Lincoln, and shall have held it for a year and a day without any claim, and he who has bought it is able to show that the claimant has been in the land of England within the year and has not claimed it, for the future as before he shall hold it well and in peace, and without any prosecution. I confirm also to them, that if any one shall have remained in the city of Lincoln for a year and a day without claim on the part of any claimant, and has given the customs, and is able to show by the laws and customs of the city that the claimant has been in the land of England and has not made a claim against him, for the future

as in the past he shall remain in peace, in my city of Lincoln, as my citizen. Witnesses, E., bishop of Lisieux; Thomas, chancellor; H., constable; Henry of Essex, constable. At Nottingham.

The early craft gilds seldom had charters. Bodies of rules or ordinances were drawn up by their leading members, approved by the town authorities, and became the basis of their legal existence. These were added to or changed from time to time. The ordinances of the spur makers, here given, are fairly representative of the rules of a vast number of such organized trades in London and other cities and towns.

121. Ordinances of the spur makers of London (1345)

Be it remembered that on Tuesday, the morrow of St. Peter's Chains, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward III, the articles underwritten were read before John Hammond, mayor, Roger de Depham, recorder, and the other aldermen; and seeing that the same were deemed befitting, they were accepted and enrolled in these words.

No night work

In the first place, that no one of the trade of spurriers shall work longer than from the beginning of the day until curfew rung out at the church of St. Sepulcher, without Newgate; by reason that no man can work so neatly by night as by day. And many persons of the said trade, who compass how to practice deception in their work, desire to work by night rather than by day; and then they introduce false iron, and iron that has been cracked, for tin, and also they put gilt on false copper, and cracked. And further, many of the said trade are wandering about all day, without working at all at their trade; and then, when they have become drunk and frantic, they take to their work, to the annoyance of the sick, and all their neighborhood, by reason of the broils that arise between them and the strange folks who are dwelling among them.

And then they proceed to blow up their fires so vigorously that their forges begin all at once to blaze, to the great peril of themselves and of all the neighborhood around. And then,

too, all the neighbors are much in dread of the sparks, which so vigorously issue forth in all directions from the mouths of the chimneys in their forges. By reason thereof it seems best that working by night should be put an end to, in order to avoid such false work and such perils; and therefore the mayor and the aldermen do will, by the assent of the good folks of the said trade, and for the common profit, that from henceforth such time for working, and such false work made in the trade, shall be forbidden. And if any person shall be found in the said trade to do the contrary hereof, let him be amerced, the first time in 40 *d.*, one half thereof to go to the use of the Chamber of the Guildhall of London, and the other half to the use of the said trade; the second time, in half a mark, and the third time in 10 *s.*, to the use of the same Chamber and trade; and the fourth time, let him forswear the trade forever.

No public selling on Sunday

Also that no one of the said trade shall hang his spurs out on Sundays, or any other days that are double feasts; but only a sign indicating his business; and such spurs as they shall so sell they are to show and sell within their shops, without exposing them without, or opening the doors or windows of their shops, on the pain aforesaid.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall keep a house or shop to carry on his business, unless he is free of the city; and that no one shall cause to be sold, or exposed for sale, any manner of old spurs for new ones, or shall garnish them or change them for new ones.

Apprenticeship for seven years

Also, that no one of the said trade shall take an apprentice for a less term than seven years, and such apprentice shall be enrolled according to the usages of the said city.

Also, that if any one of the said trade, who is not a freeman, shall take an apprentice for a term of years, he shall be amerced as aforesaid.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall receive the apprentice, serving man, or journeyman of another in the same trade, during the term agreed upon between his master and him, on the pain aforesaid.

Also, that no alien of another country, or foreigner of this country, shall follow or use the said trade, unless he is enfran-

chised before the mayor, alderman, and chamberlain; and that, by witness and surety of the good folks of the said trade, who will undertake for him, as to his loyalty and his good behavior.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall work on Saturdays, after noon has been rung out in the city; and not from that hour until the Monday morning following.

The more charitable side of the craft gilds comes out in the following extracts from the ordinances of the white-leather dressers.

122. Extracts from the ordinances of the white-leather dressers of London (1346)

In honor of God, of Our Lady, and of all saints, and for the nurture of tranquillity and peace among the good folks, the megucers, called white-tawyers, the folks of the same trade have, by assent of Richard Lacer, mayor, and of the aldermen, ordained the points underwritten.

In the first place, they have ordained that they will find a wax candle, to burn before Our Lady in the church of Allhallows, near London wall.

Also, that each person of the said trade shall put in the box such sum as he shall think fit, in aid of maintaining the said candle.

Also, if by chance any one of the said trade shall fall into poverty, whether through old age or because he cannot labor or work, and have nothing with which to keep himself, he shall have every week from the said box 7 *d.* for his support, if he be a man of good repute. And after his decease, if he have a wife, a woman of good repute, she shall have weekly for her support 7 *d.* from the said box, so long as she shall behave herself well and keep single. . . .

And if any one of the said trade shall have work in his house that he cannot complete, or if for want of assistance such work shall be in danger of being lost, those of the said trade shall aid him, that so the said work be not lost.

And if any one of the said trade shall depart this life, and have not wherewithal to be buried, he shall be buried at the expense of their common box. And when any one of the said trade shall die, all those of the said trade shall go to the vigil and make offering on the morrow. . . .

IV. Rural Life

A fair idea of what the possessions and rights of the lord of a manor consisted in can be gained from the following survey or "extent" of the little village of Borley, in Essex, consisting of seven free tenants and thirty-nine small farmers and cotters who were in serfdom. The lord of the manor was, at the time of this survey, the king, though shortly before this time the manor had belonged to a lady, Isabella de Fortibus, and shortly afterward it was given by the king to the cathedral of Canterbury.

123. Survey or "extent" of the manor of Borley (1308)

Extent of the manor of Borley made there on Tuesday next after the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle, A.D. 1308, in the first year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, in the presence of John le Doo, steward, by the hands of William of Folesham, clerk, on the oath of Philip, the reeve of Borley, Henry Lambert, Dennis Rolf, Richard at Mere, Walter Johan and Robert Ernald, tenants of the lord in the said vill of Borley. These all, having been sworn, declare that there is there one mansion well and suitably built; that it is sufficient for the products of the manor, and that it contains in itself, within the site of the manor, four acres, by estimation. The grass there is worth yearly, by estimation, 2 *s*; and the pasturage there is worth yearly 12 *d*., sometimes more and sometimes less, according to its value. And the fruit garden there is worth yearly, in apples and grapes, perhaps 5 *s*. and sometimes more. Total, 8 *s*.

The church

And it is to be known that the lord is the true patron of the church of Borley, and the said church is worth yearly, according to assessment, in grains, in offerings, in dues, and in other small tithes, £10.

The mill

And there is one water mill in the manor, and it is worth yearly on lease 60 *s*. And the fish pond in the mill dam, with the catch of eels from the race, is worth yearly, by estimation, 12 *d*. Total, 61 *s*.

The woods

There is there a wood called le Hoo, which contains ten acres, and the underbrush from it is worth yearly, without waste, 5 *s.*; and the grass from it is worth yearly 5 *s.*; and the feeding of swine there is worth yearly 12 *d.* And there is there a certain other wood called Chalvecroft, which contains, with the ditches, five acres. And the herbage there is worth yearly 2 *s.* 6 *d.*; and the underbrush there is worth 3 *s.*; and the feeding of swine there is worth yearly 6 *d.* Total value, 17 *s.*

The home farm

There are there, of arable land in demesne, in different fields, 300 acres of land, by the smaller hundred. And it is worth yearly, on lease, £15, at the price of 12 *d.* per acre. Total acreage, 300. Total value, £15.

And it is to be known that the perch of land in that manor contains 16½ feet, in measuring land. And each acre can be sown suitably with 2½ bushels of wheat, with 2½ bushels of rye, with 2½ bushels of peas, with 3 bushels of oats, and this sown broadcast, and with 4 bushels of barley, even measure. And each plow should be joined with 4 oxen and 4 draught horses. And a plow is commonly able to plow an acre of land a day, and sometimes more.

The meadow

There are likewise of mowing meadow in various places 29 acres and 1 rood. This is worth yearly £7 6 *s.* 3 *d.*, at 5 *s.* an acre. Total acreage, 29 A., 1 R. Total of pence, £7 6 *s.* 3 *d.*

There are likewise of inclosed pasture 28 acres, and this is worth yearly 42 *s.* at 18 *d.* per acre. Of this sixteen acres are assigned to the dairy for the cows, and twelve for the oxen and young bullocks. Total, 42 *s.*

The common pasture

It is to be known that the lord may have in the common pasture of Borley, along with the use of the fresh meadows and of the demesnes of the lord, in the open time, 100 sheep, by the greater hundred. And their pasture, per head, is worth 2 *d.* yearly, and not more, on account of the allowance of food to the shepherd. Total, 20 *s.*

The court baron and customary court

There is there likewise a certain court of free tenants of the lord and of the customary tenants, meeting every three weeks. And the fines and perquisites thence, along with the view of frank pledge, are worth 20 *s.* a year. . . .

There are, moreover, of the services of the aforesaid customary tenants 22½ tasks, of which each task requires plowing upon the land of the lord at different seasons. And a task at the convenience of the lord at all plantings is worth 10½ *d.* Total, 19 *s.* 8¼ *d.*

There are, moreover, of the autumn works of the aforesaid customary tenants from the first of August to the feast of St. Michael, 424 days' work, the price of each day's work being 2 *d.* Total, 41 *s.* 2 *d.*

Total value

The sum of the total value, according to the extent, is £43 19 *s.* ¾ *d.*

Likewise from Reginald Crummelond 10 *s.* yearly, discovered after the extent was made up, as above. From which should be subtracted 7 *d.* rent owed to Lady Felicia, of Sender, yearly for a certain meadow called Baselymede, near Radbridge. There remains £43 18 *s.* 5¾ *d.*, plus 10 *s.* as above.

Court leet

And it is to be known that the lord prior of Christ Church of Canterbury has his liberty in the vill of Borley; and he has jurisdiction over thieves caught on the manor and tenants of the manor taken outside with stolen goods in their hands or on their backs. And the judicial gallows of this franchise stand and ought to stand at Radbridge. And now let us inquire concerning the pillory and tumbrel. It is reported by the jury that it ought to stand beyond the outer gates toward the west, next to the pigstye of the lord.

And it is to be remembered that as often as it is necessary for the reeve and four men to be present before the justices in eyre or anywhere else, that is to say, at the jail delivery of our lord, the king, or wheresoever it may be, the lord ought to find two men at his expense before the same justices; and the villagers of Borley will find three men at their expense; and this according to custom from a time to which, as it is said, memory does not extend.

Heriot

And it is to be known that when any customary tenant of the land in that manor dies, the lord will have as a heriot the best beast of that tenant found at the time of his death. And if he did not have a beast, he shall give to the lord for a heriot 2 *s.* 6 *d.* And the heir shall make a fine to the lord for the

tenement which was his father's, if it shall seem to be expedient to him, but, if not, he shall have nothing. Nevertheless, to the wife of the deceased tenant shall be saved the whole of the tenement which was her husband's on the day he died, to be held of the lord as her free bench till the end of her life, if she shall remain without a husband, and on performing the services due and customary thence to the lord. If, however, through the license of the lord, she shall have married, the heirs of the aforesaid deceased shall enter upon the aforesaid tenement by the license of the lord, and shall give one half of the said tenement to the widow of the said deceased as dowry.

The burdensome services of an ordinary villein tenant or small farmer are shown in the following statement of the duties of a typical man of this class on a manor in Sussex.

124. Services of a villein on the manor of Bernehome, Sussex (1307)

John of Cayworth holds a house and thirty acres of land, and owes yearly 2 *s.* at Easter and Michaelmas; and he owes a cock and two hens at Christmas, of the value of 4 *d.*

And he ought to harrow for two days at the Lenten sowing with one man and his own horse and his own harrow, the value of the work being 4 *d.*; and he is to receive from the lord on each day three meals, of the value of 5 *d.*, and then the lord will be at a loss of 1 *d.* Thus his harrowing is of no value to the service of the lord.

And he ought to carry the manure of the lord for two days with one cart, with his own two oxen, the value of the work being 8 *d.*; and he is to receive from the lord each day three meals of the price as above. And thus the service is worth 3 *d.* clear.

And he shall find one man for two days for mowing the meadow of the lord, who can mow, by estimation, one acre and a half, the value of the mowing of an acre being 6 *d.*; the sum is therefore 9 *d.*, and he is to receive each day three meals of the value given above; and thus that mowing is worth 4 *d.* clear.

And he ought to gather and carry that same hay which he has cut, the price of the work being 3 *d.*

And he shall have from the lord two meals for one man, of the value of 1½ *d.* Thus the work will be worth 1½ *d.* clear.

And he ought to carry the hay of the lord for one day with a cart and three animals of his own, the price of the work being 6 *d.* And he shall have from the lord three meals of the value of 2½ *d.* And thus the work is worth 3½ *d.* clear.

And he ought to carry in autumn beans or oats for two days with a cart and three animals of his own, the value of a work being 12 *d.* And he shall receive from the lord each day three meals of the value given above; and thus the work is worth 7 *d.* clear.

And he ought to carry wood from the woods of the lord as far as the manor house for two days in summer with a cart and three animals of his own, the value of the work being 9 *d.* And he shall receive from the lord each day three meals of the price given above, and thus the work is worth 4 *d.* clear.

And he ought to find one man for two days to cut heath, the value of the work being 4 *d.*, and he shall have three meals each day of the value given above; and thus the lord will lose, if he receives the service, 3 *d.* Thus that mowing is worth nothing to the service of the lord.

And he ought to carry the heath which he has cut, the value of the day's work being 5 *d.* And he shall receive from the lord three meals at the price of 2½ *d.* And thus the work will be worth 2½ *d.* clear.

And he ought to carry to Battle twice in the summer season, each time half a load of grain, the value of the service being 4 *d.* And he shall receive in the manor each time one meal of the value of 2 *d.* And thus the work is worth 2 *d.* clear.

The total of the rents, with the value of the hens, is 2 *s.* 4 *d.*

The total of the value of the works is 2 *s.* 3½ *d.*; owed from the said John yearly.

William of Cayworth holds a house and 30 acres of land and owes at Easter and Michaelmas 2 *s.* rent. And he shall do all customs just as the aforesaid John of Cayworth. . . .

Customs of the manor

And it is to be noted that none of the above-named villeins can give their daughters in marriage nor cause their sons to be tonsured, nor can they cut down timber growing on the lands they hold, without license of the bailiff or sergeant of the lord, and then for building purposes and not otherwise. And after

the death of any one of the aforesaid villeins the lord shall have as a heriot his best animal, if he had any; if, however, he have no living beast, they say that the lord shall have no heriot. The sons or daughters of the aforesaid villeins shall give for entrance into the holding after the death of their predecessors as much as they give of rent per year.

V. Conflicts between Henry III and the Barons

The following writ or order from the king is an example of the form of summons which was regularly sent out at this time to all the nobles and great churchmen, ordering them to attend a Great Council.

125. Summons of a noble to a Great Council

The king to his beloved and faithful relative, Edmund, earl of Cornwall, greeting. Because we wish to have a consultation and meeting with you and with the rest of the principal men of our kingdom, as to provision for remedies against the dangers which in these days are threatening our whole kingdom; we command you, strictly enjoining you in the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster, for considering, ordaining, and doing, along with us and with the prelates and the rest of the principal men and other inhabitants of our kingdom, as may be necessary for meeting dangers of this kind.

Witness the king at Canterbury, the first of October.

Matthew Paris, the St. Albans chronicler, gives the following outspoken account of one of the turbulent meetings of the Great Council in the time of Henry III. Such occurrences, with their unseemly quarrels, explain the final outbreak of civil war, at the same time that they show the gradual growth of the claims of the Great Councils, which developed into parliament.

On the day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin the nobility of all England, the prelates as well as the earls and

126. A Great Council in 1242

barons, gathered at London in accordance with a royal edict. Inasmuch as they knew that the king had summoned them seriously and had wearied them so often in this way with complaints, they determined by oath and under penalty of excommunication that no one in the Council should in any way consent to allow the king to extort money. It had become known to all that although the Count de la Marche was pressing the king to cross the Channel, bringing with him whatever treasure he could collect, he did not care for the English army, and had always looked down on the soldiery, as well as the strength of the kingdom and its loyalty, considering the king himself merely an instrument, whose money he wished to have. Because of this the English were justly aroused against the count and all his Poitevins, and they no longer looked upon the king with favorable eye, since he agreed to such things without the sanction of his nobles.

The demand of the king for money

Therefore when the king publicly and positively set forth the design of his heart concerning his expedition and the summons of the Count de la Marche, and with arguments demanded aid in money, the magnates replied with great bitterness of feeling that he had without advice planned such things, and had made shameless and imprudent demands from them, harassing and impoverishing his faithful followers very often, exacting tribute as if from slaves of lowest condition, often wresting from them great sums of money, to be uselessly spent. And so they refused the king to his face, being unwilling to be farther stripped for nothing. Therefore the king, employing the ingenious trickery of the Romans, ordered that they should wait until the following day for their desire about this thing and should in the meantime attend to other things.

The king tries individual persuasion

The next day he summoned singly to his secret chamber now this one, now that one, as a priest summoning penitents to confession. In this way he craftily attempted to weaken separately the individuals whom he was unable to move when together, and begged pecuniary aid from them, saying, "Just see what that abbot has given to me as a subsidy, and what another," and he stretched out his roll on which he showed written what that abbot or prior promised he would give, so

much or so much; and yet not one of these had given his assent, nor had it come to the knowledge of this person. With these false examples and with intricacies of speech the king entangled as many as possible. Nevertheless many remained obdurate, wishing in no way to withdraw from the common decision to which they had agreed. To these the king said in anger: "Shall I then prove false? I have sworn by an oath which cannot be broken to cross over the sea and demand my rights from the king of France with a stretched-out arm, and I shall by no means be able to do this thing without an abundance of money, which must proceed from your liberality."

An especial appeal to the nobility

There were still some whom he was unable by these and other words to win over, although, as has been said above, he summoned each one to him separately. Moreover, he again called to him some who were at one time rather friendly to him and addressed them as follows: "What baleful example are you furnishing to others? You who are earls and barons and brave knights ought not to fear, although some do feel timid, namely the prelates of the church. You ought to be more eager than the rest to demand back the rights of the kingdom and to try boldly the outcome of war against those who are seeking to injure us. Our claim upon the magnates and their promise is considered to strengthen our side and to encourage the right which we have; as is shown by the example of Wales, which has continued in prosperity where we recently triumphed victoriously. And with what appearance of justice can you leave me, your master, poor and abandoned, bound to so difficult an affair of the commonwealth, when I must fulfill the promise to cross the Channel, as I am held very strictly by an oath?"

Protest of parliament against the king's policy

When this came to the notice of all they replied: "We wonder beyond measure, O lord king, into what abyss the vast amount of money has been cast which you have obtained from the stewards of the great lords, from various escheats, from frequent extortions; as well from churches left without pastors as from the lands of the wealthy; and from rich gifts, all of which have caused astonishment in the hearts of those

who have heard them, and which have never brought even a moderate return to the kingdom. Moreover you recently summoned into this kingdom certain ambassadors, or those performing the functions of ambassadors, who have collected, as it were, grapes after the vintage, remnants for themselves of the remaining money. But all the magnates of England wonder greatly at the fact that without their consent and advice you have entered upon so difficult and perilous an undertaking, and that showing faith in those without faith, and scorning the favor of your natural advisers, you are exposing yourself to the outcome of so doubtful a fortune. Break this bond of falsehoods, accepted and sworn to on your soul, between the king of the French and you, to be observed inviolably and indissolubly even to the end; which very famous men have made on your part, — such men as Earl Richard, your brother, and Earl Roger Bigod, — dishonestly and shamelessly, not without danger to your life and injury to your credit."

The older and more dignified men of this kingdom also added: "By the very presence of your body you have shown too great confidence, when the notable (notable to be sure in their many betrayals) magnates themselves beyond the sea were rising against their master, the king of the French, and at such a time no faith ought to have been shown to them. You know also that recently in the Holy Land the king of Navarre, whose aid they promised you, perpetrated a crime, and the scar has not yet formed over the recent wounds.

"Let the examples drawn from your magnificent royal predecessors terrify and recall you, — those men who possessed impregnable camps, vast lands, many soldiers, and great treasures in those regions; who were nevertheless not powerful enough to overcome the compactness of the invincible soldiery of the kingdom of the French, or even to retain their possessions."

Anger of the king

When the king heard these words he flew into a great rage, swearing that with the help of the saints he would be recalled by no terror and prevented by no trickery of words from the plan which he had adopted, nor would he be held from going on shipboard within the week after Easter, and, unterrified,

trying his fortune in war across the sea against the French. So the council was dissolved, and on each side there remained secret anger.

The anger of the king against the barons was gradually concentrated on Simon de Montfort, whom he rightly looked upon as their leader. The following anecdote recounts the first occasion on which he showed this feeling openly.

127. An anecdote of the king

The fears and anxieties of the barons were increased by the coming of the month of July, with its pestilence-bearing Lion and scorching Dog Star, whose deadly barking usually disturbs the atmosphere. More than by all else were they alarmed at the fickleness and inscrutable duplicity of the king, which they discovered from a certain ominous speech. One day he had left his palace at Westminster and gone down the Thames in a boat to take his dinner out of doors, when the sky clouded over and a thunderstorm came on, attended with lightning and heavy rain. Now the king feared a storm of this kind more than any other, so he directed them to land him at once; and the boat was opposite the stately palace of the bishop of Durham, where the earl of Leicester was then staying. On hearing of his arrival the earl goes gladly to meet him, and, greeting him with respect, as was proper, says by way of consolation: "What is it that you fear? The storm is now passed." To this the king, not in jest but seriously, answered, with a severe look, "The thunder and lightning I fear beyond measure, but, by the head of God, I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in the world." The earl gently replied, "My lord, it is unjust and incredible that you should fear me, your firm friend, who am ever faithful to you and yours, and to the kingdom of England; it is your enemies, your destroyers and false flatterers, that you ought to fear." Every one suspected that these astounding words broke from the king because the earl of Leicester manfully and boldly persevered in carrying out the Provisions, under which they were to compel the king and all their opponents to assent to

Simon de Montfort

their plans, and utterly banish his brothers who were corrupting the whole kingdom. . . .

The following is an account of the battle of Lewes, written by the successor of Matthew Paris as historiographer at St. Albans abbey. The victory of Lewes, notwithstanding the completeness of the defeat of the king, was only temporary, and confusion, as here described, continued for another year.

128. Ineffectual efforts to close the Barons' War

The barons, moreover, had sent as mediators of peace to the king, Henry, bishop of London, and William de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, offering to pay thirty thousand pounds for the loss inflicted upon the kingdom by them, saving in all things the Provisions of Oxford. But the king of Germany,[1] who wished no one to seem equal to him, was very angry that the barons had risen against the king and had plundered his goods, and cried out against this disturbance of the peace of the time.

When those who had thus been sent had returned, they announced that the adverse party was anticipating a war to the end. And so Earl Simon spent the entire night without sleep, in accordance with his custom, reserving it for divine duties and prayers, and for urging his men to make serious confessions. William de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, holding before all the hope of absolution, ordered that for the remission of their sins they should fight manfully for the right on that day, promising to all who died in that way an entrance into the heavenly kingdom.

So, assured of war, the next morning before sunrise they went out of the village of Flexing, where a great part of them had spent the night; which village was distant from the town of Lewes about six miles. Before the present expedition Earl Simon de Montfort had conferred knighthood upon Gilbert de Clare.

[1] This was Richard, earl of Cornwall, younger brother of Henry III, who had been elected king of Germany, but was never fully recognized there, and remained most of his life in England.

Battle of Lewes

When they had approached the town of Lewes, at a place scarcely two miles distant from the town, Simon with his men ascended the hill, and, placing his wagon in the midst of his baggage and packs, he stationed his standard thereon, arranging many of his armed men about it in a circle. He himself with his army held the wings and awaited the outcome of the affair. In this wagon he had placed four citizens of London, who had conspired for his betrayal, a little while before, when he was spending the night in Southwark. He did this for a precaution.

White crosses as badges of the barons' army

When the lines had been carefully arranged he ordered white crosses to be sewed on their breasts and on their backs, above the armorial sign, in order that they might be recognized by the enemy, and might show that they were fighting for justice. In the morning the army of the barons suddenly attacked the followers of the king, who had gone forth to seek food and forage, and killed many of them.

The king, assured of the arrival of the barons, advanced immediately with his men, displaying his standards. The royal standard preceded him, bearing the fatal sign which they call "The Dragon." His army was divided into three parts. The first line was in charge of Edward, the eldest son of the king, with William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and John de Warenne, earl of Surrey and Sussex. The second was in charge of the king of Germany, with his son Henry. The third, King Henry himself commanded. The army of the barons was divided into four lines; the first was under Henry de Montfort, with the earl of Hereford; the second under Gilbert de Clare, with John Fitzjohn and William de Munchensy; in the third were the Londoners and Nicholas de Segrave; the fourth, Earl Simon himself commanded, with Thomas de Pelvestone.

The Prince of Wales defeats the Londoners

Edward with his line rushed upon the enemy with such force that he forced them to retreat; many were drowned, — it is reported about sixty; then the Londoners were put to flight. Edward, thirsting for their blood on account of the insult formerly offered to his mother, followed them a distance of four miles and inflicted severe loss; but the strength of the royal army was much lessened by his absence.

Success of Simon

In the meantime many powerful men in the royal army, seeing the standard of the earl on the hill, and thinking that he was there, hastened thither and fell suddenly upon the Londoners, not knowing that they were on their side. The earl and Gilbert de Clare rested nowhere, but struck down, overthrew, and sent to death many, straining every nerve to capture the king alive. Very many fell on the king's side. John, earl of Warenne, William de Valence, and Guy de Lusignan, all brothers of the king, Hugh Bigot, and about three hundred mailed knights, perceiving the ferocity of the barons, turned their backs. The king of Germany, Richard, Robert Bruce, and John Comyn, who had led the Scots thither, were all captured. Even King Henry himself, his horse having been killed under him, surrendered himself to Earl Simon de Montfort and was presently shut up in the priory under guard.

Many barons of Scotland were killed on that day, and many of the foot soldiers who had come with them were slain also. Besides, there were captured Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, John, son of Alan, earl of Arundel, William Bardolf, Robert de Tateshale, Roger de Someri, Henry Percy, Philip Basset. On the king's side there fell the justiciars, William de Wilton, and Fulk, son of Warenne, the one by the sword, the other by drowning. On the side of the barons Ralph Hering and Baro and William Blunders, standard bearers of the earl, were killed. About five thousand are said to have fallen on each side.

Edward, in the meantime, with his soldiers, returned from the slaughter of the Londoners, not knowing what had happened to his father; and, going around the town, he came to the camp at Lewes, and not finding his father there entered the priory of Lewes, where he both found his father and realized the situation. The barons assaulted the fort, but when those within manfully defended themselves they withdrew. When the courage of the camp soldiers became known, Edward was greatly excited; he wished to collect his men again and offer battle. When this was known the barons sent mediators declaring that they wished to treat finally concerning peace.

On the next day the Preaching Brothers and the Minorites went back and forth between the parties and accomplished this much, that on the sixth day following Edward and Henry were to give themselves up to Earl Simon for their fathers, the kings of England and Germany, for the sake of peace and quiet. There should then be a deliberate discussion as to what provisions and statutes ought to be established for the good of the kingdom, and which ought to be abolished. The captives were to be returned without ransom. Terms of peace

On the following Sabbath the king gave authority to all who had followed him to return to their estates, and wrote, at the wish of Earl Simon, to those who were within the fort at Tunbridge that, returning to their homes, they should not harm the barons. But these, nevertheless, advanced in arms when they heard that the Londoners who had escaped from the battle had been received at Croydon, and, hastening thither, killed many of them and carried off booty. Thence they hastened towards Bristol, where they remained in garrison until the liberation of Edward. Edward was sent to the castle of Wallingford to be confined. During that year five months and two weeks were shaken with the severity of the war. When any one wished to defend his castle he laid waste everything belonging to his neighbor, devastated fields, and drove away the cattle, for the defense of his castle; nor did the churches or cemeteries escape. The homes of the poor peasants, even to the straw of their beds, were torn up and taken. And although the earl had given command that under penalty of death no one should presume to enter a holy church or cemetery for plunder, nor should any one inflict violence upon religious men or their servants, he accomplished nothing by his carefulness. For neither bishops nor abbots nor any religious men could go from town to town without being plundered by thieves. Disorder of the times

VI. The Reign of Edward I

Edward I came to the throne equipped with all the physical and mental characteristics suited to make him

the great ruler he became. The following description of his person and habits is from a later St. Alban's chronicler, William of Rishanger.

129. A contemporary description of Edward I

Thereupon Edward, oldest son of Henry the Third, king of England, and Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence in Savoy, succeeded, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, to the kingdom of his father. He was prudent in the conduct of business, devoted from youth to the exercise of arms, by which he had acquired in various regions that knightly fame in which he excelled all Christian princes of his time. He was of graceful build and commanding stature, by which he rose head and shoulders above ordinary people. His hair in early life had been light yellow, in middle life much darker, and in old age it became white as a swan. He had a broad forehead, and the rest of his face was symmetrical, except that the lid of his left eye drooped, showing in this his likeness to his father. He had a stammering tongue, but nevertheless one which was not wanting in a certain eloquence and power of persuasion. His arms were long in proportion to his body, but in their nervous flexibility no man's were more suited to the use of the sword. His chest was more prominent than the rest of his body, and the wide separation of his legs gave him a firm seat on a running or leaping horse. When he was free from war he indulged in hunting wood birds and beasts, especially deer, which he was accustomed to chase on horseback, and, when captured, to cut down with a sword in place of a hunting knife.

The Great Councils or parliaments of the reign of Henry III, as of his predecessors, were made up, with a few exceptions, of nobles and prelates. The following summons issued in 1295 to the sheriff of each county, calling knights and townsmen to parliament, is worthy of careful study as showing the plan of representation established by Edward I, and giving the basis on which the House of Commons rests to the present day.

130. Writ to the sheriff for the election of representatives from Northamptonshire (1295)

The king to the sheriff of Northamptonshire. Since we intend to have a consultation and meeting with the earls, barons, and other principal men of our kingdom with regard to providing remedies against the dangers which are in these days threatening the same kingdom; and on that account have commanded them to be with us on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, at Westminster, to consider, ordain, and do as may be necessary for the avoidance of these dangers; we strictly require you to cause two knights from the aforesaid county, two citizens from each city in the same county, and two burgesses from each borough, of those who are especially discreet and diligent, to be elected without delay, and to cause them to come to us at the aforesaid time and place.

Moreover, the said knights are to have full and sufficient power for themselves and for the community of the aforesaid county, and the said citizens and burgesses for themselves and the communities of the aforesaid cities and boroughs separately, for doing then and there what shall be ordained by the common council in the premises; so that the aforesaid business shall not in any way remain unfinished for defect of this power. And you shall have there the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses and this writ.

Witness the king at Canterbury on the third day of October.

The terrible attack on the Jews described in the following passage occurred a few years before the beginning of the period covered by this chapter. Similar outrages, however, continued to occur during the whole of this time, much as they have occurred in recent years in Austria and Russia.

131. Attack on the Jews at the coronation of Richard I (1189)

Richard, the only one of the kings from the beginning so called, was consecrated king at London, and solemnly crowned by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, on the third day of September, which day from an early popular superstition is called unlucky, or Egyptian, as it were, by a certain presentiment of the outcome for the Jews. For that day proved to be

fatal to the Jews and the Egyptians more than to the English, since England, where under former kings they had been happy and renowned, was turned quickly for them by the judgment of God into Egypt, where their fathers had suffered a hard lot. The affair indeed is fresh in our memories and is known to every one at present; but it is worth while to write out with fuller details a record for posterity of a decree which was so clearly from on high, against this faithless and blasphemous people.

From all parts of England there had assembled for the solemn anointing of the Christian prince not only the nobility of the Christians but also the leading men of the Jews. These enemies of truth were on their guard lest perchance the good fortune enjoyed under the former king might not smile upon them under the new ruler, and they considered that his first acts ought most fittingly to be observed, and equal favor from him ought to be purchased by great gifts. But that prince received them less kindly than his father, being on his guard against I know not what, on account of a certain superstitious feeling of caution, from the advice of certain ones; so he forbade them to enter the church while he was being crowned, or the palace while the feast was going on, after the ceremony of the coronation.

When mass was completed the king, glittering in his diadem, with great pomp entered the banquet room. It happened that while he was sitting at the table, with a great throng of the nobility, confusion arose among the spectators about the palace. The Jews mingled with the throng and began to enter the palace. A certain Christian becoming angry, so the story goes, openly pushed away a Jew with his hand from the entrance door, citing as authority for his action the royal edict. Several were aroused by this example, and drove the Jews back with reproaches; the uproar grew general and the undisciplined horde rose like a whirlwind. Believing that the king had ordered such things, and relying, as it were, on royal authority, they rushed from all sides upon a great number of the Jews, who were standing near the entrance looking on. At first they attacked them viciously with their hands, but

Quarrel between a Christian and a Jew

presently, becoming more enraged, they used sticks and stones. Then the Jews began to flee; some were killed in the flight, while others were trampled under foot and perished. Two prominent Jews of York, Joceus and Benedict, had come there with the rest; the former of these escaped, but the latter, while he was attempting flight more slowly, because of the snares which were placed to catch him, was seized and, in order to escape death, was forced to acknowledge Christ, led to a church, and baptized on the spot.

The mob of London rises

In the meantime a very pleasing report, namely, that the king had ordered all the Jews to be exterminated, spread quickly throughout London. Presently a vast disorderly throng, composed of the people of London, as well as those whom the ceremony of the royal coronation had called together from many districts, hoping for booty or bloodshed, rushed together armed against a people hated by all according to God's judgment. Then the Jewish citizens, of whom a large number are known to dwell in London, betook themselves to their own homes, together with those who had assembled from all sides. The houses of these men were surrounded by a howling mob and boldly besieged from the ninth hour even to sunset. Since the houses could not be broken down, on account of the strong material of which they were built, and since the besiegers lacked engines for the purpose, they set fire to the roofs, and a dreadful conflagration was quickly lighted. This was fatal to the Jews, who were already in difficulty, and gave to the raging Christians light to aid them in their nocturnal undertaking.

A great fire in London

But this fire lighted against the Jews did not harm them, only inasmuch as, without discrimination, it spread quickly also to some of the houses of the Christians which were near by. Everywhere suddenly could be seen this wretched city set on fire by the flames of civil hatred, just as if by the hand of an enemy. The Jews were either burned in their own dwellings, or, coming forth, were cut off by swords. Much blood was shed in a short time. Soon, however, a desire for booty sprang up and put an end to the slaughter, and avarice conquered cruelty. Finally all murder ceased, and an avaricious madness set in for the robbing of houses and plundering of riches. Straightway

Christian was fighting against Christian, since they envied each other what they stole; with their wicked desire for plunder they spared not even friends and companions.

These things were announced to the king, who was at the banquet in the palace with a great throng of nobles, and Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciar of the king, a man powerful and prudent, was sent forth, with others equally noble, to either quell or restrain the reckless, but in vain. For in so great an uprising not one of them heeded his voice or paid any deference to his appearance; nay, even more, certain of the more ignorant began to rage against him and his companions, and ordered them with dreadful cries to go back quickly. These men advisedly withdrew from the unbridled madness of the mob, while the robbers continued raging with the greatest license and boldness even to the second hour of the next day, when a satiety of rioting, rather than weariness or consideration or reverence for the prince, allayed their fury.

By the latter part of the reign of Edward I the Jews had ceased to be so necessary to the king as before, since he could now borrow from the Italian bankers. Their expulsion therefore followed, as described by the chronicler John of Trokelowe.

132. The expulsion of the Jews (1290)

At this time there were Jews dwelling among the Christians in every city and famous town in England. King Edward, with the advice of his nobles, ordered them to leave the country, and to depart without fail on one day, and this was the decree: that whatever Jew should be found in England after the first warning should either be plunged in the baptismal font and thus faithfully acknowledge Christ, the son of God, or should have his head cut off. Immediately the Jews, struck with the fear of death, left England, carrying with them all their possessions. When their vessels had set sail and had been carried out to sea, storms arose, severe winds blew, their ships were shattered, and many were drowned. Certain ones driven upon the shores of France, by the judgment of God, perished miserably. At length the king of France was touched with

pity, although these were enemies to God, and since they were God's creatures, although ungrateful ones, he permitted them to dwell for a short length of time in his kingdom, and to settle in Amiens. When this was reported in Rome, and had come to the ears of the highest pontiff, burning with rage he bitterly denounced the king.

The decision of Edward in favor of Balliol, in the dispute about the throne of Scotland, and the oath of allegiance which the latter took, are recorded in unusually definite terms by one of the contemporary chroniclers.

133. The award of Norham

Therefore, after a diligent discussion of this matter, by common consent the king adjudged the undivided kingdom to John de Balliol, who was descended from the oldest daughter of David, king of Scots. For Robert de Bruce, between whom and the same John de Balliol the question principally lay, to the exclusion of all the others, although one generation nearer, nevertheless was descended from the second daughter of King David. John de Balliol, on the feast of St. Andrew next following, was solemnly crowned in the church of the Canons Regular at Scone, being seated on the royal stone on which Jacob had supported his head when he was going from Beersheba to Dan. After his coronation, going to the king of England, who was celebrating Christmas at Newcastle-on-Tyne, he did homage to him in these words: "Lord Edward, king of England, over-lord of Scotland, I, John de Balliol, king of Scotland, acknowledge myself your liegeman for the whole realm of Scotland and for all things which pertain to it and depend upon it; which kingdom of mine I hold, and ought openly and of right to hold, from you and your heirs, kings of England, with life and limbs and earthly honor, against all men who can live and die." And the king of England accepted his homage in this form, the rights of both being saved.

The oath of John Balliol

This homage did not settle the question of Scottish allegiance; war soon broke out, and the long, bitter, and doubtful contest which saw the romantic adventures

of Wallace and Bruce finally closed with the victory of the latter at Bannockburn in 1314, one incident of which is told in the following account.

134. The battle of Bannockburn (June 24, 1314)

On that night you might have seen the English host deep in their cups, wassailing and toasting immoderately; on the other hand the Scots silently kept the vigil fasting, their every thought centered in their desire for their country's freedom; and this desire, though ungrounded, was vehement and equal to all risks. On the morrow the Scots seized the most advantageous position, and dug pits three feet deep and as wide across, stretching along the whole line, from the right wing to the left. These they covered over with a light framework of twigs and osiers, that is to say, with hurdles; and then over the top they strewed turf and grass, so that men could cross them on foot with care, but the weight of cavalry could not be supported. In accordance with their royal leader's commands none of the Scots were mounted, and their army, drawn up in the usual divisions, was posted in solid formation at no great distance from this pit, which had been warily, not to say craftily, set between themselves and the English. On the other side, as the English army advanced from the west, the rising sun flashed upon their golden shields and polished helms. Their vanguard consisted of light horse and heavy cavalry, all unconscious of the Scots' pit, with its cunningly contrived light covering; in the second division were men-at-arms and archers held in reserve to give chase to the enemy; in the third was the king, with the bishops and other churchmen, and among them the brave knight, Hugh Spenser. The cavalry of the vanguard advanced against the enemy and fell headlong, as their horses stumbled into the ditch, with their forefeet caught in the broken hurdles; and when these fell through, the enemy came up and slew them, giving quarter only to the rich, for ransom.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST HALF OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

I. The Early Occurrences of the War

The French chronicler, Froissart, has described the life and events of this warlike and chivalrous period with so much vivacity and interest that it has seemed best to give extended extracts from his famous *Chronicles*. He gained most of his information from conversation with men who took part in the campaigns of the Hundred Years' War. Consequently we must make allowance for prejudices and mistakes, and it need not be a matter of surprise if Froissart's statements are not in all cases accepted in the *Short History of England* or in other histories. He wrote in French, but his chronicles have been often translated into English. The following extracts are taken from the old translation made by Lord Berners in the sixteenth century.

135. Extracts from Froissart's chronicles

Now sheweth the history that this Philip le Beau, king of France, had three sons and a fair daughter named Isabel, married into England to King Edward the second; and these three sons, the eldest named Louis, who was king of Navarre in his father's days and was called King Louis Hutin; the second had to name Philip the Great or the Long, and the third was called Charles; and all three were kings of France after their father's decease by right succession each after other, without having any issue male of their bodies lawfully begotten. So that after the death of Charles, last king of the three, the twelve peers and all the barons of France would

Hereafter beginneth the occasion whereby the war was moved between the kings of France and England

not give the realm to Isabel, the sister, who was queen of England, because they said and maintained, and yet do, that the realm of France is so noble that it ought not to go to a woman, and so consequently not to Isabel, nor to the king of England, her eldest son. For they determined the son of the woman to have no right nor succession by his mother, since they declared the mother to have no right; so that by these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France by their common accord did give the realm of France to the lord, Philip of Valois, nephew sometime to Philip le Beau, king of France, and so put out the queen of England and her son, who was as the next heir male, as son to the sister to Charles, last king of France. Thus went the realm of France out of the right lineage, as it seemed to many folk, whereby great wars have moved and fallen, and great destructions of people and countries in the realm of France and other places, as ye may hereafter see. This is the very right foundation of this history, to recount the great enterprises and great feats of arms that have fortuned and fallen. Sith the time of the good Charlemagne, king of France, there never fell so great adventures. . . .

How King Edward and all his allies did defy the French king

Thus the winter passed and summer came, and the feast of St. John Baptist approached; and the lords of England and of Almaine appareled themselves to accomplish their enterprise; and the French king wrought as much as he could to the contrary, for he knew much of their intents. King Edward made all his provisions in England, and all his men-of-war, to be ready to pass the sea incontinent after the feast of St. John; and so they did. Then the king went to Vilvorde, and there made his company to be lodged, as many as might in the town, and the others without along on the river sides in tents and pavilions; and there he tarried from Maudlin-tide till Our Lady day in September, abiding weekly for the lords of the Empire, and specially for the duke of Brabant, on whose coming all the others abode. And when the king of England saw how they came not, he sent great messengers to each of them, summoning them to come as they had promised, and to meet with him at Mechlin on St. Giles day and then to show him why they had tarried so long.

Thus King Edward lay at Vilvorde and kept daily at his cost and charge well to the number of sixteen hundred men of arms, all come from the other side of the sea, and ten thousand archers, besides all other provisions; the which was a marvelous great charge, besides the great rewards that he had given to the lords, and besides the great armies that he had on the sea. The French king on his part had set Genoways, Normans, Bretons, Picards, and Spaniards to be ready on the sea to enter into England as soon as the war should be opened.

These lords of Almaine at the king of England's summons came to Mechlin and with much business. Finally they accorded that the king of England might well set forward within fifteen days after; and to the intent that their war should be the more laudable, they agreed to send their defiances to the French king — first the king of England, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, Sir Robert d'Artois, Sir John of Hainault, the marquis of Meissen, the marquis of Brandenbourg, the lord of Fauquemont, Sir Arnold of Baquehem, the archbishop of Cologne, Sir Waleran, his brother, and all other lords of the Empire. These defiances were written and sealed by all the lords except the duke of Brabant, who said he would do his deed by himself at time convenient. To bear these defiances into France was charged the bishop of Lincoln, who bare them to Paris and did his message in such manner that he could not be reproached nor blamed; and so he had a safe conduct to return again to his king, who was then at Mechlin. . . .

How Sir Walter Manny after the defiances were declared made the first journey into France

In the first week that the French king was thus defied, Sir Walter Manny, as soon as he knew it, gat to him a forty spears and rode through Brabant night and day, till he came into Hainault and entered into the wood of Blaton, as then not knowing what he should do. But he had shewed to some of them that were most priviest about him, how he had promised before ladies and damosels ere he came out of England, that he would be the first that should enter into France, and to get either town or castle, and to do some deeds of arms. And then his intent was to ride to Mortagne and to get it if he might, the which pertained then to the realm of France; and so rode and passed the wood of Blaton, and came in a

morning before the sun-rising to Mortagne, and by adventure he found the wicket of the gate open. Then he alighted with his company and entered in, and did set certain of his company to keep the gate, and so went into the high street with his pennon before him and came to the great tower, but the wicket was fast closed. And when the watch of the castle heard the brunt and saw them, he blew his horn and cried "Treason! treason!" Then every man awoke and made them ready, and kept still within the castle. Then Sir Walter Manny went back again and did set fire in the street adjoining to the castle, so that there were a threescore houses brent and the people sore afraid, for they weened all to have been taken. Then Sir Walter and his company rode back straight to Condé and there passed the river of Hayne. Then they rode the way to Valenciennes and coasted on the right hand and came to Denain, and so went to the Abbey, and so passed forth toward Bouchain, and did so much that the captain did let them pass through by the river.

Then they came to a strong castle pertaining to the bishop of Cambray, called the castle of Thun, the which suddenly they took, and the captain and his wife within. And the lord Manny made a good garrison and set therein a brother of his called Sir Giles Manny, who afterwards did much trouble to the city of Cambray, for the castle was within a league of the town. Then Sir Walter Manny returned into Brabant to the king, his sovereign lord, whom he found at Mechlin, and there shewed him all that he had done. . . .

How King Edward took on him to bear the arms of France and the name, to be called king thereof

When that king Edward was departed from the Flamengerie, and came into Brabant and went straight to Brussels, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the marquis of Brandenbourg, the earl of Mons, Sir John of Hainault, the lord of Fauquemont, and all the lords of the Empire such as had been at that journey, brought him thither to take advice and counsel what should be done more in the matter that they had begun. And to have expedition in the cause they ordained a parliament to be holden at the town of Brussels, and thither to come was desired Jacques d'Arteveld of Gaunt, who came thither with a great company, and all the counsels of the good

towns of Flanders. There the king of England was sore desired of all his allies of the Empire that he should require them of Flanders to aid and to maintain his war, and to defy the French king, and to go with him whereas he would have them; and on their so doing, he to promise them to recover Lille, Douay, and Bethune.

This request was well heard of the Flemings, and thereupon they desired to take counsel among themselves; and so they took counsel at good leisure, and then they said to the king: "Sir, ere this time you have made to us request in this behalf. Sir, if we might well do this, saving your honor and to save ourselves, we would gladly do this; but, sir, we be bound by faith and oath and in the sum of two millions of florins in the pope's chamber, that we may make nor move no war against the king of France, whosoever it be, on pain to lose the said sum, and, beside that, to run in the sentence of cursing. But, sir, if ye will take on you the arms of France and quarter them with the arms of England and call yourself king of France, as ye ought to be of right, then we will take you for rightful king of France and demand of you quittance of your bonds, and so ye to give us pardon thereof as king of France: by this means we shall be assured and dispensed withal, and so then we will go with you whithersoever you will have us."

Then the king took counsel, for he thought it was a sore matter to take on the arms of France and the name, and as then had conquered nothing thereof, nor could not tell what should fall thereof, nor whether he should conquer it or not; and on the other side, loth he was to refuse the comfort and aid of the Flemings, who might do him more aid than any other. So the king took counsel of the lords of the Empire, and of the lord Robert d'Artois, and with other of his special friends; so that finally, the good and the evil weighed, he answered to the Flemings that if they would swear and seal to this accord, and promise to maintain his war, how he would do all this with a good will, and promised to get them again Lille, Douay, and Bethune; and they answered how they were content.

Then there was a day assigned to meet at Gaunt, at which day the king was there, and the most part of the said lords,

and all the counsels generally in Flanders. And so then all these said matters were rehearsed, sworn, and sealed; and the king quartered the arms of France with England, and from thenceforth took on him the name of the king of France, and so continued until he left it again by composition, as ye shall hear after in this book. And so at this council they determined that the next summer after they would make great war into France, promising to besiege the city of Tournay; whereof the Flemings were joyful, for they thought to be strong enough to get it, and that once gotten they believed shortly after to win again Lille, Douay, and Bethune, with the appurtenances pertaining or holden of the earl of Flanders. . . .

Of the battle on the sea before Sluys in Flanders between the king of England and the Frenchmen

Now let us leave somewhat to speak of the earl of Hainault and the duke of Normandy, and speak of the king of England, who was on the sea to the intent to arrive in Flanders, and so into Hainault, to make war against the Frenchmen. This was on midsummer even in the year of our Lord 1340; all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberghe and Sluys on the sea was Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Peter Behuchet and Barbevaire, and more than sixscore great vessels, besides others; and there were of Normans, Bretons, Genoways, and Picards about the number of forty thousand; there they were laid by the French king to defend the king of England's passage. The king of England and his came sailing till he came before Sluys; and when he saw so great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were. He answered and said, "Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king, and hath done great displeasure in England, brent your town of Hampton and taken your great ship, the *Christopher*." "Ah!" quoth the king; "I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them by the grace of God and St. George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures that I shall be revenged, an I may." Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers, and ever between two ships of archers he had one ship with men

of arms; and then he made another battle to lie aloof with archers; to comfort ever them that were most weary, if need were. And there were a great number of countesses, ladies, knights' wives, and other damosels that were going to see the queen at Gaunt; these ladies the king caused to be well kept with three hundred men of arms and five hundred archers.

When the king and his marshals had ordered his battles he drew up the sails and came with a quarter wind to have the vantage of the sun, and so at last they turned a little to get the wind at will. And when the Normans saw them recule back, they had marvel why they did so, and some said, "They think themselves not meet to meddle with us, therefore they will go back." They saw well how the king of England was there personally, by reason of his banners. Then they did apparel their fleet in order, for they were sage and good men of war on the sea, and did set the *Christopher*, the which they had won the year before, to be foremost, with many trumpets and instruments, and so set on their enemies.

There began a sore battle on both parts: archers and cross-bows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand; and the better to come together they had great hooks and grapplers of iron to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again, and at last the great *Christopher* was first won by the Englishmen, and all that were within it taken or slain. Then there was great noise and cry, and the Englishmen approached and fortified the *Christopher* with archers, and made him to pass on before to fight with the Genoways. This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land, for on the sea there is no reculing nor fleeing; there is no remedy but to fight and abide fortune, and every man to shew his prowess. Of a truth Sir Hugh Quieret and Sir Behuchet and Barbevaire were right good and expert men of war. This battle endured from the morning until it was noon, and the Englishmen endured much pain, for their enemies were four against one, and all good men on the sea. There the king of England was a noble knight of his own

hand; he was in the flower of his youth; likewise so were the earls of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntington, Northampton, and Gloucester; Sir Raynold Cobham, Sir Richard Stafford, the lord Percy, Sir Walter of Manny, Sir Henry of Flanders, Sir John Beauchamp, the lord Felton, the lord Bradestan, Sir John Chandos, the lord Delaware, the lord of Multon, Sir Robert d'Artois, called earl of Richmond, and divers other lords and knights, who bare themselves so valiantly, with some succor that they had of Bruges and of the country thereabout, that they obtained the victory; so that the Frenchmen, Normans, and others were discomfited, slain, and drowned; there was not one that scaped, but all were slain.

The two kings asserted their respective claims to the throne of France in a number of different ways, but in none more positively than in the following letters, exchanged in 1340, soon after Edward had actually invaded France.

136. Defiance of Philip by Edward (1340)

Philip of Valois, for long have we made suit before you by embassies and all other ways which we knew to be reasonable, to the end that you should be willing to have restored unto us our right, our heritage of France, which you have long kept back and most wrongfully occupied. And for that we see well that you are minded to continue in your wrongful withholding, without doing us right in our demand, we have entered into the land of Flanders as sovereign lord thereof, and have passed through the country. And we make known unto you that, by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and our right, together with the power of the said land and with our people and allies, in regard to the right which we have in the heritage which you do wrongfully withhold from us, we are drawing nigh unto you to make an end of our rightful challenge, if you will come near. And because so great a power of assembled men which come on our side, and which we think you are leading on your side, would never long be able to hold together without doing grievous hurt to the people and to the country, — which thing every good Christian ought to eschew, and especially

princes and others who think themselves worthy to rule nations, — so do we greatly desire that dispatch be made. Therefore, for the avoiding the death of Christians, seeing that the quarrel is manifestly ours and yours, let the trial of our challenge be made between our two bodies; whereunto we offer ourself for the reason aforesaid, albeit that we consider well the great nobility of your person, your prudence also, and discretion. And in case that you would not choose this way, then should our challenge be made to make an end thereof by battle between yourself, with one hundred of the fittest men of your side, and ourself, with so many others of our liegemen. And if you do not agree to either of these plans, assign unto us a certain day to fight before the city of Tournay, power against power, within ten days next after the date of this letter. . . .

Given under our great seal at Chin, in the fields near Tournay, the 27th day of the month of July, the year of our Lord 1340.

To this letter Philip replied as follows:

137. Reply of King Philip to Edward's defiance

Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to Edward, king of England. We have seen your letters which were brought into our court, sent from you to Philip of Valois, wherein are contained certain demands which you make of the said Philip of Valois. And for that the said letters came not unto us, and that the said demands were not made of us, as clearly appeareth by the tenor of the letters, we make unto you no answer. Nevertheless, we have heard and perceive, by means of the said letters and otherwise, that you have entered into our realm of France, bringing great harm to us, and to our realm and to our people, led on by wilfulness and without reason and without regard to the faith that a liegeman oweth to his lord. For you did enter into our liege homage, recognizing us, as is right, to be king of France, and did promise obedience such as one is bound to promise to his liege lord, as more clearly appeareth by your letters patent, sealed with your great seal, the which we have in our hands, and which you ought equally to have with you. Therefore our intent is, when unto us it shall seem good, to cast

you forth from our realm, to the honor of us and of our realm and to the profit of our people; and to do this we have steadfast hope in Jesus Christ, from whom all power cometh unto us. For by your undertaking, which is of wilfulness and not reasonable, hath been hindered the holy passage beyond sea, and great numbers of Christian people have been slain, the service of God minished, and holy Church had in less reverence. And as to what you have written, that you think to have the help of the Flemings, we take it for certain that the good people and commons of the land will bear themselves in such manner towards our cousin, the count of Flanders, their immediate lord, and us, their sovereign lord, that they will keep their honor and their loyalty. And that they have hitherto erred hath been from evil counsel of people who regarded not the common weal nor the honor of the country, but their own profit only. Given in the fields near the priory of St. Andrew, under our privy seal in default of our great seal, the 30th day of July, the year of grace 1340.

The battle of Cressy (or Crécy, to give the French form) merits our attention not only on account of its military importance, but because it so well illustrates the characteristics of the two nations who were opposing one another. The French, supported by the Genoese mercenaries, enjoyed the advantage of numbers, but the English were their superiors in weapons, discipline, and generalship. Froissart also shows in the following account that the English were favored by the weather.

138. The battle of Cressy

The Englishmen, who were in three battles, lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. In the first, which was the prince's battle, the archers stood in the manner of a herse, and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel, with the second battle, were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

A herse is a harrow

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly in good order, for some came before and some came after in such evil order that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen his blood changed, and he said to his marshals, "Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denis." There were of the Genoways crossbows about fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their crossbows, that they said to their constables: "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great feats of arms: we have more need of rest." These words came to the earl of Alençon, who said, "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a set of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also the same season there fell a great rain and lightning with terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they uttered very great cries to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that; then the Genoways again the second time made a great and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot; thirdly again they cried out and then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace and let fly their arrows, so wholly and so thick that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms, and breasts, many of them did cast down their crossbows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said, "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and kill a great number of them; and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoways, and when they were down they could not rise

The Genoese crossbowmen against the English long bowmen

again; the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Bohemia, called Charles of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him, "Where is the lord Charles, my son?" His men said, "Sir, we cannot tell; we think he be fighting." Then he said: "Sirs, ye be my men, my companions and friends in this journey. I require you to bring me so far forward that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to the other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Bohemia, his son, who wrote himself king of Almaine and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle; but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king, his father, was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea, and more than four, and fought valiantly, and so did his company; and they adventured themselves so forward that they were there all slain, and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to the other. . . .

The Black Prince wins his spurs

In the morning, the day of the battle, certain Frenchmen and Almains perforce opened the archers of the Prince's battle and came and fought with the men of arms, hand to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succor the Prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado; and they with the Prince sent a messenger to the king who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king: "Sir, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Oxford, Sir Raynold Cobham, and other, such as be about the Prince, your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sorely handled;

wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado." Then the king said, "Is my son dead or hurt on the earth felled?" "No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honor thereof, and to them that be about him." Then the knight returned again to them and shewed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and repoined in that they had sent to the king as they did.

In the evening the French king, who had left about him no more than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king, for his horse was slain with an arrow, then he said to the king, "Sir, depart hence, for it is time; lose not yourself wilfully; if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season." And so he took the king's horse by the bridle and led him away in a manner perforce. Then the king rode until he came to the castle of Broye. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark; then the king called the captain, who came to the walls and said, "Who is it that calleth there this time of night?" Then the king said, "Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France." The captain knew then it was the king, and opened the gate and let down the bridge. Then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, Sir John of Hainault, Sir Charles of Montgomery, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord d'Aubigny, and the lord of Montsault. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested.

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

II. The Culmination of the Reign of Edward III

An idea of the show and gallantry of the tournaments and festivals of this period can be obtained from this description by the chronicler Adam of Murimuth, of a famous gathering at Windsor held by Edward while home on a visit after his first invasion of France, and of the foundation of the order of the Knights of the Garter, which the chronicler fancifully describes as if it were a revival of Arthur's Round Table.

139. A tournament at Windsor (1344)

In the year 1344 the king, Edward III, ordered a great tournament to be held on the nineteenth day of January in the place of his birth, that is, in the castle of Windsor; and this he caused to be publicly proclaimed a sufficiently long time beforehand as well in foreign parts as in England. He invited to this by his own letters all the ladies of the south of England and the wives of the citizens of London. There assembled in the said castle on Sunday, the twentieth of January, earls, barons, knights, and very many ladies. There the king provided the customary banquet so that the great hall was filled with the ladies, not a single man being present excepting only two knights who had come from France for this occasion. At this banquet there were present two queens, nine countesses, wives of the barons, knights, and citizens, who could not easily be counted, and who had been placed by the king himself in their seats according to rank.

The Prince of Wales, the duke of Cornwall, the earls, barons, and knights ate together with the people in a tent and other places where food supplies and all other necessaries had been prepared freely for all without murmur; and in the evening there was dancing. For the three following days the king with nineteen other knights kept a jousting against all who came from without; and the same lord, not on account of royal favor but because of great skill which he showed and because of the good fortune which he had, for three days gained the palm among those at home. A foreign lord, knight

of Stapleton, gained the victory on the first day, on the second Philip Despenser, on the third John Blount. On the Thursday following the tournament of the sons, the lord king gave a banquet at which he founded the order of the Round Table, and under a certain form belonging to the said Round Table he received the oaths of certain earls, barons, and knights whom he wished to belong to this said Round Table; and he fixed the day for holding the Round Table for the next day of Pentecost following, giving to all present the right of returning home with their badges of honor. Afterwards he ordered a very fine building to be erected there, in which the said Round Table could meet at the designated time. For the erection of this building he brought in stonecutters, carpenters, and other workmen, ordering wood as well as stone to be procured, sparing neither labor nor expense.

Supposed foundation of the Order of the Garter

The treaty concluded at Bretigny was long and detailed, since it was designed to put an end to all excuse for further hostilities. The extracts here given illustrate the humiliations inflicted by the terms of the treaty on the French, who not only were forced to surrender territory to the English kings but to assume a heavy war debt, desert their Scotch allies, and send their nobles as hostages to England.

140. Extracts from the Treaty of Bretigny (1360)

Charles, eldest son of the king of France, regent of the kingdom, duke of Normandy, and dauphin of Vienne, to all those who shall see these letters, greeting.

We make known to you that concerning all debates and discussions whatsoever moved and arisen between Monsieur, the king of France, and us, for him and for ourselves and for all those to whom it appertains, on the one part, and the king of England and all those whom it touches on his side, on the other, for the good of the land, it is agreed, the 8th day of May, the year of grace 1360, at Bretigny of Chartres, as follows: first, that the king of England, along with what he holds in Guienne and in Gascony, shall have for himself and his heirs, perpetually and for all time, all the possessions that

follow, to be held in the manner which the king of France and his sons or any of his ancestors, kings of France, held them; that is to say, that which is in domain in domain and that which is in fief in fief, in the manner explained below.

Some of the lands surrendered

The city, the castle, and the country of Poitiers and all the land and county of Poitou. . . .

Likewise, the king of England shall have the castle and the city of Calais. . . .

Likewise, it is agreed that the king of England and his heirs shall have and hold all the islands adjacent to the lands, countries, and places above named, together with all the other islands which the said king of England holds at present.

War indemnity of £500,000

Likewise, it is agreed that the king of France will pay to the king of England 3,000,000 gold crowns, of which two are worth one noble, English money; and as hostages, who shall remain for the king of France, as well those who were taken prisoners at the battle of Poitiers, as others; that is to say, Monsieur Louis, count of Anjou, Monsieur John, count of Poitou, sons of the king of France, the duke of Orleans, brother of the said king, the duke of Bourbon, the count of Blois. . . .

Alliances

Likewise, it is agreed that the king of France and his eldest son, the regent, for themselves and for their heirs, kings of France, so soon as it can be done, shall withdraw and depart from every alliance which they have with the Scots, and they will promise, so far as they are able, never hereafter, they or their heirs or those who shall be kings of France hereafter, at any time to give to the king or kingdom of Scotland nor to its subjects, present or to come, comfort, aid, or favor, against the said king of England or against his subjects in any way, and that they will not make any other alliances with the said Scots in any time to come, against the said king and kingdom of England.

And likewise, as soon as possible, the king of England and his eldest son will withdraw and depart from all the alliances which they have with the Flemings.

The importance of the archers in the English army — which has already been illustrated in the account of

the battle of Cressy — was recognized by the English government, and a long series of proclamations and laws, of which this was the first, were issued to prevent the loss of skill in archery.

141. A proclamation in favor of the use of the long-bow (1363)

The king to the lord lieutenant of Kent, greeting.

Whereas the people of our realm, gentle and simple alike, were wont formerly in their games to practice skill in archery, — whence, by the help of God, it is well known that high honor and advantage came unto our realm, and no mean advantage to ourselves in our feats of war, — and that now, the said skill in archery having fallen almost wholly into disrepute, our people give themselves up to the throwing of stones and of wood and of iron; and some to handball and football and hockey; some to coursing and cock fighting; and some to other unseemly sports that be even less useful and manly; whereby our realm — which God forbid — will soon, as it appeareth, be stripped of archers:

We, wishing that a fitting remedy be found in this matter, do hereby command you that, in all places in your county, liberties or no liberties, wheresoever you shall see fit, you have proclamation made to this effect: that every man in the same county, if he be able-bodied, shall, upon holidays, make use, in his games, of bows and arrows, or darts, or both, and learn and practice archery.

Moreover, you are to prohibit all and sundry in our name from such stone, wood, and iron throwing; handball, football, or hockey; coursing and cock fighting; or other such idle games which are of no usefulness; under penalty of imprisonment.

By the king, at Westminster, June 1, 1363.

III. The Quarrel over Appointments from Rome

Appointments made by the pope to positions in the English church were always unpopular, especially so at this period of strong national feeling. Sometimes such appointees were Englishmen who had served at the

papal court and whom the pope wished to reward. In other instances they were foreigners, — Italians or Frenchmen. The following is the preamble of a law passed in 1379, directed especially against such appointments of foreigners.

142. Preamble of a law against provisors (1379)

The king hath perceived that . . . benefices[1] have been given, against the will of the founders, to divers people of another language, and of strange lands and nations, and sometimes to the actual enemies of the king and of his realm; which never made residence in the same, nor cannot, may not, nor will not in any wise bear and perform the charges of the same benefices, in hearing confessions, preaching, teaching the people, keeping hospitality, or accomplishing the other things necessary to the governance of the same benefices. These men only seek and take the emoluments and temporal profits, not having regard to the spiritual cure, nor to other charges pertaining or belonging to the same benefices; and manifestly suffer the noble buildings in the old times there made, when the same benefices were occupied by Englishmen, wholly to fall to decay. Thus divine service is greatly diminished, the cure of souls neglected and left, the clergy enfeebled, the treasure of the said realm carried to the hands of aliens, and all the estate of the holy church brought to less reverence than before it was wont to be. . . .

[All Englishmen are forbidden to act as agents for such foreign ecclesiastics or to transmit any money to them from their benefices. No English bishop shall give any assistance to them in obtaining any profits from their benefices.]

A similar law was soon afterward passed prohibiting Englishmen from seeking papal appointment, and making such appointments void.

That no liegeman of the king, of what estate or condition that he be, great or small, shall pass over the sea, nor send

[1] I.e. church positions bringing in an income, as those of bishops, canons in cathedrals, abbots of monasteries, or priests of parish churches.

out of the realm of England, with license or without license, unless by special leave of the king himself, to provide or purchase for himself benefice of holy church, with cure or without cure, in the said realm; and that if any do so, and by virtue of such provision accept for himself or for another any benefice of the same realm, at that time the same provisor shall be out of the king's protection and the same benefice void, so that it shall be lawful to the patron of the same benefice, whether spiritual or temporal, to appoint to the same an able clergyman at his pleasure.

143. A law against Englishmen seeking papal appointments (1388)

The following law, passed in 1393, was the culmination of the long series of statutes of provisors and praemunire, and remained the law till superseded by the statutes passed at the opening of the Reformation, though it was not regularly enforced.

Whereas the Commons of the realm in this present parliament have showed to our redoubtable lord the king, grievously complaining, that whereas the said our lord the king and all his liege people ought of right, and of old time were wont, to sue in the king's court, to recover their presentments to churches, prebends, and other benefices of Holy Church, to the which they had right to present. . . . But now of late divers processes are made by the holy father the pope, and censures of excommunication upon certain bishops of England, because they made execution of such commandments, to the open disherison of the said crown and destruction of our said lord the king, his law and all his realm, if remedy be not provided. . . . Whereupon our said lord the king, by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of his said Commons, has ordained and established, that if any purchase or sue for, or cause to be purchased or sued for, in the court of Rome or elsewhere, any such translations, processes, and sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch our lord the king, against him, his crown, his royalty or his realm, as is aforesaid, and they which bring the same within the realm, or receive them, or make thereof

144. Last statute of praemunire (1393)

notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the same realm or without; that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abettors, favorers, and counselors, shall be put out of the king's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeited to our lord the king; and that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the king and his council, there to answer to the cases aforesaid, or that process be made against them by *praemunire facias*, in manner as it is ordained in other statutes concerning provisors and others who sue in any other court in derogation of the royalty of our lord the king.

The following extract from the chronicle of Adam of Usk, written shortly after this time, gives an autobiographical account of his journey to Rome in 1402 with the expectation of receiving in due time an appointment in England from the pope. Such appointments of natives would not have been as objectionable as foreign appointments; nevertheless they were forbidden by the laws, and Adam was not one of the favored exceptions.

145. Extracts from the chronicle of Adam of Usk

And now, O God, thou, who of thine unbounded grace didst grant me to fulfill my student's time at Oxford and the three years' doctor's course, and then seven years' duty as pleader in the court of Canterbury, and in all other business whatsoever hast been my help, from the days of my youth to old age and decay, desert me not; but make of me an example for goodness, that they who come nigh me may behold and be astonished, since thou hast helped and comforted me. And now grant that my journey to Rome, as thou hast ordered it, both in my going thither and in my departing thence to return hither according to my desire, whether I be numbered among advocates or auditors, may mercifully receive thy consolation, to the honor and praise of thy name, and to my welfare in either man, and with threefold honor and temporal wealth.

Adam's prayer

His narrative

To be short; on the 19th of February, in the year of our Lord 1402, I, the writer of this history, as by the will of God I determined, took ship at Billingsgate in London, and

with a favoring wind crossed the sea, and, within the space of a day, landing at Bergen-op-Zoom, in Brabant, the country which I sought, I set my face towards Rome. Thence passing through Diest, Maastricht, Aachen, Cologne, Bonn, Coblentz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Breisach, Basel, Bern, Lucerne and its wonderful lake, Mount St. Gotthard and the hermitage on its summit (where I was drawn in a cart by an ox, half frozen with cold and with mine eyes blindfolded lest I should see the dangers of the passage), on the eve of Palm Sunday [March 18th] I arrived at Bellinzona, in Lombardy. Thence through Como, Milan, Piacenza, Borgo-San-Donnino, Terenzo, Pontremoli, Pietrasanta, Pisa, Siena, and Viterbo, turning aside from Bologna, Florence, and Perugia, on account of the raging wars and sieges of the duke of Milan (of whom hereafter) and the perils thereof, and halting for two days at every good inn for refreshment of myself and men, and still more of my horses, — on the 5th of April, by the favor of God and by the fear caused by our escort, I came safely through all to Rome. And within a fortnight after, being presented, with his recommendation, by the lord Balthasar, cardinal deacon of St. Eustace, afterwards Pope John XXIII, to our lord Pope Boniface IX, by whom I was honorably received to the kiss of foot, hand, and cheek, and then being given over to the cardinal of Bologna, afterwards Pope Innocent VII, to be examined as to my knowledge, and by him approved, I was within a fortnight, by the advice of the pope and the Rota, raised to the dignity of papal chaplain and auditor of the apostolic palace and judge of the city and world, being invested by the pope himself with the ensigns of office, namely the cope, rochet, and hat. And within a week after the pope assigned thirty grave cases, which had been referred to his hearing, to me to be determined. . . .

The familiar route into Italy by the Rhine and St. Gotthard Pass

Appointed a chaplain and judge in the papal service

Contrary to the statutes of provisors, the pope conferred on me, the writer of this history, the archdeaconry of Buckingham, with the churches of Knoyle, Tisbury, and Deverill, in England; but, the Welsh war preventing this, he gave me the archdeaconry of Llandaff and Cærmarthen, with the church of Llandefailog and the prebend of Llanbister. . . .

These things I heard of at Rome. And there everything was bought and sold, so that benefices were given not for desert, but to the highest bidder. Whence every man who had wealth and was greedy for empty glory kept his money in the merchant's bank to further his advancement. And therefore, as, when under the old dispensation the priests were corrupted with venality, the three miracles ceased, namely, the unquenchable fire of the priesthood, the sweet smell of sacrifice which offendeth not, and the smoke which ever riseth up, so I fear it will come to pass under the new dispensation. And methinks the danger standeth daily knocking at the very doors of the church. . . . In these days, the church of Hereford being vacant, the pope made disposition thereof in favor of me, the writer of this history, but through the envy of the English who opposed me and by letters belied me with poisonous words to the king, whereby I passed four years on sea and land in the miseries of exile, I got not advancement but rather abasement, and suffered the last degree of poverty, stripped of benefices and goods, and, like Joseph, hearing among strangers a foreign tongue, albeit I was paid with gold for my counsel.

Meanwhile in England many parliaments were held, wherein both more stringent statutes were passed against papal provisions, and more than was wont the clergy and people were taxed with heavier taxes. . . . The church of London being vacant, the college of auditors with one accord went up and besought the pope to translate thither the lord Guy de Mona, bishop of St. David's, and to make provision of the church of St. David's to me, the writer of this history. Which thing was very pleasing to him, and he said: "We thank you heartily that you have thus recommended him to us; and we rejoice at so good an occasion of making provision for him of a better church in his own country, for the church is one of dignity. We know his good fame, and we knew also the same Guy de Mona at the time when we were collector in England." But the matter being noised about, my enemies, with mighty clamor and speech declared against it to the king and to the cardinals who held benefices in England, threatening the latter that, if they should allow this thing, they would lose their benefices

by the king's displeasure; and they swore that the king would send me to prison and the gallows. Moreover they forbade the merchants to lend me money, under pain of expelling their partners out of England. And this was the chief hindrance of the matter; and so it fell to the ground.

IV. The Black Death and its Effects

The following account of the Black Death was written by Henry Knighton, a clergyman connected with the church at Leicester, who was a boy at the time of its occurrence, but had abundance of direct information concerning it.

146. A contemporary account of the Black Death

Then the grievous plague penetrated the seacoasts from Southampton, and came to Bristol, and there almost the whole strength of the town died, struck, as it were, by sudden death; for there were few who kept their beds more than three days, or two days, or half a day; and after this the fell death broke forth on every side with the course of the sun. There died at Leicester in the small parish of St. Leonard more than 380; in the parish of Holy Cross, more than 400; in the parish of St. Margaret of Leicester, more than 700; and so in each parish a great number. Then the bishop of Lincoln sent through the whole bishopric, and gave general power to all and every priest, both regular and secular, to hear confessions, and absolve with full and entire episcopal authority except in matters of debt, in which case the dying man, if he could, should pay the debt while he lived, or others should certainly fulfill that duty from his property after his death. Likewise, the pope granted full remission of all sins to whoever was absolved in peril of death, and granted that this power should last till next Easter, and every one could choose a confessor at his will. In the same year there was a great plague of sheep everywhere in the realm, so that in one place there died in one pasturage more than 5000 sheep, and so rotted that neither beast nor bird would touch them. And there were small prices for everything on

account of the fear of death. For there were very few who cared about riches or anything else; for a man could have a horse, which before was worth 40 *s.*, for 6 *s.* 8 *d.*, a fat ox for 4 *s.*, a cow for 12 *d.*, a heifer for 6 *d.*, a fat wether for 4 *d.*, a sheep for 3 *d.*, a lamb for 2 *d.*, a big pig for 5 *d.*, a stone of wool for 9 *d.* Sheep and cattle went wandering over fields and through crops, and there was no one to go and drive or gather them, so that the number cannot be reckoned which perished in the ditches and hedges in every district, for lack of herdsmen; for there was such a lack of servants that no one knew what he ought to do. In the following autumn no one could get a reaper for less than 8 *d.* with his food, a mower for less than 12 *d.* with his food. Wherefore many crops perished in the fields for want of some one to gather them; but in the pestilence year, as is above said of other things, there was such abundance of grain that no one troubled about it. . . .

Increased wages prohibited by the first statute of laborers

Meanwhile the king sent proclamation into all the counties that reapers and other laborers should not take more than they had been accustomed to take under a penalty appointed by statute. But the laborers were so lifted up and obstinate that they would not listen to the king's command: if any one wished to have them he had to give them what they wanted, and either lose his fruit and crops, or satisfy the lofty and covetous wishes of the workmen. And when it was known to the king that men had not observed his command, and had given greater wages to the laborers, he levied heavy fines upon abbots, priors, knights, greater and lesser, and other great folk and small folk of the realm, of some 100 *s.*, of some 40 *s.*, of some 20 *s.*, from each according to what he could give. He took from each plowland of the realm 20 *s.*, and, notwithstanding this, a fifteenth. And afterwards the king had many laborers arrested and sent them to prison; many withdrew themselves and went into the forests and woods; and those who were taken were heavily fined. Their ringleaders were made to swear that they would not take daily wages beyond the ancient custom, and then were freed from prison. And in like manner it was done with the other craftsmen in the boroughs and villages. . . . After the aforesaid pestilence many buildings,

great and small, fell into ruins in every city, borough, and village for lack of inhabitants, likewise many villages and hamlets became desolate, not a house being left in them, all having died who dwelt there; and it was probable that many such villages would never be inhabited. In the winter following there was such a want of servants in work of all kinds, that one would scarcely believe that in times past there had ever been such a lack. . . . And so all necessaries became so much dearer that what in times past had been worth a penny was then worth 4 *d.* or 5 *d.*

Magnates and lesser lords of the realm who had tenants made abatements of the rent in order that the tenants should not go away on account of the want of servants and the general dearness, some half the rent, some more, some less, some for two years, some for three, some for one year, according as they could agree with them. Likewise, those who received of their tenants day work throughout the year, as is the practice with villains, had to give them more leisure and remit such works, and either entirely to free them or give them an easier tenure at a small rent, so that homes should not be everywhere irrecoverably ruined, and the land everywhere remain entirely uncultivated.

After the renewal of the war in France in 1369, it went so badly that the English might traverse all the country and yet reap nothing but suffering and loss, as described in the following extract from the chronicler Walsingham.

147. An expedition through France (1373)

In the year 1373 John, duke of Lancaster, the king's son, and brother of the prince of Wales, crossed over to France with a great army to try his fortune there a second time. So he marched by way of Paris to Burgundy, and indeed through the length of France, meeting none willing or daring to offer resistance. But in this expedition he inflicted practically no loss upon the French, except that he set some towns and places to ransom; but otherwise he hurt none of the enemy. At last he retired with his army from France — where there were abundant provisions and sumptuous meals to be had

every day — and advanced into the uninhabited Auvergne, where there could be found neither provisions for the men nor fodder for the horses; accordingly considerable numbers of his army perished there from hunger and pestilence, while the horses were nearly all lost. At last, sick at heart from his misfortune, he entered Aquitaine, and so arrived at Bordeaux. For, whereas, when he entered France at Calais he had had more than thirty thousand horses with him, now he brought very few alive with him into Bordeaux; and there might be seen a sorry sight — soldiers of name and birth, once dainty and rich in English lands, now with their men and baggage lost, begging their bread; and there was no man to give them. For, indeed, the land had been ravaged before their arrival by the French, and so had remained untilled till then.

V. The Political and the Social Struggle

Such fruitless and inglorious campaigns as that just described, along with much mismanagement and corruption at home, roused the people to demand reforms, some of which were attained, at least temporarily, in the "Good Parliament." This is described in an anonymous history, known as the *Chronicon Angliae.*

148. The Good Parliament (1376)

In the year of grace 1376, which was the fiftieth year of King Edward, the third from the Conquest, in the beginning of the month of May, King Edward caused a great parliament to be called at Westminster; at which, in accordance with his usual custom, he asked from the people that a certain subsidy be granted to him for the defense of the kingdom. In replying to him they said that they were frequently worried in various ways by such impositions, and they said truly that they could not bear such burdens without the greatest loss. For it was clearly evident to them that the king had sufficient for the defense of his kingdom, if the kingdom were ruled prudently and faithfully, but as long as there was such government in the kingdom as was then being carried on by the

wicked officials, the kingdom would never abound in resources or wealth. They offered to prove this clearly, and if after this proof it should be found that the king needed anything, they would aid him according to their ability. In the progress of events many things were said about the favorites of the king, his various other officers, and especially Lord Latimer, his chancellor, who influenced the king in the worst way.

Wherefore, the duke of Lancaster, Lord Latimer, and several other officers of the king were removed and others substituted in their places. Likewise, at the petition of the community, it was ordained that certain bishops and earls of praiseworthy lives should rule the king and kingdom for the rest. This had to be done, as the king was already verging on senility and needed helpers of this kind. But this change lasted scarcely three months, inasmuch as it was hindered by those who had been removed from the king, as was mentioned above. Likewise, the knights in parliament complained seriously of a certain shameless woman, Alice Perrers, by name, who was much too intimate with the lord King Edward. They accused her of very many evil deeds, committed by her and her favorers in the kingdom, for she far exceeded womanly modesty. Forgetful of her sex and weakness, now by remaining with the justiciars of the king, now by collecting about her the doctors in the ecclesiastical courts, she did not fear to urge them to a defense of cases, and to even demand decisions contrary to the laws. On account of the scandal and serious dishonor which was coming from this to King Edward, not only in this country, but even in foreign lands, the knights begged that she should be entirely removed from him.

Likewise, in this parliament, certain notable ill doings were brought to light on the part of Richard Lyons and Adam de Bury, citizens and merchants of London. The former of these, by means of money, very wisely and prudently escaped from a deserved punishment; the latter, overcome by the fine placed upon him, fled straightway to Flanders in order to save himself there.

Notwithstanding this opposition to the advisers of Edward III, parliament was ready, in the first year of

his successor, to grant a new tax, the first of the famous poll taxes, as shown in the following statute.

149. The first poll tax (1377)

The noble lords and the Commons assembled in this parliament, perceiving clearly the great charges and the very grievous and insupportable expenses which our lord the king makes and still must needs make more and more every day, as well, that is to say, in the maintenance of the war and the defense of the realm of England, as otherwise; of their common assent and free will have granted to our said lord the king, in maintenance of his said wars, fourpence to be taken of the goods of each person of the said realm, as well males as females, above the age of fourteen years; excepting only genuine mendicants, without fraud. Praying most humbly to their said liege lord that it will please him to excuse them because they are not now able to grant a greater subsidy; for they would have been most willing to do this if it had not been that they had been so impoverished in the past, as well by great losses on the sea, as otherwise by bad years which have befallen them so that they are not able to do more at present.

If the middle and upper classes were dissatisfied with the government, the lower classes were still more deeply discontented both with the government and with those above them. There are many indications of this, one of which is the kind of communistic doctrines preached by such men as John Ball, as told by Froissart.

150. A sermon of John Ball

Of this imagination was a foolish priest in the county of Kent called John Ball, who, for his foolish words, had been three times in the archbishop of Canterbury's prison; for this priest used oftentimes, on the Sundays after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus, "Ah, ye good people, the matter goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do so till everything be common, and that there be no villains nor gentlemen, but that we may be all united together, and that the lords be no greater

masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in serfdom? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve; whereby can they say or shew that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to win and labor for what they dispend? They are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vestured with poor cloth; they have their wines, spices, and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff and drink water; they dwell in fair houses and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields; and by what cometh of our labors they keep and maintain their estates: we be called their bondmen, and without we do readily them service, we be beaten; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us and do us right. Let us go to the king, — he is young, — and shew him what serfage we be in, and shew him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us with some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise." Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

An appeal to King Richard

Very full accounts of the Peasants' Rebellion are left by a number of the chroniclers. One of the best is that by Henry Knighton, extracts from which follow, describing especially the events at London.

151. The Peasants' Rebellion

In the year 1381, the second of the reign of King Richard Second, during the month of May, on Wednesday, the fourth day after the feast of Trinity, that impious band began to assemble from Kent, from Surrey, and from many other surrounding places. Apprentices also, leaving their masters, rushed to join these. And so they gathered on Blackheath, where, forgetting themselves in their multitude, and neither contented with their former cause nor appeased by smaller crimes, they unmercifully planned greater and worse evils and determined not

to desist from their wicked undertaking until they should have entirely extirpated the nobles and great men of the kingdom.

Liberation of John Ball

So at first they directed their course of iniquity to a certain town of the archbishop of Canterbury called Maidstone, in which there was a jail of the said archbishop, and in the said jail was a certain John Ball, a chaplain who was considered among the laity to be a very famous preacher; many times in the past he had foolishly spread abroad the word of God, by mixing tares with wheat, too pleasing to the laity and extremely dangerous to the liberty of ecclesiastical law and order, execrably introducing into the church of Christ many errors among the clergy and laymen. For this reason he had been tried as a clerk and convicted in accordance with the law, being seized and assigned to this same jail for his permanent abiding place. On the Wednesday before the feast of the Consecration they came into Surrey to the jail of the king at Marshalsea, where they broke the jail without delay, forcing all imprisoned there to come with them to help them; and whomsoever they met, whether pilgrims or others of whatever condition, they forced to go with them.

On the Friday following the feast of the Consecration they came over the bridge to London; here no one resisted them, although, as was said, the citizens of London knew of their advance a long time before; and so they directed their way to the Tower where the king was surrounded by a great throng of knights, esquires, and others. It was said that there were in the Tower about one hundred and fifty knights together with one hundred and eighty others, with the mother of the king, the duchess of Britanny, and many other ladies; and there was present, also, Henry, earl of Derby, son of John, duke of Lancaster, who was still a youth; so, too, Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, and brother Robert de Hales, prior of the Hospital of England and treasurer of the king.

John Leg and a certain John, a Minorite, a man active in warlike deeds, skilled in natural sciences, an intimate friend of Lord John, duke of Lancaster, hastened with three others to the Tower for refuge, intending to hide themselves under

the wings of the king. The people had determined to kill the archbishop and the others above mentioned with him; for this reason they came to this place, and afterwards they fulfilled their vows. The king, however, desired to free the archbishop and his friends from the jaws of the wolves, so he sent to the people a command to assemble outside the city, at a place called Mile End, in order to speak with the king and to treat with him concerning their designs. The soldiers who were to go forward, consumed with folly, lost heart, and gave up, on the way, their boldness of purpose. Nor did they dare to advance, but, unfortunately, struck as they were by fear, like women, kept themselves within the Tower.

Conference at Mile End

But the king advanced to the assigned place, while many of the wicked mob kept following him. . . . More, however, remained where they were. When the others had come to the king they complained that they had been seriously oppressed by many hardships and that their condition of servitude was unbearable, and that they neither could nor would endure it longer. The king, for the sake of peace, and on account of the violence of the times, yielding to their petition, granted to them a charter with the great seal, to the effect that all men in the kingdom of England should be free and of free condition, and should remain both for themselves and their heirs free from all kinds of servitude and villeinage forever. This charter was rejected and decided to be null and void by the king and the great men of the kingdom in the parliament held at Westminster in the same year, after the feast of St. Michael.

Execution of the archbishop

While these things were going on, behold those degenerate sons, who still remained, summoned their father the archbishop with his above-mentioned friends without any force or attack, without sword or arrow, or any other form of compulsion, but only with force of threats and excited outcries, inviting those men to death. But they did not cry out against it for themselves, nor resist, but, as sheep before the shearers, going forth barefooted with uncovered heads, ungirt, they offered themselves freely to an undeserved death, just as if they had deserved this punishment for some murder or theft. And so, alas! before the king returned, seven were killed at Tower Hill, two of them

lights of the kingdom, the worthy with the unworthy. John Leg and his three associates were the cause of this irreparable loss. Their heads were fastened on spears and sticks in order that they might be told from the rest. . . .

Whatever representatives of the law they found or whatever men served the kingdom in a judicial capacity, these they slew without delay.

Conference at Smithfield

On the following day, which was Saturday, they gathered in Smithfield, where there came to them in the morning the king, who although only a youth in years yet was in wisdom already well versed. Their leader, whose real name was Wat Tyler, approached him; already they were calling him by the other name of Jack Straw. He kept close to the king, addressing him for the rest. He carried in his hand an unsheathed weapon which they call a dagger, and, as if in childish play, kept tossing it from one hand to the other in order that he might seize the opportunity, if the king should refuse his requests, to strike the king suddenly (as was commonly believed); and from this thing the greatest fear arose among those about the king as to what might be the outcome.

They begged from the king that all the warrens, and as well waters as park and wood, should be common to all, so that a poor man as well as a rich should be able freely to hunt animals everywhere in the kingdom, — in the streams, in the fish ponds, in the woods, and in the forest; and that he might be free to chase the hare in the fields, and that he might do these things and others like them without objection. When the king hesitated about granting this concession Jack Straw came nearer, and, speaking threatening words, seized with his hand the bridle of the horse of the king very daringly. When John de Walworth, a citizen of London, saw this, thinking that death threatened the king, he seized a sword and pierced Jack Straw in the neck. Seeing this, another soldier, by name Radulf Standyche, pierced his side with another sword. He sank back, slowly letting go with his hands and feet, and then died. A great cry and much mourning arose: "Our leader is slain." When this dead man had been meanly dragged along by the hands and feet into the church of St. Bartholomew, which was near

by, many withdrew from the band, and, vanishing, betook themselves to flight, to the number it is believed of ten thousand. . . .

Executions

After these things had happened and quiet had been restored, the time came when the king caused the offenders to be punished. So Lord Robert Tresillian, one of the judges, was sent by order of the king to inquire into the uprisings against the peace and to punish the guilty. Wherever he came he spared no one, but caused great slaughter. And just as those evil doers plotted in hostile manner against the judges, Lord John de Candishe and any others they could find, by bringing them to capital punishment, and against all those skilled in the laws of the country whom they could reach, and not sparing any one of them, but punishing them by capital punishment, just so this judge spared no one, but demanded misfortune for misfortune. For whoever was accused before him in this said cause, whether justly or as a matter of spite, he immediately passed upon him the sentence of death. He ordered some to be beheaded, others to be hanged, still others to be dragged through the city and hanged in four different parts thereof; others to be disemboweled, and the entrails to be burned before them while they were still alive, and afterwards to be decapitated, quartered, and hanged in four parts of the city according to the greatness of the crime and its desert. John Ball was captured at Coventry and led to St. Alban's, where, by order of the king, he was drawn and hanged, then quartered, and his quarters sent to four different places.

The following is one of a large number of records that remain of the trial, conviction, and execution of men connected with the rising.

152. A trial before the king's judges

Pleas of the crown at Mildenhall in the presence of William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, Roger Scales, Thomas de Morieux, William de Elmham, John de Bourgh, and William de Wyngefield, on the Thursday following the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the fifth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.

John Potter of Somerton, fuller, has been accused in the presence of the above-mentioned justices by John de Pole,

formerly chamberlain of Lord John de Cavendish, recently chief justice of the lord king, of being the Friday next after the feast of Corpus Christi in the fourth year of our lord king at Lakyngheth, and there, with great power and in warlike manner, rising against the lord king and the dignity of the crown. And there on the above-mentioned day and year the said John Potter wickedly and treacherously in person abetted and helped others, betrayers and enemies of the lord king, to kill the said John of Cavendish. Because of this the said John Potter has been taken prisoner, and, having been led into the presence of the said justices by the sheriff, and asked how he wishes to acquit himself of the said felony and treachery, he claims that he is in no way to blame for it, and for good or evil places himself upon his country. [Thereupon a jury is sworn.] And the jurors who have been elected and sworn with the consent of this same John Potter say on their oath that the said John Potter of Somerton, fuller, is guilty of the felony and treachery with which he stands charged. And for this reason it has been decided that the said John Potter be decapitated, and that his head be fastened to the pillory, and that inquiry be made about his lands and chattels. [Thereupon he is hanged.]

VI. Wycliffe and the Lollards

The same chronicler from whom has been quoted the narrative of the Peasants' Rebellion, Henry Knighton, a monk of Leicester, gives the following account of Wycliffe. It is evident that he admires Wycliffe for his ability, but considers him what in later times would be called a sensational preacher, wrong in his beliefs and unwise in his methods of teaching. It is also evident that the writer believed it best that the people should not be encouraged to read the Bible in their own language, but should have it interpreted to them by the clergy.

At this time flourished Master John Wycliffe, rector of the church of Lutterworth in the county of Leicester, the most

eminent doctor of theology of those days. In philosophy he was second to none, in scholastic learning incomparable. This man strove especially to eclipse the thoughts of others by the depth of his knowledge and the subtlety of his reasoning, and to differ from them in opinion. He is reported to have introduced into the church many opinions which were condemned by the learned men of the universal church. These will, in part, be described in the proper place. He had as a forerunner John Ball, just as Christ had John Baptist, who prepared his way before him in such opinions and disturbed many by his teachings, at least so it is said. I have made mention of him before. This Master John Wycliffe translated from the Latin into the tongue of the Angles (though not of the angels) the gospel which Christ intrusted to the clergy and learned men of the church in order that they might gently minister it to the laity and to the weak according to the exigency of the times and the need and mental hunger of each one. Thus to the laity and even to such women as can read this was made more open than formerly it had been even to such of the clergy as were well educated and of great understanding. Thus the evangelical pearls have been scattered abroad and trampled by the swine, and that which used to be dear to clergy and laity is now a common jest in the mouth of both. The gem of the clergy has become the toy of the laity.

153. An account of Wycliffe by a contemporary churchman

From the great mass of Wycliffe's writings which still exist, some of them in English, some in Latin, the following small fragment may be given in his own words and spelling. It is part of a short sermon or tract directed against the possession of property by clergymen, one of his favorite subjects. He thought that all clergymen should be poor men, living simply on the freewill offerings of the people.

As to the possessiouns and dowyng of clerkis, bileeve shulde teche us that it doith hem harm to kepe Cristis religioun, and harm to lewid men; for Crist seith that noo man may be his discipul but yif he renunce alle siche thingis. And hou he shulde renunce, Cristis liif techith, and lif of hise apostlis that com in

154. A sermon by Wycliffe

after hym; and ensaumple of siche deds exponeth best Cristis lawe. And thus bi process of tyme is the Chirche peyred, bi turnyng fro Cristis lawe and bi love of the worlde. And herfor seith Poul, that coveytise is roote of all yvelis that comen to Goddis Chirche. And comynge inne of freris that shulden quenche this synne makith it mor fervent, as water fier of smythis. And sith thei ben apostataes that gon abac in Cristis ordre, few or none of siche prestis ben clene of this heresye. For thei forsaken Crist in kepyng of his lawe, and Crist seith that man mot kepe it yif he love hym. But sith love of worldliche thingis drawith fro love of Christ, hou myche is love of prests drawe now fro God! Wantyng of workis of the gospel, and werkis of the world, dampneth our prestis in defaute of this love. And yit thei poudren blasphemye in among this apostasye, for thei seyen that thei haven mor power of Crist than ever he wolde yive to Petre or Poul. For in spiritual power they ben even with hem, and in worldliche power they passen hem; sith Petre seith he havede nether silver ne gold, and Poul laborede with hise hondis; and so her power, gederid togeder, in so myche passith power of Petre.

The following are some of the sayings of the Lollard preachers as reported by Knighton.

155. A Lollard sermon

These are the opinions of another man whom I heard preach. That if an ecclesiastic failed in his duty and did not correct his fault, it was permitted to the secular lords to cut such a man's hair through his shoulders, even if his tonsure was large and newly cut, — that is to say, to cut off his head. Similarly, if a temporal lord failed in his duty and did not correct his fault, it was permitted to the people to correct him.

On a certain Palm Sunday he preached that to multiply words of the lips in prayer is nothing but, in English, to "blabber with the lips."

That to pay money for saying the Psalter is of no avail.

That to pay money for celebrating mass is of no avail unless one has lived well; that if one has lived well he always prays, and that to live well takes the place of prayer.

Likewise he preached that the suffering of Christ which he suffered in his passion was greater than the entire suffering of hell.

In the same sermon he said that Christ never commanded any one to beg. And he preached this same thing in other places. Likewise, that Christ never said in the sacred scripture that he wished that a man should abandon all his property and retain nothing for himself.

Likewise that every saying of Christ is a command.

Likewise that no one ought to give alms to another who has better clothing and a better house than the one giving.

Likewise that no one is truly a prelate nor fit to be one unless he is a learned man and a preacher. . . .

The following anecdotes are taken from the large number recounted at the time, to show some of the common opinions and actions of the Lollards. William Smyth is one instance of many who recanted, these earlier heretics yielding readily and being usually excused with a light punishment.

156. The miracle of Sir Cornelius Cloune

There was present at that sermon an old knight, by name Cornelius Cloune, who had been an especial favorer of such conclusions, both holding and teaching them, and he would not believe anything concerning the sacrament of the altar except that it was the mere material bread, according to the opinion of Wycliffe. On the eve of Holy Trinity that knight came to a meeting of the Preaching Brethren in London to hear mass; and it happened that he heard the mass of one of the students of that body, and in the elevation of the body of Christ he saw nothing except what he had been accustomed to see before, so that he firmly believed that there was there the mere material bread. But afterward he looked at a portion of the host and saw, with his corporeal eye, in the hands of the brother who was celebrating, true flesh, raw and bleeding, divided into three parts. Wondering at this and frightened he called his squire in order that he might see, but he saw nothing except what he had been accustomed to see before. The knight likewise in the third piece, which was to be dropped into the cup,

saw the same color of white which he had seen before, but nevertheless he saw in the midst of this piece the name "Jesus" written in letters of flesh, raw and bleeding, which was wonderful to see.

And the next day, on the feast of the Holy Trinity, this same brother, preaching, announced this same thing to the people at St. Paul's cross. At the end of the sermon the knight there present told with his own lips the whole vision publicly and openly, to confirm our statement, and promised that he would fight and die in this cause, that in the sacrament of the altar there was the true body of Christ and not merely material bread, as he himself had believed before. . . .

A certain Master Richard Waytestathe, a chaplain, and William Smyth, who has just been mentioned, came together from time to time in a certain chapel of St. John the Baptist, just outside of Leicester, near the house of the lepers, where others of their sect often met and had conventicles and exchanged opinions on their wicked ideas; for it was a dwelling place and an inn for such as came there, and there they had a debating place for evil doctrines and opinions and intercommunication of errors and heresies. A chapel which had once been devoted to God was now become a receiving place and establishment for enemies of the church of Christ and for heretics.

Anecdote of two Lollard preachers

These two, Richard the chaplain and William Smyth, became hungry once upon a time for a dish of cabbage. And when they had obtained the cabbage they had no fire to cook it over, so one of them, looking around, in the corner of the chapel espied a certain old image, made and painted formerly in honor of St. Katherine, standing there; then he said, "Behold, my dear friend, God has already provided us with a fire to cook our cabbage in order that we may satisfy our hunger. This sacred image will certainly make us a holy fire, and thus by ax and fire she will suffer new martyrdom, and through the cruelty of new torments she may be able at length to come to the kingdom of heaven." The belief of the Lollard sect is such that they hate images and work against them, preaching that they are idols and despising them as if likenesses of the gods. And when any one mentions St. Mary of Lincoln or St. Mary

of Walsyngham, they call them in our tongue "witch of Lincoln" and "witch of Walsyngham." So one of them seized the ax, the other held the image, saying, "Let us find out whether she is truly holy; for if when the head is struck blood gushes forth, forevermore let her be adored by us as holy; but if no blood is drawn, she will make food for our fire in cooking our cabbage, by which our hunger will be appeased." Since they had lost their own sense of shame they were not able to conceal the thing, but, as if it were a joke, they told about this boast, but not with impunity; for quickly after this they were cast out of their dwelling place. . . .

Recantation of William Smyth

Certain other Lollards were cited and came together at Oxford and other places when the archbishop had summoned them, and, renouncing their superstitious errors and abjuring profane dogmas, they did public penance. William Smyth, concerning whom we have made frequent mention above, went through the market place at Leicester clad only in a linen garment, bearing in his right hand a cross with the image of the crucifix, in his left an image of St. Katherine, because he had formerly cut up the image of St. Katherine and burned it to cook some cabbage for which he was hungry, as we have told fully above.

The later Lollards were firmer in their faith, even when the punishment of burning at the stake had been introduced by law, as in the following case which occurred in 1401.

157. The first burning for heresy in England

In this year was a parliament at London in the time of Lent, where a blacksmith was accused of heresy. He held this conclusion, that the sacrament of the altar is not Christ's body, but a thing without soul, lower than a toad or a spider, both of which have life. And when he would not renounce his opinion he was given over to the secular arm, to be placed in a cask in Smithfield and to be burned. Prince Henry had pity on the man and counseled him to forsake his false opinion, but he would not. Wherefore he was put in the cask, and when the fire burned he cried horribly. The prince commanded to withdraw the fire, came to him, and made him great promises, but he would not yield. Wherefore he suffered him to be burnt to ashes.

VII. The English Language and Literature

The following statute, passed in the year 1362, indicates the position which the various languages in use in England had reached by that time. It is the first legal requirement of the use of English.

158. Law requiring the use of the English language in the law courts (1362)

Because it is often showed to the king by the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and all the commonalty, of the great mischiefs which have happened to divers persons of the realm, because the laws, customs, and statutes of this realm be not commonly known in the same realm, because they be pleaded, showed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said realm; so that the people which do implead or be impleaded in the king's court and in the courts of others have no knowledge or understanding of that which is said for them or against them by their sergeants and other pleaders; and that reasonably the said laws and customs the rather shall be learned and known and better understood in the tongue used in the said realm, and by so much every man of the said realm may the better govern himself without offending of the law, and the better keep, save, and defend his heritage and possessions; and in divers regions and countries where the king, the nobles, and others of the said realm have been, good governance and full right is done to every person, because their laws and customs be learned and used in the tongue of the country; the king, desiring the good governance and tranquillity of his people, and to put out and eschew the harms and mischiefs which do or may happen in this behalf by the occasions aforesaid, hath ordained and established by the assent aforesaid that all pleas which shall be pleaded in any of his courts, before any of his justices whatsoever, or in his other places, or before any of his other ministers whatsoever, or in the courts and places of any other lords whatsoever within the realm, shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and that they be entered and enrolled in Latin.

The following description of the condition of the language was written in English, here slightly modernized, by John of Trevisa, a Gloucestershire man, in 1385, just when French, as the usual language of the upper classes, was going out and English was coming in.

159. The position of French in England

Although Englishmen had from the very beginning three kinds of speech, — southern, northern, and middle speech (in the middle of the land), as they came from three kinds of people of Germany, — nevertheless, by intermixture and mingling, first with Danes and afterwards with Normans, in many the native language is impaired and some use strange babbling, chattering, snarling and gnarling, and gritting the teeth. This impairing of the birth tongue is because of two things: one is, that children in school, against the usage and manner of all other nations, are compelled to leave their own language and to construe their lessons and their things in French, and have done so since the Normans came first into England. Also gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in their cradle and can speak and play with a child's brooch; and countrymen wish to liken themselves to gentlemen and try with great diligence to speak French, in order to be more thought of.

Before 1349

This custom was much used before the first plague, and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwall, a master of grammar, changed the teaching in grammar school, and the construing of French into English; and Richard Pencrych learned that manner of teaching from him, and other men from Pencrych; so that now, the year of our Lord, a thousand three hundred fourscore and five, — of the second King Rich- 1385
ard after the conquest ninth, — in all the grammar schools of England children leave French and construe and learn in English, and have thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on another. The advantage is, that they learn their grammar in less time than children were wont to do; the disadvantage is that now children of the grammar school know no more French than their left heel knows; and that is harm

for them, if they cross the sea and travel in foreign lands, and in many other cases too. Also, gentlemen have now largely ceased teaching their children French. It seems a great wonder how English, that is the birth tongue of Englishmen and their own language and tongue, is so diverse of sound in this island, and the language of Normandy, a stranger from another land, hath one kind of sound among all men that speak it aright in England. Nevertheless, there are as many diverse kinds of French in the realm of France as there are diverse kinds of English in the realm of England.

The first of the following selections from Chaucer is taken from the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, and was written about 1390; the second is from the dedication to his son (then a boy of twelve years old and a student at Oxford) of his prose *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, and was written in 1391.

160. The clerk of Oxford

A Clerk ther was of Oxenford also,
That un-to logik hadde longe y-go.
As lene was his hors as is a rake,
And he nas nat right fat, I undertake;
But loked holwe, and ther-to soberly.
Ful thredbar was his overest courtepy;
For he had geten him yet no benefyce,
Ne was so worldly for to have offyce.
For him was lever have at his beddes heed
Twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophye,
Than robes riche, or fithele, or gay sautrye.
But al be that he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre;
But al that he mighte of his freendes hente,
On bokes and on lerninge he it spente,
And bisily gan for the soules preye
Of hem that yaf him wher-with to scoleye.
Of studie took he most cure and most hede.
Noght o word spak he more than was nede,

And that was seyd in forme and reverence,
And short and quik, and ful of hy sentence.
Souninge in moral vertu was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.

1391. A dedication from Chaucer to his son

Litel Lowis my sone, I have perceived wel by certeyne evidences thyn abilite to lerne sciencez touchinge noumbres and proporciouns; and as wel considere I thy bisy preyere in special to lerne the Tretis of the Astrolabie. Than, for as mechel as a philosofre seith, "he wrappeth him in his frend, that condescendeth to the rightful preyers of his frend;" therfor have I geven thee a suffisaunt Astrolabie as for oure orizonte, compowned after the latitude of Oxenford; upon which, by mediacion of this litel tretis, I purpose to teche thee a certein nombre of conclusiouns apertening to the same instrument. . . . And Lowis, yif so be that I shewe thee in my lighte English as trewe conclusiouns touching this matere, and naught only as trewe but as many and as subtil conclusiouns as ben shewed in Latin in any commune tretis of the Astrolabie, you can me the more thank; and preye God save the king, that is lord of this langage, and alle that him feyth bereth and obeyeth, everech in his degree, the more and the lasse. But considere wel, that I ne usurpe nat to have founde this werk of my labour or of myn engyn. I nam but a lewd compilatour of the labour of olde Astrologiens, and have hit translated in myn English only for thy doctrine.

The chronicler Froissart lived during most of his life in Burgundy or France, but in his old age he made one more visit to England, of which he gives the following account. He had known the Black Prince when living, and he now visited his tomb at Canterbury, seeing it much as we can still see it to-day. It is to be remembered that the language of this translation dates from a period more than a hundred years later.

For these causes and other I had great desire to go into England to see the king and his uncles. Also I had this said

162. Froissart's account of his visit to England in 1395

fair book well covered with velvet, garnished with clasps of silver and gilt, thereof to make a present to the king at my first coming to his presence. I had such desire to go this voyage that the pain and travail grieved me nothing. Thus provided of horses and other necessaries, I passed the sea at Calais, and came to Dover the twelfth day of the month of July. When I came there I found no man of my knowledge; it was so long sith I had been in England, and the houses were all newly changed, and young children were become men, and the women knew me not, nor I them.

So I abode half a day and all a night at Dover: it was on a Tuesday, and the next day by nine of the clock I came to Canterbury to St. Thomas' shrine, and to the tomb of the noble prince of Wales, who is there interred right richly. There I heard mass and made my offering to the holy saint, and then dined at my lodging; and there I was informed how King Richard should be there the next day on pilgrimage, which was after his return out of Ireland, where he had been the space of nine months or thereabout. The king had a devotion to visit St. Thomas' shrine, and also because the prince, his father, was there buried. Then I thought to abide the king there, and so I did; and the next day the king came thither with a noble company of lords, ladies, and damosels; and when I was among them, they seemed to me all new folks; I knew no person; the time was sore changed in twenty-eight year, and with the king then was none of his uncles. The duke of Lancaster was in Aquitaine, and the dukes of York and Gloucester were in other businesses, so that I was at the first all abashed, for if I had seen any ancient knight that had been with King Edward or with the prince, I had been well recomforted and would have gone to him, but I could see none such. Then I demanded for a knight called Sir Richard Stury, — whether he were alive or not, — and it was shewed me, yes, but he was at London.

Then I thought to go to the lord Thomas Percy, great seneschal of England, who was there with the king; so I acquainted me with him and I found him right honorable and gracious, and he offered to present me and my letters to the king,

whereof I was right joyful, for it behoved me to have some means to bring me to the presence of such a prince as the king of England was. He sent to the king's chamber, — at which time the king was gone to sleep, — and so he shewed me, and bade me return to my lodging and come again; and so I did. And when I came to the bishop's palace I found the lord Thomas Percy ready to ride to Ospringe, and he counseled me to make, as then, no knowledge of my being there, but to follow the court; and said he would cause me ever to be well lodged till the king should be at the fair castle of Leeds in Kent.

I ordered me after his counsel, and rode before to Ospringe, and by adventure I was lodged in an house where was lodged a gentle knight of England, called Sir William Lisle. He was tarried there behind the king, because he had pain in his head all the night before. He was one of the king's privy chamber; and when he saw that I was a stranger and, as he thought, of the marches of France, because of my language, we fell in acquaintance together; for gentlemen of England are courteous, treatable, and glad of acquaintance. Then he demanded what I was and what business I had to do in those parts. I shewed him a great part of my coming thither, and all that the lord Thomas Percy had said to me and ordered me to do. He then answered, and said how I could not have a better mean, and that on the Friday the king should be at the castle of Leeds; and he shewed me that when I came there I should find there the duke of York, the king's uncle, whereof I was right glad; because I had letters directed to him, and also that in his youth he had seen me at the court of the noble king Edward, his father, and with the queen, his mother.

The following is the form of solemn claim to the throne made by Henry of Lancaster when he had induced parliament to declare Richard deposed. This account is taken from the records of parliament.

And immediately, as it was evident from the circumstances set down above and their occasion that the kingship of England

163. Demand for the throne made by Henry of Lancaster (1399)

with its appurtenances was vacant, the aforesaid Henry of Lancaster rose from his place, and, standing erect, so that he might be well seen by the people, and protecting himself humbly with the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast, after first calling on the name of Christ, claimed the aforesaid English realm, inasmuch as it was vacant, together with the crown and all its parts and appurtenances, in his mother tongue, in this form of words:

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, claim this realm of England with the crown and all things appertaining to it, as being descended by right line of blood from the good lord King Henry, and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me with help of my kin and of my friends to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and for violation of the laws." . . .

After which the aforesaid archbishop, taking the said King Henry by his right hand, led him to the aforesaid royal throne. And after the said king on bended knees before the said throne had prayed for a short time, the said archbishop of Canterbury, joining to himself the said archbishop of York, took the said king and caused him to sit on the aforesaid royal throne, while the people applauded vigorously with excessive joy.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK, 1399–1485

I. The Growth of the Powers of Parliament

The importance of parliament in the government has already been shown in the last selection of the preceding chapter. Its acquisition of its powers was rather a matter of slow growth than of definite conspicuous steps forward. Some stages in this growth, however, can be seen in the three following documents. The first is dated 1348, and shows the claim of parliament to grant taxes to the king only under certain conditions, which the king must conform to.

164. A grant of taxes by parliament on certain conditions

From henceforth no imposition, tallage, nor charge by loan, nor of any other sort whatsoever, shall be laid by the privy council of our lord the king without the grant and assent of parliament; and also two prelates, two lords, and two justices in this present parliament shall be assigned to hear and examine all the petitions previously put forward in the last parliament by the Commons which have not yet been answered; and with them the petitions now set forth, in the presence of four or six of the Commons chosen by them for this special purpose, so that the said petitions be answered reasonably in the present parliament, and of those which have previously been answered in full, that the answers be in force without change. . . .

An annual tax for three years

It is also provided that the said conditions be entered on the roll of parliament as a matter of record, so that there can be remedy if anything to the contrary is attempted in time to come. Thus the said poor Commons, to their very great sacrifice, grant to our lord the king three fifteenths, to be levied

for three years commencing at Michaelmas next coming; so that each of the three years one fifteenth and no more be levied, at two terms of the year, at Michaelmas and at Easter, in equal portions. The said aid shall be assigned and kept solely for the war of our lord the king and in no manner for the payment of former debts.

The following record, dated 1376, gives a fuller account of the first instance of impeachment of the king's ministers, which has already been referred to and which always afterward remained a right of parliament.

165. Impeachment of Richard Lyons by the Good Parliament

Richard Lyons, merchant of London, was impeached and accused by the said Commons of many deceptions, extortions, and other crimes committed by him against the king our lord, and against his people, as well during the time when he was in attendance upon the household and council of the king as also during the time when he was farmer of the subsidies and customs of the king; because he has put and procured to be put upon the wool, woolfells, and other merchandises, certain new impositions without the assent of parliament, and he has levied and collected those impositions largely for his own use and for the use of those about the king, who are of the said covenant, without the oversight or witness of any comptroller, and without his being charged by record or otherwise except at his will, but he alone is sole treasurer and receiver.

Various loans were also made for the use of the king without necessary cause; and especially one loan of twenty thousand marks which was recently made in London, and this by the advice of the said Richard and other privy councilors about the king, who had agreed with the creditors to receive part of the profit and to be partners secretly in the said loan; to which loan the said Richard furnished his own money and afterwards gained by way of usury from the king his lord, of whose council he had formerly been a member, a great quantity of money to the great damage and deception of the king.

Richard's defense

To which the said Richard, being present in parliament, replied, that as to the loan made to the king of the twenty

thousand marks aforesaid, he was entirely free from blame. And further he said that he had gained thereof neither profit nor gain, nor did he furnish anything to the loan aforesaid, in money nor in anything else; and this he was ready to prove by all the reasonable means that might be demanded. And as to the said imposition of ten shillings and twelvepence on the sack of wool, etc., and of fourpence on the pound of coin, he could not clearly excuse himself of having also levied and collected them and of taking thereof a portion, that is to say, twelvepence from each sack of wool, etc. But this he did, he said, at the express command of our lord the king, and at the prayer and with the consent of the merchants who asked for such licenses. And as to the residue of those impositions, he had caused them to be delivered entirely to the receiver of the chamber of the king and had accounted therefor fully in the said chamber. And the said Richard was told that for it he ought to produce the warrant by which he had done the said things. But no warrant nor authorization was produced in parliament under the seal of the king nor otherwise, save only that he said that he had commandment therefor from the king himself and from his council to do it. And upon this, testimony was given openly in parliament, that our lord the king had said expressly the day before to certain lords here present in parliament that he did not know how or in what manner he had conferred such an office upon him; and furthermore, he did not recognize him as his officer. And as to the other articles the said Richard made no answer; but he said that if he had committed offense or done wrong in any wise, he placed himself at the mercy of the king our lord.

Punishment

Thereupon the said Richard was ordered to prison during the king's pleasure; and to be put to fine and ransom, according to the amount and heinousness of his offense, and that he lose his liberty of the city of London, and that he never hold office of the king nor enter the council or the palace of the king.

The following extract from the records of parliament gives testimony to the resentment of the House of Commons against the recent arrest of one of their

members for introducing a bill obnoxious to the king; and also to their success in forcing the new king to reverse the judgment against Haxey and to acknowledge their privileges for the future.

166. Repeal of condemnation of Thomas Haxey (1399)

Item, as at the parliament held at Westminster on the day of St. Vincent, in the twentieth year of King Richard, for the honor and profit of the said king and all the realm, Thomas Haxey, clerk, presented a bill to the Commons of the said parliament; for which bill, by the wish of the said king, the said Thomas was adjudged a traitor, and forfeited all that he had, contrary to the right and custom which had been used before in parliament, in destruction of the customs of the Commons: may it please our very gracious lord the king in this present parliament to amend that judgment and make it void, as erroneous; and to reinstate the said Thomas fully in his rank, estate, goods and chattels, ferms, annuities, pensions, lands, tenements, rents, offices, advowsons, and possessions whatsoever with their appurtenances, and that he be able to enter upon the aforesaid ferms, annuities, lands, tenements, rents, offices, advowsons, and possessions, or any of them, grants to any person made in any way since the said judgment notwithstanding; as well in fulfillment of the right as for the saving of the liberties of the said Commons.

Acknowledgment of the right of free speech by the Commons

The king wills, by the advice and consent of all the lords, spiritual and temporal, that the judgment rendered against Thomas Haxey, clerk, in the parliament held at Westminster in the twentieth year of the late King Richard, be wholly annulled, reversed, repealed and made void, and held of no force or effect; and that the said Thomas be reinstated in his name and reputation, and made and held an able person, such as he was before the said judgment was rendered, as in the record made thereof and enrolled before in this roll of parliament appears more at length.

II. The Rising of Owen Glendower and the Renewal of the French War

The panic caused by the raids of Owen Glendower and the general rising of the native Welsh in his support are reflected in the following extracts from letters of one of the king's officers on the Welsh border.

167. A letter from Wales to King Henry IV (1403)

There are come into our county more than four hundred of the rebels of Owen, and they have captured and robbed within your county of Hereford many men and beasts in great number, as Miles Walter, the bearer of these presents, will more fully tell you by mouth than I can write to you at present, to whom may it please you to give your faith and credence in that on which he shall inform you, for the preservation of your said county and of all the country around. . . .

From day to day letters are arriving from Wales by which you may learn that the whole country is lost, unless you go there as quick as possible. Be pleased to set forth with all your power and march by night as well as by day, for the salvation of those parts. It will be a great disgrace as well as damage to lose in the beginning of your reign a country which your ancestors gained and retained so long; for people speak very unfavorably.

The turning of the tide in favor of the government is shown by the succeeding letter from Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V, then a young man of eighteen.

168. Prince Henry to King Henry IV (1405)

My most redoubted and most sovereign lord and father, I sincerely pray that God will graciously show his miraculous aid towards you in all places, praised be he in all his works, for on Wednesday, the eleventh of this present month of March, your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannok, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent assembled to the number of eight thousand men, according to their own account, and they went on the same Wednesday, in the morning, and burnt a part of your town of Grossmont within your lordship of

Monmouth and Jennoia. Presently went out my well-beloved cousin the Lord Talbot and the small body of my household, and with them joined your faithful and valiant knights, William Newport and John Greindor, the which formed but small power in the whole; but true it is indeed that victory is not in the multitude of people, but in the power of God, and this was well proved there. For there by the aid of the blessed Trinity your people gained the field, and vanquished all the said rebels, and slew of them in field by fair account, by the time of their return from the pursuit, some, being questioned upon pain of death, say eight hundred, others a thousand. Nevertheless, whether it were one or the other I will not contend, and to inform you fully of all that has been done, I send you a person worthy of credit therein, my faithful servant, the bearer of this letter, who was at the engagement and performed his duty well, as he has always done. And such amends has God ordained you for the burning of your houses in the aforesaid town; and of prisoners were none taken except one, a great chieftain among them, whom I would have sent to you, but he cannot yet ride at ease.

Written at Hereford the said Wednesday at night.

Your most humble and obedient son,

HENRY.

It is very doubtful whether Henry V was sincere in his peaceful embassy to the king of France, described below by a French chronicler. At any rate, it was followed up quickly by warlike acts, and in a short time the interrupted war was resumed with vigor.

169. Extract from the chronicle of Juvenal des Ursins (1414)

On the eighth day of August the king of England sent a notable embassy to Paris with offers of peace and alliance, that is to say, the bishop of Durham and the bishop of Norwich, two well-known prelates, the earl of Salisbury, Lord de Gray, Messire Jean Pheletin, and others, and they had five hundred horses pompously arrayed and well ordered, which came to Paris. But because the king and dauphin were not there they addressed themselves to Monseigneur the duc de

Berry, who received them as lavishly and honorably as he knew how, and entertained them many times. They wished to be heard, a thing which the duc de Berry granted, and they were heard. The said bishop of Norwich, who was a very notable clerk, made a proposal, the substance of which was, "Do us justice; we offer peace and alliance." For alliance they demanded Madame Catherine of France, the duchy of Guienne, the county of Ponthieu, without returning faith or homage; these together with other demands. . . .

Conditions of peace laid down by the English

When the return of the king came to the knowledge of the English they returned to Paris, in order to have a reply to the offer which they had made of having Madame Catherine for their king, and demanding Guienne and Ponthieu, and, in a word, of having the treaty of Bretigny kept. And the same bishops who had made the proposition in the first place repeated it, saying that their lord and sovereign master would be much rejoiced if he might know that the good will which the king of France and his parents had preserved had become a firm peace. . . .

The king of England, not content with having sent ambassadors to the king, himself wrote twice very graciously, that he wished to do him justice. And to this he added soothing and gentle words, in order to strengthen the peace, concord, and unity, hoped for from the offers made by the ambassadors. When the king and his council saw the smooth manner of speech used in the letters, they concluded to send to him a notable embassy, since they well knew the preparations which were being made to descend upon France. They sent the archbishop of Bourges, surnamed Bourretier, a very noted man and good clerk who used fine language; together with him were to go the bishop of Lisieux, the count de Vendôme, the baron d'Ivry, and others. . . .

Soon after, news came that they were about to descend on Harfleur; the king of England was present in person, accompanied by his brothers and other princes of England, six thousand men of arms, thirty to forty thousand archers, and other people without number, with artillery, bombards, cannon, and people trained in arms.

The following is a contemporary account of the well-known words of Henry V before the battle of Agincourt, which Shakespeare introduces into the play of *Henry V.*

170. A speech of Henry V

Amongst other speeches which I noticed was this: a certain Sir Walter Hungerford, knight, was regretting in the king's presence that he had not, in addition to the small retinue which he had there, ten thousand of the best English archers, who would be desirous of being with him. Then the king said: "Thou speakest foolishly, for by the God of heaven, on whose grace I have relied, and in whom I have a firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, increase my number by one, for those whom I have are the people of God, whom he thinks me worthy to have at this time. . . . Dost thou not believe the Almighty with these his humble few is able to conquer the haughty opposition of the French, who pride themselves on their numbers and their own strength?"

The following account of the battle of Agincourt is given by John Capgrave, one of the first chroniclers who wrote in English after the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

171. Extract from John Capgrave's chronicle

The Kyng, aftir this conquest, purposed to go to Caleys, with foot-men for the most part. For al his hoost was not acoundid passing eight thousand; so many were left seek at Harflew. Merveile it was that he with so fewe durst go thorw alle the thik wodis in that cuntre. For the Frensch parti in al this tyme had mad an hoost of an hundred thousand and forty thousand. Vitailes were kept fro hem, that eighteen dayes thei had walnotes for bred; and flech had thei sum: but her drynk was watir.

So in the 23rd day of Octobir the hostis met not a myle asundir. The Kyng coumforted gretly his men, that thei schuld trost in God, for her cause was rithful. The Frensch part stod on the hille, and we in the vale. Betwix hem was a lond new heried, where was evel fotying. Schort for to sey, the feld fel onto the Kyng, and the Frensch party lost it, for al her noumbyr and her pride. Ther were ded the duke of Lauson, the

duke of Braban, the duke of Baver, five erles, the Constable eke of Frauns, and a hundred lordes; knytes and swiris, four thousand sexti and nine: the comon puple was not noumbered.

The most prominent characteristics of the Treaty of Troyes are the fact that it does not name the French king's son Charles, but puts Henry V in his place; and that it provides for the present administration of France by the English king and the eventual union of the two kingdoms.

172. Extracts from the Treaty of Troyes (1420)

First that by the alliance of marriage made for the good of the said peace between our said son King Henry and our dearest and most beloved daughter Katherine, he has become our son and that of our very dear and best beloved companion, the queen. . . .

Henry to be heir

Item, that after our death and afterwards the crown and the kingdom of France, together with its rights and appurtenances, shall be vested and remain perpetually in our son King Henry and his heirs. . . .

Henry to be regent

Item, that inasmuch as we are held and hindered for the present, on account of health, from hearing and arranging the affairs of the kingdom, the faculty and exercise of governing and ordering the public affairs of the said kingdom shall be vested, and remain during our life, in our said son King Henry, with the consent of the nobles and wise men obedient to us, who have at heart the advantage and honor of the said kingdom; and he shall be able to rule and govern by himself and by others whom he wishes to appoint, with the consent of the nobles and said wise men. . . .

Item, that during our life our said son King Henry will not call or subscribe himself, or cause himself to be named or written, as king of France, and will abstain utterly from this said name so long as we remain alive. . . .

Item, it is allowed that during our life we shall call, name, and write our said son, King Henry, in the French language in this manner: "Our dear son Henry, king of England, heir of France." . . .

The two countries to be joined under the same king

Item, . . . the two crowns of France and England shall remain perpetually united, and shall be vested in one person, that is to say, in the person of our said son King Henry as long as he shall live, and after his death in the persons of his heirs who shall reign successively one after the other.

Item, that now and forever all dissension, hatred, rancor, enmity, and war between the said kingdoms of France and England shall be allayed, suppressed, and stopped entirely, and that the people of these two kingdoms shall adhere to this said peace; and between the two said kingdoms there shall be agreement, now and forever, in the future to maintain peace, tranquillity, unity, and mutual affection, together with a strong and stable friendship; and that these two said kingdoms will help those who help them, and give mutual aid and assistance against all persons who bring violence, injury, grief, or loss to them, or to one of them; and that they talk matters over and contract freely and securely the one with the other in paying the customs and accustomed duties.

The dying instructions of Henry V are recorded by the chronicler Thomas of Elmham.

173. Arrangements of Henry for the government of England and France

Three days before his death, having summoned into his presence the dukes of Bedford and Exeter and other nobles of his household, he spoke tranquilly to them as follows: "It is certain," he said, "that I cannot escape death, which is already near at hand. If, therefore, during my reign I have ruled otherwise than I ought, or have done any one injustice, of which I believe the contrary, as a suppliant I pray for pardon. For your good services, especially in these wars, I give thanks to you and to all your fellow-soldiers; for which, if death had not prevented me, I intended to reward each according to his deserts. I command you to continue the wars until peace is made, to which wars, I declare before God, I was drawn neither by ambitious lust for power, nor by vainglory, nor by worldly honor, nor by any other such cause, but solely that by pursuing my just claim I might obtain at once peace and right. To my brother, the duke of Bedford, I decree that the custody and government of the duchy of

Normandy shall be committed until my son reaches years of discretion. The protector and defender of England shall be my brother, the duke of Gloucester. My uncle, the duke of Exeter, my chamberlain, and Hungerford, steward of my household, I wish and desire to be in attendance on the person of my son.

III. Joan of Arc and the Close of the Hundred Years' War

The career of Joan of Arc is one of perennial interest as well as historical importance. The account of her first exploits here given is from a contemporary French chronicler.

174. Extracts from Monstrelet's chronicle (1429)

In the course of this year, a young girl called Joan, about twenty years old, and dressed like a man, came to Charles, king of France, at Chinon. She was born in the town of Domremy, on the borders of Burgundy and Lorraine, not far from Vaucouleurs, and had been for some time hostler and chambermaid at an inn, and had shown much courage in riding horses to water, and in other feats unusual for young girls to do. She was instructed how to act, and sent to the king by Sir Robert de Baudricourt, knight, governor of Vaucouleurs, who supplied her with horses and from four to six men as an escort. She called herself a maiden inspired by the divine grace, and said that she was sent to restore King Charles to his kingdom, whence he had been unjustly driven and which was now reduced to so deplorable a state.

She remained about two months in the king's court, frequently urging him to give her men and support, so that she might repulse his enemies and exalt his name. The king and council, in the meantime, knew not how to act; for they put no great faith in what she said, considering her as one out of her senses; for to such noble persons the expressions she used are dangerous to be believed, as well for fear of the anger of the Lord, as for the blasphemous discourses which they may occasion in the world. After some time, however, she was promised men-at-arms and support; a standard was also given

her, on which she caused to be painted a representation of our Creator. All her conversation was of God, on which account great numbers of those who heard her had great faith in what she said, and believed her inspired, as she declared herself to be.

She was many times examined by learned clerks, and other prudent persons of rank, to find out her real intentions; but she kept to her purpose, and always replied, that if the king would believe her, she would restore to him his kingdom. In the meantime she did several acts which shall be hereafter related that gained her great renown. When she came first to the king, the duke d'Alençon, the king's marshal, and other captains were with him, for he had held a grand council relative to the siege of Orleans. From Chinon the king went to Poitiers, accompanied by the Maid.

Shortly after, the marshal was ordered to convey provisions and stores, under a strong escort, to the army within Orleans. Joan asked to accompany him, and that armor should be given her, which was done. She then displayed her standard and went to Blois, where the escort was to assemble, and thence to Orleans, always dressed in complete armor. On this expedition many warriors served under her; and when she arrived at Orleans great feasts were made for her, and the garrison and townsmen were delighted at her coming among them. . . .

The siege of Orleans

The English captains had continued their siege of Orleans about seven months, and had much straitened it by their batteries and towers, of which they had erected not less than sixty. The besieged, sensible of the peril they were in of being conquered, resolved to defend themselves to the last, and sent to King Charles for reënforcements of men and a supply of stores and provisions. From four to five hundred combatants were first sent; but they were followed by seven thousand more, who escorted a convoy of provisions up the river Loire. With these last came Joan the Maid, who had already done some acts that had increased her reputation. The English attempted to cut off this convoy; but it was well defended by the Maid and those with her, and brought with safety to Orleans, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who made good cheer, and were rejoiced at its safe arrival and the coming of the Maid.

The beginning of success for the French

On the morrow, which was a Thursday, Joan rose early, and addressing herself to some of the principal captains, prevailed on them to arm and follow her, — for she wished, as she said, to attack the enemy, being fully assured they would be vanquished. These captains and other warriors, surprised at her words, were induced to arm and make an assault on the tower of St. Loup, which was very strong and garrisoned with from three to four hundred English. They were, notwithstanding the strength of the blockhouse, soon defeated, and all killed or made prisoners, and the fortification was set on fire and demolished. The Maid, having accomplished her purpose, returned with the nobles and knights who had followed her to the town of Orleans, where she was greatly feasted and honored by all ranks. The ensuing day she again made a sally, with a certain number of combatants, to attack another of the English forts, which was as well garrisoned as the former one, but which was, in like manner, destroyed by fire, and those within put to the sword. On her return to the town after this second exploit she was more honored and respected than ever.

On the next day, Saturday, she ordered the tower at the end of the bridge to be attacked. This was strongly fortified, and had within it the flower of the English chivalry and men-at-arms, who defended themselves for a long time with the utmost courage; but it availed them nothing, for by dint of prowess they were overcome, and the greater part put to the sword. On this occasion were slain a valiant English captain named Classendale, the lord Molins, the bailiff of Evreux, and many more warriors of great and noble estate.

The Maid, after this victory, returned to Orleans with the nobles who had accompanied her, and with but little loss of men. Notwithstanding that at these attacks Joan was, according to common fame, supposed to have been the leader, she had with her all the most expert and gallant captains, who, for the most part, daily served at this siege of Orleans, mention of whom has been before made. Each of these three captains exerted himself manfully at these attacks, so that from six to eight thousand combatants were killed or taken, while the French did not lose more than one hundred men of all ranks.

The relief of Orleans

The ensuing Sunday, the English captains, namely, the earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, and others, seeing the destruction of their forts and the defeat of their men, resolved, after some deliberation, to form the remains of their army into one body, march out of their camp, and wait, prepared for an engagement, should the enemy be willing to offer them battle; otherwise, they would march away in good order to such towns as were under their obedience. This resolution they instantly executed on Sunday morning, when they abandoned their forts, setting fire to several, and drew up in battle array, expecting the French would come to fight them; but they had no such intentions, having been exhorted to the contrary by Joan the Maid. The English, having waited a considerable time for them in vain, marched away, lest their forces might be further diminished without prospect of success.

At the time Joan appeared before Orleans she dictated the following striking letter to a clerk and had it sent to the English commanders.

175. A letter from Joan of Arc

(Jesus, Mary.) King of England, and you, duke of Bedford, who call yourselves regent of the realm of France, you William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, John, Lord Talbot, and you Thomas, Lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said duke of Bedford: Do right to the King of heaven, deliver to the Maid, who is sent here by God, the King of heaven, the keys of all the good towns which you have taken and destroyed in France. She is come hither from God to restore the royal blood. She is ready to make peace if you are willing to do right to her, and on condition that you will quit France and pay back that which you have taken there. And you, archers, comrades of war, gentlemen and others who are before the city of Orleans, go away to your own country, in God's name; and if you do not thus, await tidings of the Maid, who will, ere long, come to see you to your very great hurt.

King of England, if you do not thus, I am the chief of the war, and in whatever place I shall find your men in France, I shall drive them out, whether they will or no; and if they will not obey, I will have them all slain.

I am sent here by God, the King of heaven, body for body, to drive you out of all France. And all who are willing to go I will receive to mercy. And do not have confidence in God, the King of heaven, son of the blessed Mary; for you shall not have the realm of France; but God, the King of heaven, wills that King Charles, the true heir, shall have it, and the Maid has revealed this to him. He shall enter Paris with a good company. If you will not believe the news that the Maid brings from God, in whatsoever place we find you we will attack you, and will make a greater slaughter than there has been in France in a thousand years, if you will not do right. And believe that the King of heaven will send more strength to the Maid than you can bring in all your assaults against her and her good soldiers. And it shall be clearly seen who has the best right from the King of heaven. You, duke of Bedford, the Maid begs and requires you that you will not let yourself be destroyed. If you do right to her, you will be able to come into her company, wherein the French will do the best deed that ever was done for Christianity. And make answer, if you are willing to make peace in the city of Orleans; and if you do not do it, you will learn of it right soon to your very great loss. Written this Tuesday in Holy Week.

At her trial Joan was subjected to an examination lasting through more than a month, in which every detail of her life and actions was inquired into. Fortunately the report of this trial is still preserved, and no better testimony to her pure, childlike, devoted character is needed than her replies, a few of which are given here.

176. Testimony of Joan of Arc concerning herself

Asked concerning the place of her origin, she replied that she was born in the village of Domremy.

Asked concerning the name of her parents, she replied that her father was called Jacques d'Arc, her mother Isabella.

Asked where she was baptized, she replied in the church of Domremy. . . .

Asked how old she is, she replied that so far as she knows she is about nineteen. . . .

She confessed that when she was thirteen years of age she had a voice from God, to aid her in how to act. And the first time she had great fear. The voice came about noontime, in summer, in her father's garden; and the said Joan had been fasting the previous day. She heard the voice on the right hand in the direction of the church, and she seldom heard it without there being a light. The light came from the same direction the voice was heard from, and usually it was a very great light. And when the same Joan came into France she often heard that voice. . . .

She said that when she was in the woods she heard a voice coming toward her. She said, moreover, that it seemed to her to be a good voice, and she believed that the voice was sent from God; and after she heard the voice three times she knew that it was the voice of an angel. She said, besides, that that voice always kept her safe, and that she understood the voice very well.

Her voice requires her to go from Burgundy into France

Asked what proof she had that that voice was for the good of her soul, she said that it taught her to act rightly, to attend church, and said to the same Joan that it was necessary for her to go into France. She confessed that that voice said to her twice or three times in a week that the same Joan must go into France, and she said that her father knew nothing of her departure. Moreover, the voice told her that she should raise a siege laid against the city of Orleans. She said that the voice said to her farther that the same Joan should go to Robert de Baudricourt, at the city of Vaucouleurs, captain of that place, and he would give her men to go with her; and the said Joan then replied that she was a poor girl, who did not know how to ride, nor to carry on war. . . .

She said, likewise, that when she entered the chamber of the king, she recognized him among others, by the counsel of her voice revealing this to her; and she said to the same king that she wished to go to make war against the English. . . .

Asked whether she knew that she was in the grace of God, she replied, "If I am not, God will place me there; and if I am, God will hold me in it; I should be the most sorrowful person in the whole world if I did not know myself to be in the grace of God."

Likewise she was asked about a certain tree near her village. To this she replied, that quite near her village of Domremy, there is a certain tree called the "Tree of the Ladies," and others call it the "Tree of the Fairies," and alongside of it is a spring. . . . Also she said that sometimes she went for a walk to it with the other girls, and made at the tree wreaths for the image of the Blessed Mary of Domremy. And she has often heard from old people that there are fairies there, but she said that she had never seen the fairies there. And she said that after she learned that she must go into France, she took very little part in the plays or walks. . . .

Asked whether it was the voice of an angel which spoke to her, or of a man or a woman saint, or of God directly, she replied that that voice was of St. Catherine and of St. Margaret, and that their forms were crowned with beautiful crowns, very rich and precious.

Asked what was the first voice that came to her when she was thirteen years old, she said that it was St. Michael.

Asked whether she saw St. Michael and the angels bodily, she replied, "I saw them with my bodily eyes, as well as I see you; and when they left me I cried and would have liked them to take me away with them."

Asked whether when she went to Orleans she had a banner, and of what color it was, she replied that she had a banner of which the field was sowed with lilies, and there was on it the figure of the world and two angels at the side. It was of white color made of linen, and the words "Jesus, Mary" were written on it, and it was embroidered with silk.

Asked which she liked best, her banner or her sword, she replied that she liked much better, yes, forty times better, her banner than her sword. She said, moreover, that she herself carried the banner when she attacked the enemy, so that she would not have to kill any one, and she said she had never killed a man, so far as she knew.

After a long series of campaigns, expeditions, sieges, and attempted agreements, the English were finally driven out of Normandy, and somewhat later out of the southern

provinces, and a French chronicler thus describes the close of the English invasion of France.

177. The final expulsion of the English

Thus by the grace and help of God was reduced to obedience to the king of France the duchy of Aquitaine, very soon after that of Normandy, and, in general, all the realm of France, except the city of Calais, which still remains in the hands of the English. May God grant that all shall soon be returned, and then shall be accomplished the scripture, which says, "Better is obedience than sacrifice."

IV. The Wars of the Roses

Much of the misery and tumult of the civil war known as the Wars of the Roses was, no doubt, due to the fact that the king was not strong enough or harsh enough to force the great nobles to behave themselves. The piety, simplicity, and kindliness of Henry VI, as described by Blakman, would have been most estimable in a private man but were unsuitable to a king, at that time.

178. A contemporary description of Henry VI

He was like another Job — a simple, upright man, fearing the Lord God above all, and avoiding evil. He never used any one deceitfully, nor spoke falsely to any man. He would never wittingly do any man harm. In church or oratory he never indulged himself by sitting on a seat, or by walking to and fro, as is the manner of worldly men during divine service, but always with his head bare, and his royal limbs seldom erect, but continually making genuflexions before the book, with eyes and hands raised he sought inwardly to repeat the prayers, epistles, and gospels of the mass with the celebrant. Also he would allow no one to enter the church with swords or spears, or to converse there.

Concerning his humility in his gait, raiment, and demeanor, he was wont from a youth to wear broad shoes and boots like a farmer. Also his cloak was long, with a round hood such as

a burgess wears, and his tunic reached below his knees, all dove colored, and he avoided anything fanciful.

Once when he was coming through Cripplegate, seeing the quarter of a man set over the gate there, he asked what it might be. And his lords told him that it was the quarter of a traitor who had been false to the king's Majesty. The king said: "Take it away. I will not that any Christian man be so cruelly used for me." Also four noble gentlemen convicted of treason, and lawfully condemned therefor, he piously released, giving them charter of pardon for their speedy liberation.

The following extracts from a chronicle, written in English, show how many of the battles of the Wars of the Roses occurred. King Henry VI, who was at this time under the influence of the queen and the nobles of her party, was traveling toward the north of England. The earl of Salisbury and the duke of York, with an army which they professed was simply for their protection against the Lancastrian nobles, were coming to appeal to the king. The nobles about the king and queen with their troops opposed them, and the battle of Blore Heath occurred as described here. The king's troops were defeated and he came for the moment under the influence of the Yorkists.

179. The battle of Blore Heath (1459)

The thirty eighth yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of Septembre, in yere of our Lord 1459 on the Sonday in the feste of Seynt Mathew, Richard erle of Salisbury, havyng with hym seven thousand of wele arayed men, dredyng the malyces of his enemyes and specially of the quene and hyre company the whiche hated hym dedly and the duk of York and the erle of Warrewyk also, tooke hys wey towarde Ludlow where the sayde duk of York lay at that tyme, to thentent that bothe togedre wolde have ryde to the kyng to Colshylle in Staffordshyre, for to have excused theym of certeyne articles and fals accusaciones touchyng thaire ligeaunce layde agayns theyme maliciously by their enemyes.

Whenne the kyng herde of thayre commyng, they that were aboute hym counseyled hym to gadre a power for to wythestand theym, and enformed hym that they came for to dystroy hymme. Thenne lay the quene at Eglishale, and anone by hire stiryng the kyng assembled a grete power whereof the Lorde Audeley was chyef and had the ledyng of thaym, and wente forthe in to the felde called Blorehethe; by the whyche the sayde duk of York and the erl most nedes passe. And there bothe hostes mette and countred to gedre, and faught mortally. And there was the Lorde Audeley sleyne, and meny of the notable knyghtes and squyers of Chesshyre that had resceved the lyvery of the swannes; and there were take prysoners, the erlles two sones of Salisbury, Thomas and Johan, and Sir Thomas Haryngtone, and enprysoned in the castelle of Chestre; but sone after they were delyvered.

Two years after the events just described, the king being in the possession of the Yorkists, the second battle of St. Albans was fought. It went against the Yorkists, and the poor imbecile king fell into the hands of his wife and other friends. The cruel execution of captured opponents was characteristic of the times, but the harsh sentence put into the mouth of the ten-year-old prince by his mother, according to the following contemporary account, was extreme even then, and was believed at the time to be avenged when he was himself murdered after the battle of Tewkesbury, fought the next year.

180. The second battle of St. Albans

When the earl of Warwick perceived that things were going ill, he bethought him to seek the king, but he could not for the people who were fleeing. And thus the king was taken under a great oak, where he was laughing greatly at what had occurred, and he begged those who came to him that they should do no hurt to the person of Monsieur Kyriel, which they promised; but Lovelace, the disloyal traitor, led the king, Sir Thomas, and his son to the queen, who was right glad to meet the king. Then she spoke to Sir Thomas Kyriel and his son,

and called them traitors several times, to which the good knight replied: "Greatly redoubted lady, never have I thought nor done treason, neither has any ill reproach touched me; it would grieve me much if in my old age I were so reputed." At these words the queen looked at him very haughtily, and swearing by her allegiance to the king that she would be revenged, she called her son, the prince of Wales, and asked him, "Fair son, by what manner of death shall these knights die?" And the young prince answered that their heads should be chopped off. Whereat answered Sir Thomas, saying, "May God punish whomsoever taught thee to speak thus." And shortly afterwards their heads were cut off, which was great pity.

Execution of Yorkist lords

V. The Reigns of Edward IV and Richard III

Notwithstanding the unfavorable results of this battle, the duke of York pressed on to London, which was then being besieged by the Lancastrians, entered it, and laid claim to the throne, as described by John Whethamstede. His coronation soon followed.

When these words had been spoken, surrounded by a great number of people, Edward, duke of York, mounted his horse, and taking his way towards London, came there under lucky circumstances and without any hindrance on the eighth day after the battle of St. Albans. Arriving there and entering the city freely and without pay, he was received by all, as well by the mayor as by the aldermen, as well by the clergy as by every workman of the city. With the greatest rejoicings and delight he was led to the palace of the bishop, in which he delayed for several days. Daily he consulted and planned with the prelates in person, the nobility, and other solid and intelligent men what he himself should do to be more useful in carrying out their plans after they had been adopted. After the conclusion of this he hastened, on the fourth day of the month of March, to the royal palace of Westminster, and entering, advanced to the throne of the king erected there at the time of

181. Seizure of the throne by Edward IV (1461)

The duke of York takes possession of Westminster Palace

the parliament. Summoning an assembly there, he declared before all the people in a very fluent speech, the claim vested in his own person, his birth, his title, as well as his right to the name and government of the kingdom. After assuming it for himself in the two ways, as well in the name of king as in the command of the kingdom, he hastened on to the church of the monks, where he was received by the abbot and the brethren with the bestowal of the royal scepter and other ornaments. Then he was conducted through the middle of the choir to the high altar, thence to the shrine; then after the customary sacrifice had been offered before each place, he returned again to the choir; then after looking again at the throne erected for the royal person, he ascended it, and, seating himself, declared again the source of his claim so clearly, distinctly, and openly that all were better able to understand how he was the true heir of the kingdom, and how the management of this kingdom ought to come to him by law.

He seats himself on the throne in Westminster Abbey

Edward introduced more thrifty financial methods into the government than had been used before. The following are two instances described in Fabyan's *Chronicle*.

182. The invention of benevolences (1473)

This year this king, intending to make a voyage over sea into France, called before him his lords severally, both spiritual and temporal, to know their good minds, what of their free wills they would aid and give him toward the said voyage. And after he had so known their good disposition toward him, he then sent for the mayor of London and his brethren the aldermen and them severally examined and exhorted to aid and assist him toward the said journey, of which the mayor for his part granted £30, and of the aldermen some 20 marks, and the least £10. And that done, he sent for all the trusty commoners within the said city, and them exhorted in like manner, which for the more part granted to him half the wages of a man for a year, the which amounted to £4 11*s*. 4*d*. And after that he rode about the greater part of the land, and used the people in such fair manner that he raised thereby notable sums of money, the which way of the levying of his money was after named a benevolence.

He resumed possession of nearly all the royal estates, regardless of those to whom they had been granted, and applied the whole thereof to the support of the expenses of the crown. Throughout all the ports of the kingdom he appointed inspectors of the customs, men of remarkable shrewdness, but too hard, according to general report, upon the merchants. The king himself, also, having procured merchant ships, loaded them with the finest wool, cloth, tin, and other products, and, like a private individual living by trade, bartered his merchandise with both Italians and Greeks through his agents. The revenues of vacant prelacies, which, according to Magna Carta, cannot be sold, he would only part with at a stated sum, and on no other terms whatever. He also examined the register and rolls of Chancery, and exacted heavy fines from those whom he found to have entered into possession of their estates without prosecuting their rights in legal form, by way of return for the rents which they had meanwhile received; added to which he had a yearly payment of £10,000 from France, and numerous tenths from the clergy. Thus in a few years he became an extremely wealthy prince.

183. Edward's shrewd financial arrangements

One of the first pieces of English historical writing of a modern character was Sir Thomas More's *Historie of Kynge Richarde the Thirde*, from which the following extracts are taken.

Whereupon sone after, that is on the Friday the 13 day of June, many lordes assembled in the Tower, and there sat in counsaile, devising the honorable solempnite of the kinges coronacion, of which the time appointed then so nere approched, that the pageauntes and suttelties were in making day and night at Westminster, and much vitaile killed therfore, that afterward was cast away. These lordes so sytting togyther comoning of thys matter, the protectour came in among them, fyrst aboute nine of the clock, saluting them curtesly, and excusying hymself that he had ben from them so long, saieng merely that he had bene a slepe that day. And after a little talking with them, he sayd unto the bishop of

184. History of Richard III

Elye: My lord, you have very good strawberies at your gardayne in Holberne; I require you let us have a messe of them. Gladly my lord, quod he; woulde God I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that. And therwith in al the hast he sent hys servant for a messe of strauberies. The protectour sette the lordes fast in comoning, and therupon prayeng them to spare hym for a little while departed thence. And sone, after one hower, betwene ten and eleven he returned into the chamber among them, al changed, with a wonderful soure angrye countenaunce, knitting the browes, frowning and froting and knawing on hys lippes, and so sat him downe in hys place; al the lordes much dismaied and sore merveiling of this maner of sodain chaunge, and what thing should him aile. Then when he had sitten still awhile, thus he began; What were they worthy to have, that compasse and ymagine the distruccion of me, being so nere of blood unto the king and protectour of his riall person and his realme? At this question, al the lordes sat sore astonied, musyng much by whome thys question should be ment, of which every man wyst himselfe clere. Then the lord chamberlen, as he that for the love betwene them thoughte he might be boldest with him, aunswered and sayd, that thei wer worthye to bee punished as heighnous traitors, whatsoever they were. And al the other affirmed the same. That is (quod he) yonder sorceres my brother's wife and other with her, meaning the quene. At these wordes many of the other lordes were gretly abashed that favoured her. But the lord Hastinges was in his minde better content, that it was moved by her, then by any other whom he loved better. Albeit hys harte somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this mater, as he was of the taking of her kynred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before devised to bee byhedded at Pountfreit, this selfe same day, in which he was not ware that it was by other devised, that himself should the same day be behedded at London. Then said the protectour: ye shal al se in what wise that sorceres and that other witch of her counsel, Shoris wife, with their affynite, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body. And therwith he plucked up hys doublet sleve to his elbow upon his left arme,

Richard's pretense of anger

where he shewed a werish withered arme and small, as it was never other. And thereupon every mannes mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarel. For wel thei wist, that the quene was to wise to go aboute any such folye. And also if she would, yet wold she of all folke leste make Shoris wife of counsaile, whom of al women she most hated, as that concubine whom the king her husband had most loved. And also no man was there present, but wel knew that his harme was ever such since his birth. Natheles the lorde Chamberlen aunswered and sayd: certainly my lorde if they have so heinously done, thei be worthy heinouse punishment.

Execution of several lords of the Council

What, quod the protectour, thou servest me, I wene, with iffes and andes, I tel the thei have done so, and that I will make good on thy body, traitour. And therwith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the borde a great rappe. At which token given, one cried treason without the chambre. Therewith a dore clapped, and in come there rushing men in harneys as many as the chambre might hold. And anon the protectour sayd to the lorde Hastinges: I arest the, traitour. What, me, my lorde? quod he. Yea, thee, traitour, quod the protectour. And another let flee at the Lorde Standley which shronke at the stroke and fel under the table, or els his hed had ben clefte to the tethe: for as shortely as he shranke, yet ranne the blood aboute hys eares. Then were they al quickly bestowed in diverse chambres, except the lorde Chamberlen, whom the protectour bade spede and shryve hym apace, for by saynt Poule (quod he) I wil not to dinner til I se thy hed of. It boted him not to ask why, but hevely he toke a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to dyner; which he might not go to til this wer done for saving of his othe. So was he brought forth into the grene beside the chappel within the Tower, and his head laid upon a long log of timbre, and there striken of, and afterward his body with the hed entred at Windsore beside the body of Kinge Edward, whose both soules our Lord pardon. . . .

King Richarde after his coronacion, takyng his way to Gloucester to visit, in his newe honor, the towne of which he

bare the name of his old, devised as he roode to fulfil that thing which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his minde gave him that, his nephewes living, men woulde not recken that hee could have right to the realm, he thought therfore without delay to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindly king. And calling up syr James, brake to him secretely his mind in this mischievous matter. In whiche he founde him nothing strange. Wherfore on the morow he sente him to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was commaunded to deliver sir James all the kayes of the Tower for one nyght, to the ende he might there accomplish the kinges pleasure, in such thing as he had geven him commaundement. After which letter delivered and the kayes received, sir James appointed the night nexte ensuing to destroy them, devysing before and preparing the meanes. The prince, as soone as the protector left that name and toke himself as king, had it shewed unto him, that he should not reigne, but his uncle should have the crowne. At which worde the prince sore abashed, began to sigh and said: Alas I woulde my uncle woulde lette me have my lyfe yet, though I lese my kingdome. Then he that tolde the tale, used him with good wordes, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother bothe shet up, and all other removed from them, onely one called black Wil or William Slaughter except, set to serve them and see them sure. After whiche time the prince never tyed his pointes, nor ought rought of hymselfe, but with that young babe hys brother, lingered in thought and heavines til his tratorous death delivered them of that wretchednes. For sir James Tirel devised that thei shold be murthered in their beddes. To the execucion wherof, he appointed Miles Forest, one of the foure that kept them, a felowe fleshed in murther before time. To him he joyned one John Dighton, his own horsekeper, a big brode square strong knave. Then al the other beeing removed from them, thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (the sely children lying in their beddes) came into the chamber, and sodainly lapped them up among the clothes, so bewrapped them and entangled them,

Murder of the princes

keping down by force the fetherbed and pillowes hard unto their mouthes, that within a while smored and stifled, theyr breath failing, thei gave up to God their innocent soules into the joyes of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodys dead in the bed. Whiche after that the wretches parceived, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lying styll, to be throughly dead; they laide their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched sir James to see them. Which upon the sight of them, caused those murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde under a great heape of stones. Than rode sir James in great hast to king Richarde, and shewed him al the maner of the murther, who gave hym gret thanks and, as som say, there made him knight. . . .

CHAPTER XII

THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD, 1485–1558

I. Henry VII and His Policy

The private accounts kept by Henry VII are still preserved. They illustrate the close connection between the life of the king as a private person and his public duties as ruler of the kingdom. Sums spent to pay soldiers, ambassadors, and the costs of fortification are intermingled with rewards to musicians and clowns, payments of the king's gambling debts, the cost of his clothes, and a gift of £10 to John Cabot as a reward for his discovery of America. The journal shows Henry's methodical and careful habits, and the frequent changes of his residence and visits to his subjects. All the entries of the year 1497 and a few of those of the next three years are given here, and with a little ingenuity and patience can still be read in the exact language in which Henry wrote them.

185. Extracts from the private account book of Henry VII (1497–1501)

January 2. For cristennyng of Wynslow childe, £3 6*s.* 8*d.* To Hugh Denes for a musk ball, 6*s.* 8*d.*

January 6. To Hugh Vaughan for two harpers, 13*s.* 4*d.* To Graunt Pier the founder, in rewarde, £1. To Courtevild th'enbassadour of Flanders, £33 6*s.* 8*d.*

January 7. For two new greate gestes, £1 13*s.* 4*d.* To a litelle mayden that daunceth, £12. To a Walshe man that maketh rymes, 6*s.* 8*d.*

January 20. To John Flee for a case for the capp and swerde of mayntenance, £1 2*s.*

February 1. Delivered to the Quenes grace for to pay hir detts, which is to be repayed, £2000. Delivered to the Sergeant of the Pultry to mete th'archeduc suster, £40. To Sir Thomas Lovell for cost made aboute the Lorde Fitzwater, £5 5*s.* 8*d.*

February 17. Delivered to William Fysher, tresorer, for my Lorde of York expenses, £166 8*s.* To the Quenes fideler in rewarde, £1 6*s.* 8*d.* To the gardener at Shene for graftes, £2.

February 19. To the grete Walshe childe, 6*s.* 8*d.*

March 17. At Shene. To Bayly for watching the crowes, 13*s.* 4*d.* Delivered to my Lady Fitzwater, £33 6*s.* 6*d.* Delivered and sent by the Kinges comandment to York, Durham, and Newcastel, £4000.

March 31. Delivered to the Greke in rewarde, £4. To the freer that preched in Frensh, £2.

April 3. To a Walshe rymer in rewarde, 13*s.* 4*d.*

April 17. At London. — 21. At Grenewich. To Dr. Mydelton going enbassadour, £2. To Dr. Ruthall going with hym, £23 6*s.* 8*d.*

May 1. For redemyng of prisoners oute of the Kinges Benche, £7 14*s.* 8*d.*

May 13. Delivered and sent by the Kinges comandment to Berwik towards the werrs, £6300.

May 24. For redemying of sertain persons oute of the Marchalsie by bille, £3 17*s.* 4*d.* Delivered to the Coferer for asmoch money payed by Master Hugh Oldeham, for 100 peces of Cornyshe tynne, £250.

May 31. Delivered to the Quenes grace for juels, £31 10*s.* To a woman for aqua vite, 5*s.*

June. 5. Delivered to th'enbassadour of Naples, £66 13*s.* 4*d.* To Sir John Cheyne by M. Esterfeld, £100.

June 9. At Alesbury. — 11. At Bucks. — 12. At Banbury.

June 12. Payde for a pair of kerving knyves, £1 6*s.* 8*d.*

June 13. At Wodestok. — 14. At Abingdon. — 15. At Walingford. — 16. At Reding and Windsor. — 17. At Kingeston. — 18. At Seint Georgefeld. — 19. At Blakeheth.

June 23. At the Towre. To Burley for keping of S. Th. Turnebull, £4 4*s.* 9*d.* Paide opon a bille for the werrs, £40 13*s.* 4*d.* To one that toke the Lorde Audeley, £1. To my

Lorde Dacres servant that toke the Lorde Audeley, for his costs, £1 6*s*. 8*d*.

June 24. Midsomer Day. For making of the bone fuyr, 10*s*.

June 30. To two Ambassadours of Fraunce, £40. To three other Frenchmen in rewarde, £10. To one that toke the Lorde Audeley, £2. To the Priour of the Charterhouse servant for a table of ymagery, 6*s*. 8*d*. To the Quenes grace for garnishing of a salett, £10.

To the queen for ornamenting a helmet

July 1. At Shene. Delivered and sent by the Kinges comandment northward for the Kinges werrs, £12,000. For paling of Eltham parke, £1.

July 21. To my Lorde of Dudley bastard broder, £66 8*s*.

July 26. To Quintyn Paulet for a boke, £23.

July 29. At Netley. — 30. At Wodestok. For sixteen pair of gloves, 5*s*. 4*d*.

August 9. To John Vandelf for garnyshing of a salett, £38 1*s*. 4*d*. For twenty jacquetts of the best sorte, £19 6*s*. 4*d*. For browdering of the same jacquetts, £18. For garnyshing of the Kinges swerde, £6 10*s*. 7*d*.

To John Cabot

August 10. To hym that founde the new Isle, £10.

August 19. At Cornebury. — 21. At Mynst. Lovell. — 22. At Wodestok. To two freers of Inde in rewarde, 3*s*. 4*d*.

August 30. Delivered to Robert Courte for to be delivered to the Kinges comissioners in the weste partyes, £333 6*s*. 8*d*. To Jakes Haute for the tenes playe, £10. For making of the Kinges standing in the parke opon a bille, £1 17*s*. 6*d*.

September 1. To Piers Lloid for convening of Seint mary men to the Tour of London, 13*s*. 4*d*.

September 10. To John Myklow for th'enbassadoures expenses at Oxford, upon a bille, £2 11*s*. 2*d*. Delivered to Richard Emson for to cary to Exeter for the busyness ther, £666 13*s*. 4*d*.

September 20. Delivered for the retynue of Sir John Cheyne, £500. To Robert Whitlok, Thomas Bromfeld, John Sharp, Richard Pitt, lying as posts, £2.

September 22. Delivered to Doctour Mydelton, to convey to my Lord Chamberlayn, £666 13*s*. 4*d*. To four cartes for carage of money three days from London to Wodestok, £4.

September 25. To a man that come from Perkyn, £1.

September 27. At Cistiter. — 28. At Malmesbury. — 29. At Bathe. — 30. At Wells. To cary to my Lorde Chamberlayn at Excester, £500.

September 30. Payd and delivered to diverse Capitaines for their wages with ther retynue, £4000.

October 1. At Welles. For a Guyde to Bathe in rewarde, 1*s.* 8*d.*

October 2. At Glastonbury. — 3. At Bridgewater. — 4. At Tawnton. For the Kinges losse at cardes at Tawnton, £9.

October 5. This day came Perkin Werbek. — 6. At Tiverton. — 7. At Excester. Invasion by Perkin Warbeck

October 15. To Garter for two cote armours bought for the Lord Audeley, 13*s.* 4*d.* To Robert Suthewell for horses, sadells, and other necessarys bought for the conveying of my Lady Kateryn Huntleye, £7 13*s.* 4*d.*

November 3. At Otery. — 4. At Newnham. — 10. At Bridport. — 11. At Dorchester. — 12. At Blanford. — 13. At Salesbury. — 14. At Andover. — 15. At Frefold. — 18. At Basingstok. — 19. At Esthamsted. — 20. At Windesor. — 21. At Shene. — 27. At Westminster.

December 1. To my Lady Kateryn Huntleye, £2.

December 3. To my Lady the Kinge's moder's poete, £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

December 8. To a surgeon that heled my Lorde Kildare sone, in rewarde, £2.

December 10. To Piers Barbor for spices for ypocras, 6*s.* 8*d.* To Hugh Denes for the Kinges pley at dice upon Friday last passed, £7 15*s.* To Courtevild enbassador of Flanders, £20.

December 18. Delivered by the Kinges comandment in repayment of diverse lones, £3364. To blynde Cunnyngham, 13*s.* 4*d.* To the enbassadour of Spain in rewarde, £66 15*s.* To Hugh Denes for Perkyns costs, £2.

December 24. To my Lorde of Landaff for belding at Shene, over and besides £40 to hym delivered in prest, £101 4*s.* 2*d.*

For rewardes yeven to them that founde the Kings juels at Shene, £20. To the gardyner for sope hashes, 10*s.* For two

pairs of bellows, 10*d*. To my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde, £3 6*s*. 8*d*. For the wages of the Kinges scoler, John Taillor, at Oxenford, £2 10*s*. To Robert Jones upon a bille for Perkyns horsemete unto the first day of February, £1 8*s*. 6*d*. To John Atkynson for a paper boke, 3*s*. 4*d*. To Story the Carpenter for making a galery at Grenewich, £2. To one that tumblet at Eltham, £1. To the Secretary of Venes in rewarde, £20.

The second expedition to America

Delivered to Launcelot Thirkill going towards the new Ile in prest, £20. To Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill going to the new Isle, £30. To Arnolde pleyer at recorders, £1. To John Carter going to the newe Ile in rewarde, £2. To Sir Pieter for a masse boke, 8*s*. To the Quenes grace, £6 13*s*. 4*d*. To one that bloweth on a horne, 8*s*. 4*d*. To the maryners of the Sovereigne, £1. To a Preste that made powder, 13*s*. 4*d*. To Robert Taillor the Quenes surgeon, £3 6*s*. 8*d*.

Delivered by the Kinges comandment for to repay the lone money, £10,000. For a cote and a payr of hooses bought and made for the Kinges fole, 15*s*. 2*d*. For making of a bonefyr, 10*s*. To the binding of the Kepars doughter of Westminister to prentassode, £4. To Arnold Jeffrey, orgon pleyer, for a quarter wages unto Midsomer last, 10*s*. To Master Conyngesby servaunt and Master Frowick servaunt for writing of sertayn bokes for the King, £3 6*s*. 8*d*. To one that founde a Stok dove, 1*s*. To a fole at Master Knyvett's, 3*s*. 4*d*. To a piper at Huntingdon, 2*s*. To my Lorde Prince organ pleyers for a quarter wages endid at Michellmas, 10*s*.

To Olyver Tonor for relikes, in rewarde, £2 13*s*. 4*d*. To Master William Paronus, an astronymyre, £1. To one that went to the Holylande, £1.

A payment to Caxton's successors

Delivered and payd by the Kinges comandement opon a bille signed, £4820. To the Maygame at Grenewich, 4*s*. For the Kinges losse at tenes, 8*s*. To the pleyers with marvels, £4. To the Printers at Westm, £1. To a woman for a rede rosse, 2*s*. To the Kinges piper in rewarde, 10*s*. To the Pope's collect servant for hauks, 10*s*. To th'enbassadour of Spayn in rewarde, £66 15*s*. To a Frensheman for sertain bokes, £56

4*s.* Delivered by the Kinges comandment for his werks in sondry and diverse places, £7640. To Quintyn for iii bokes, £1. To one that brought the King date treesse, 6*s.* 8*d.* To an astronomyer for a prognosticacon, £3 6*s.* 8*d.* To a felow for eting of coles, 6*s.* 8*d.* Delivered to John Myklow for th'expens of th'ambassadour of Flanders to London, £6 3*s.* 3*d.* To Thomas Blakall the Kinges foule, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Raimondo Soncino, who wrote the following letter, was an Italian clergyman, spending some time in England in the reign of Henry VII. He gives one of the earliest reports of the voyage of John Cabot, this letter being written only about three months after Cabot's return from his voyage of exploration. The letter not only gives some idea of the plans of Cabot, and the new English interest in discoveries and trade, but shows the keen interest of Italians, such as the writer of the letter and the duke of Milan, to whom it is addressed, in all that was going on in the world.

186. Raimondo Soncino to Francisco Sforza, duke of Milan. From London (December 18, 1497)

Most Illustrious and Excellent My Lord:

Perhaps among your Excellency's many occupations, it may not displease you to learn how his Majesty here has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. There is, in this kingdom, a Venetian fellow, Master John Caboto by name, of fine mind, greatly skilled in navigation, who, seeing that those most serene kings, first the king of Portugal and then the king of Spain, have occupied unknown islands, determined to make a like acquisition for his Majesty aforesaid.

And having obtained royal grants that he should have the usufruct of all that he should discover, provided that the ownership of the same is reserved to the crown, with a small ship and eighteen persons he committed himself to fortune; and, having set out from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, he passed the western limits of Ireland. Then standing to the northward, he began to sail toward the oriental regions, leaving (after a few days) the north star on his right

hand. Having wandered about considerably, at last he struck the mainland, where he planted the royal banner and took possession on behalf of this king, and having taken certain tokens, returned thence.

The said Master John, as being foreign born and poor, would not be believed, if his comrades, who are almost all Englishmen and from Bristol, did not testify that what he says is true. This Master John has the description of the world on a chart, and also on a solid globe which he has made, and he shows where he landed, and that going toward the east he passed considerably beyond the country of the Tanais. And they say that it is a very good and temperate country, and they think that Brazil wood and silk grow there; and they affirm that that sea is covered with fishes, which are caught not only with the net but with baskets, a stone being tied to the baskets in order that they may sink in the water. And this I heard the said Master John relate.

Cabot expects to reach Japan

And the aforesaid Englishmen, his comrades, say that they will bring so much fish that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there comes a very great store of fish, which are called stockfish. But Master John has set his mind on something greater; for he expects to go farther on toward the east from that place already occupied, constantly hugging the shore, until he shall be over against an island, by him called Cipango, situated in the equinoctial region, where he thinks all the spices of the world, and also the precious stones, originate.

He says that in former times he was at Mecca, whither spices are brought by caravans from distant countries, and that those who brought them, on being asked where the said spices grow, answered that they do not know, but that other caravans come to their homes with this merchandise from distant countries, and these again report that they are brought to them from other remote regions.

And he argues thus, — that if the Orientals affirmed to the Southerners that these things come from a distance from them, and so from hand to hand; presupposing the rotundity of the earth it must be that the last ones get them at the north

toward the west; and he said it in such a way that, having nothing to gain or lose by it I too believe it; and, what is more, the king here, who is wise and not lavish, likewise puts some faith in him; for ever since his return he has made good provision for him, as the same Master John tells me. And it is said that in the spring his Majesty aforenamed will fit out some ships, and will, besides, give him all the convicts, and they will go to that country to make a colony, by means of which they hope to establish in London a greater emporium of spices than there is in Alexandria. The chief men of the enterprise are of Bristol, great sailors, who, now that they know where to go, say that it is not a voyage of more than fifteen days, nor do they ever have storms after they get away from Ireland.

Cabot believes that the spice regions can be reached by sailing to the north and west

I have also talked with a Burgundian, a comrade of Master John's, who confirms everything, and wishes to return thither because the admiral (for so Master John already entitles himself) has given him an island; and he has given another one to a barber of his from Castiglione-of-Genoa, and both of them regard themselves as counts, nor does my lord, the admiral, esteem himself anything less than a prince. I think that with this expedition there will go several poor Italian monks, who have all been promised bishoprics. And, as I have become a friend of the admiral's, if I wished to go thither I should get an archbishopric. But I have thought that the benefices which your Excellency has in store for me are a surer thing. Therefore I beg that if these should fall vacant in my absence, you will cause possession to be given to me, taking measures to do this when it is needed, in order that they be not taken from me by others, who, because they are present, can be more diligent than I. During my stay in this country I have frequently been brought to the pass of eating ten or twelve dishes at every meal, and sitting at table three hours at a time twice a day, for the sake of your Excellency, — to whom I now humbly commend myself.

The writer makes a humorous petition for a good office

Your Excellency's
Very humble servant,
RAIMONDO.

The following letters from Erasmus, the first three written from England to various friends in Italy or in Holland, the fourth written long afterward but describing his experiences while in England, will give some idea of the group of learned men living in England at that time, of their interests, and of the family of Henry VII.

187. Erasmus to Robert Fisher, English representative in Italy (1499)

I have been rather afraid of writing to you, dearest Robert, not that I feared your affection had been at all lessened by such distances of time and place, but because you are in a country where the walls are more learned and eloquent than our men; so that what we here think eloquent and beautiful cannot but seem poor and rude and tasteless there. Your England naturally expects you to return not only most learned in the laws but equally loquacious in Greek and Latin. You would have seen me, too, in Italy before this time if my lord Mountjoy, when I was prepared for the journey, had not carried me off to England. Whither, indeed, would I not follow a young man so courteous, so amiable? I would follow him, by heaven, to the grave itself. You had amply sounded his praises, and described him like a picture; but he daily surpasses both your praises and the opinion I had myself formed of him.

But how do you like our England? you will say. Believe me, my Robert, when I answer that I never liked anything so much before. I find the climate both pleasant and wholesome; and I have met with so much kindness and so much learning — not hackneyed and trivial, but deep, accurate, ancient Latin and Greek — that but for the curiosity of seeing it, I do not now care so much for Italy. When I hear my Colet, I seem to be listening to Plato himself. In Grocyn, who does not marvel at such a perfect round of learning? What can be more acute, profound, and delicate than the judgment of Linacre? What has nature ever created more gentle, more sweet, more happy than the genius of Thomas More? I need not go through the list. It is marvelous how general and abundant is the harvest of ancient learning in this country, to which you ought all the

sooner to return. My lord has so kind a remembrance of you that he speaks of no one more often or with more pleasure. Farewell. From London, in haste, this fifth day of December.

188. Erasmus to Sixtinus. From Oxford (1499)

How I wish you had been present, as I expected, at that feast of ours. Nothing was wanting. A choice time, choice place, no arrangements neglected. The good cheer would have satisfied Epicurus; the table talk would have pleased Pythagoras. The guests might have peopled an Academy and not merely made up a dinner party. First, there was Prior Richard, that high priest of the Graces; then the divine who had preached the Latin sermon the same day, a person of modesty as well as learning; then your friend Philip, most cheerful and witty. Colet, assertor and champion of the old theology, was at the head of the table. On his right sat the prior, a man in whose composition there is an admirable mixture of learning, benevolence, and honesty. On Colet's left sat the more modern theologian. His left was covered by me, that the banquet might not be without a poet, while opposite to me sat Philip, to represent the legal profession. Below was a mixed and nameless assembly. . . .

189. Erasmus to Servatius, at the convent of Steyn, Holland. From London (1505)

. . . I have now been spending some months with my lord Mountjoy, who made a great point of calling me back to England, not without the general agreement of the learned of this country. For there are, at London, five or six men who are accurate scholars in both tongues, such as I think even Italy itself does not at present possess. I do not set any value on myself; but it seems there is not one of these that does not make much of my capacity and learning. And if it were in any circumstances allowable to boast, I might, at any rate, be pleased to have gained the approbation of those whose preeminence in letters the most envious and the most hostile cannot deny. But for myself, I think nothing settled unless I have the approval of Christ, on whose single will all our felicity depends. Farewell.

. . . I was staying at Lord Mountjoy's country house when Thomas More came to see me and took me out with him for

190. From Erasmus' *Catalogue of Lucubrations* (1523)

a walk as far as the next village, where all the king's children, except Prince Arthur, who was then the eldest son, were being educated. When we came into the hall, the attendants not only of the palace but also of Mountjoy's household were all assembled. In the midst stood Prince Henry, then nine years old, and having already something of royalty in his demeanor, in which there was a certain dignity combined with singular courtesy. On his right was Margaret, almost eleven years of age, afterward married to James, king of Scots; and on his left played Mary, a child of four. Edmund was an infant in arms. More, with his companion, Arnold, after paying his respects to the boy Henry, the same that is now king of England, presented him with some writing. For my part, not having expected anything of the sort, I had nothing to offer, but promised that on another occasion I would in some way declare my duty towards him. Meantime I was angry with More for not having warned me, especially as the boy sent me a little note while we were at dinner, to challenge something from my pen. . . .

One more letter from Erasmus may be given to show some of the ways of life of the English people at that time.

191. Erasmus to Dr. Francis, physician to Cardinal Wolsey

. . . I am frequently astonished and grieved to think how it is that England has been now for so many years troubled by a continual pestilence, especially by a deadly sweat, which appears in a great measure to be peculiar to your country. I have read how a city was once delivered from a plague by a change in the houses, made at the suggestion of a philosopher. I am inclined to think that this, also, must be the deliverance for England.

First of all, Englishmen never consider the aspect of their doors or windows; next, their chambers are built in such a way as to admit of no ventilation. Then a great part of the walls of the house is occupied with glass casements, which admit light but exclude the air, and yet they let in the draught through holes and corners, which is often pestilential and stagnates there. The floors are, in general, laid with white clay, and are

covered with rushes, occasionally renewed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for twenty years, harboring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned. Whenever the weather changes a vapor is exhaled, which I consider very detrimental to health. I may add that England is not only everywhere surrounded by sea, but is, in many places, swampy and marshy, intersected by salt rivers, to say nothing of salt provisions, in which the common people take so much delight. I am confident the island would be much more salubrious if the use of rushes were abandoned, and if the rooms were built in such a way as to be exposed to the sky on two or three sides, and all the windows so built as to be opened or closed at once, and so completely closed as not to admit the foul air through chinks; for as it is beneficial to health to admit the air, so it is equally beneficial at times to exclude it. The common people laugh at you if you complain of a cloudy or foggy day. Thirty years ago, if ever I entered a room which had not been occupied for some months, I was sure to take a fever. More moderation in diet, and especially in the use of salt meats, might be of service; more particularly were public officers appointed to see the streets cleaned from mud and filth, and the suburbs kept in better order. . . .

Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, from which the following extracts are taken, was written in Latin in 1515, and first printed in Louvain in 1516. It is the most famous of a number of books written about this period advocating reforms in education, in the government, and in general social organization. The *Utopia* is in two books; the first professes to describe the circumstances that led to its being written, the second to be a description of the land of Utopia itself.

Henry the Eighth, the unconquered king of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great

192. Extracts from *Utopia* (Greek for *Nowhere*)

monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man, Cuthbert Tunstal, whom the king, with such universal applause, lately made Master of the Rolls; but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known that they need not my commendations, unless I would, according to the proverb, "Show the sun with a lantern." Those that were appointed by the prince to treat with us met us at Bruges, according to agreement. . . . After we had several times met without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days to know the prince's pleasure; and since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp.

While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other,— Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a more learned and better bred young man. . . . One day as I was returning home from Mass, at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him, by accident, talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: "Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you. . . . He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, run the same hazard as Americus Vespucius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages that are now published; only he did not return with him on his last, but obtained leave of him almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were

Raphael Hythloday (Greek for *Chatterer*), a companion of Americus Vespucius, whose *Voyages* were printed in 1507, nine years before *Utopia*

left at the farthest place at which they touched in their last voyage to New Castile." . . . After those civilities were past, which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and, entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another with discourse. . . . As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new-discovered countries, so he reckoned up not a few things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among which we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians. . . .

Meat markets in Amaurote, the capital of Utopia

Next to the market places in Amaurote, stand meat markets; whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and odor thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city, in places appointed meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they think clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither do they suffer anything that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air, by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases.

Freemen cannot be butchers

Public eating houses

Moreover every street hath certain large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwelt the syphogrants. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, on either side fifteen. The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls.

The hospitals

But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals, so big, so wide, so

ample, and so large, that they may seem four little towns, which were devised of that bigness partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too thronged and strait, and therefore uneasily and uncommodiously; and partly they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city that had not rather lie there than at home in his own house.

All meals are provided free of expense to all in Utopia

When the steward of the sick has received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop, the tranibores, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also, when they be there, have certain several houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper cometh all the whole syphogranty or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet; except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house, for they know that no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall.

Drudgery, cookery, and meals

In this hall all vile service, all slavery and drudgery, with all laborsome toil and base business, is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething and dressing the meat, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The

men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women opposite them on the other side of the table, that if any sudden faintness should come upon one of them, as many times happens to women, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of anybody, and go thence into the nursery. The nurses sit several apart with their young sucklings in a certain parlor appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing clothes, and hold them to the fire and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it, proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there this kind of pity is much praised: and the child that is nourished, ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother.

Children are seen and not heard in Utopia

Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else, if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvelous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other separate dinner time they have none. The syphogrant and his wife sit in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all of the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit four at a mess. But if there be a church standing in that syphogranty or ward, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the syphogrant as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men, and thus throughout all the house equal of age be set together, and yet be mixed and matched with unequal of ages.

Oversight of table manners

This, they say, was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the younger

from wanton license of words and behavior; forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties, as they think best, to the younger on each side of them. . . .

The low valuation the Utopians place on gold

Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things will not greatly marvel, perchance, seeing all their other laws and customs do so much differ from ours, if the use also of gold and silver among them be applied rather to their own fashions than to ours. I mean, in that they occupy not money themselves, but keep it for that occasion, which as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass. In the meantime gold and silver, whereof money is made, they do use as none of them doth more esteem it than the very nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doth not plainly see how far it is under iron: as without the which men can no better live than without fire and water. Whereas to gold and silver nature hath given no use, that we may not well lack; if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness sake. But of the contrary part, nature as a most tender and loving mother hath placed the best and most necessary things open abroad, as the air, the water, and the earth itself; and hath removed and hid farthest from us vain and unprofitable things.

They have found out a means, which, as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant; and therefore incredible, but only to them that be wise. For whereas they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels, which indeed be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value; of gold and silver they make commonly vessels that serve for most vile uses, not only in their common halls, but in every man's private house. Furthermore of the same metals they make great chains, fetters, and gyves wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally, whosoever for any offense be disgraced, by their ears hang rings of gold, upon

their fingers they wear rings of gold, and about their necks chains of gold, and in conclusion their heads be tied about with gold. Thus, by all means possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And these metals, which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forego, as in a manner their own lives; if they should altogether at once be taken from the Utopians, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

Precious stones are playthings for children

They gather also pearls by the seaside, and diamonds and carbuncles upon certain rocks, and yet they seek not for them; but by chance finding them, they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck their young infants. Which, like as in the first years of their childhood, they make much and be proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in years and discretion, perceiving that none but children do wear such toys and trifles, they lay them away even of their own shamefacedness, without any bidding of their parents: even as our children, when they wax big, do cast away nuts, brooches, and puppets. Therefore these laws and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fantasies also and minds they do cause, did I never so plainly perceive, as in the ambassadors of the Anemolians.

These ambassadors came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weighty matters, three citizens apiece out of every city were come thither before them. But all the ambassadors of the next countries, which had been there before, and knew the fashions and manners of the Utopians, among whom they perceived no honor given to sumptuous apparel, silks to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the Anemolians, because they dwelt far thence and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all appareled alike, and that very rudely and homely; thinking them not to have the things which they did not wear; being therefore more proud than wise; determined in the gorgeousness of their apparel to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistering of their gay clothing to dazzle the eyes of the silly poor Utopians.

More's sarcasm on the gorgeous dressing of the European ambassadors of his time

So there came in three ambassadors with one hundred servants, all appareled in changeable colors; the most of them in silks; the ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own country they were noblemen) in cloth of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their ears, with gold rings upon their fingers, with brooches and aglets of gold upon their caps, which glistered full of pearls and precious stones: to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for young children to play withal.

Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart to have seen how proudly they displayed their peacock's feathers, how much they made of their painted sheaths, and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant apparel with the poor raiment of the Utopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streets. And on the other side it was no less pleasure to consider how much they were deceived, and how far they missed of their purpose, being contrariwise taken than they thought they should have been. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, except very few, which had been in other countries for some reasonable cause, all that gorgeousness of apparel seemed shameful and reproachful. Insomuch that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lords; passing over the ambassadors themselves without any honor; judging them by their wearing of golden chains to be bondmen.

Yea, you should have seen children, also, that had cast away their pearls and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors' caps, dig and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them: Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child. But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest; peace, son, saith she; I think he be some of the ambassadors' fools. Some found fault at their golden chains, as to no use or purpose, being so small and weak that a bondman might easily break them, and again so wide and large, that when it pleased him, he might cast them off, and

run away at liberty whither he would. But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea, in no less reproach than it was with them in honor: and besides that, more gold in the chains and gyves of one fugitive bondman than all the costly ornaments of them three was worth, they began to abate their courage, and for very shame laid away all that gorgeous array, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarly with the Utopians, and had learned all their fashions and opinions. . . .

Machiavellian policy in war

They detest war as a very brutal thing. . . . As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country. This is carried on secretly, and done in many places all at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the ruler, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons, who are those in whom, next to the ruler himself, they cast the chief balance of the war. . . . They think it an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty.

If any man aspires to an office he is sure never to gain it. . . . They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many. . . .

They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws. . . .

This is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion.

A six-hour workday in Utopia

They do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which, as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is everywhere the common course of life amongst all mechanics, except the Utopians; but they, dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work, three of which are before dinner and three after. . . .

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the world, but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deserves the name. . . .

Is not the government both unjust and ungrateful that is so prodigal of its favors to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others who are idle, or live by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain pleasures, and on the other hand takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as plowmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labors and the good they have done is forgotten : and all the recompense given them is that they are left to die in great misery. . . . Therefore, I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the governments that I see or know than that they are a conspiracy of the rich. . . .

The following passage is taken from a work somewhat similar to *Utopia*. It pretends to be a dialogue between Cardinal Pole, who was then considered to be a reformer, and Thomas Lupset, a professor at Oxford, and was written in English by Thomas Starkey about 1538. The portion here given refers to a subject much discussed at the time, whether the Bible and church service should be in the language of the people or not.

193. Extracts from a fictitious *Dialogue between Lupset and Pole*

Pole : But now, thys set aparte, Master Lupset, let us go forth and serch out other yl custumys, yf we remember any, here in our cuntre. And herin me thynkyth hyt ys an yl custume in our church usyd, that dyvyne servyce ys sayed and song aftur such maner as hyt ys commynly ; as fyrst, that hyt ys openly rehersyd in a straunge tonge, no thyng of the pepul understond ; by the reson wherof, the pepul takyth not that truth that they myght and ought to receyve, yf hyt were rehersyd in our vulgare tong. Second, touchyng the syngyng therof, they use a fascyon more convenyent to mynstrellys then to devoute

mynystyrys of the dyvyne servyce; for playnly, as hyt ys usyd, thys ys truthe, specyally consyderyng the wordys be so straunge and so dyversely descentyd, hyt ys more to the utward pleasure of the yere and vayn recreatyon, then to the inward comfort of the hart and mynd with gud devotyon. How say you, Master Lupset, ys hyt not thys as I dow say?

Lupset: Sir, in thys mater somewhat I marvayle what you mean; for you seme to alow, by your communycatyon, the Lutheranys maner, whome I understond to have chaunged thys fascyon long usyd in the church. They have theyr servyce, such as hyt ys, al in theyr vulgare tong openly rehersyd. I wold not that we schold folow theyr steppys. They are yl masturys to be folowyd in gud pollycy. But, me thynk, by thys maner, you wold also have the Gospel and al the sprytual law put into our tong; and so by that mean you schold see as many errorys among us here in Englond as be now in Almayn among the Lutheranys, in schort space. Wherfor, Master Pole, I thynke hyt ys bettur to kepe our old fascyon both in our dyvyne servyce and in kepyng the law in a straunge tonge, then by such new maner to bryng in among us any dyversyte of sectys in relygyon.

Pole: Master Lupset, I se wel in thys you wyl not be so sone persuadyd, as in other thyngys before you were. You are, me semyth, aferd lest we schold folow the steppys of thes Lutheranys, wych are fallen into many errorys and gret confusyon by thys mean, as you thynke, and new alteratyon. But here, Master Lupset, fyrst you schal be sure of thys. I wyl not folow the steppys of Luther, whose judgment I estyme veray lytyl; and yet he and hys dyscypullys be not so wykkyd and folysch that in al thyngs they erre. Heretykys be not in al thynygs heretykys. Wherfor I will not so abhorre theyr heresye that for the hate therof I wyl fly from the truth. I alow thys maner of saying of servyce, not bycause they say and affyrme hyt to be gud and laudabul, but bycause the truth ys so, as yt apperyth to me, and the fruit therof so manyfest; wych you schal also confesse, I thynk, yf you wyl consydur indifferently the mater a lytyl with me. And fyrst thys is certaun and sure —that the dyvyne servyce was ordeynyd to be sayed in the

church for the edyfying of the pepul, that they, heryng the wordys of the Gospel and the exampullys of holy sayntys, professorys of Chrystys name and doctryne, myght therby be sterryd and movyd to folow theyr steppys, and be put in remembrance therby of the lyvyng and doctryne of our master Chryst, hys apostyllys and dyscypullys, as the chefe thyng of al other to be pryntyd and gravyd in al gud and Chrystyan hartys. Wherfor, yf thys be true, as I thynke you can not deny, thys folowyth of necessyte — that we must other have the dyvyne servyse to be sayd in our owne tong commynly, or els to provuyd some mean that al the pepul may understond the Latin convenyently; wych I thynke surely was the purpos of the Romaynys, when they did fyrst instytute al dyvyne servyse to be rehersyd in that tong, even lyke as hyt was of the Normannys at such tyme when they ordeynyd al our commyn laws in the French tong to be tought and disputyd. But now, Master Lupset, seeyng that thys ys not convenyent and skant possybul as the state stondyth, I thynke hyt ys bothe necessary and expedyent to have rehersyd thys dyvyne servyse in our owne vulgare tong; yee, and also touchyng the Gospel, to have hyt holly in our tong to be convertyd, I thynk of al most expedyent and necessary.

The difficulties Caxton met with from the still unsettled form of the English language are well shown in the following introduction from the *Æneid*, or *Eneydos*, as he spelled it, which he printed in 1490. His work, however, did much to set standards for the use of English, for between his arrival in England in 1476 and his death in 1491 he printed some eighty books, several of them in more than one edition.

194. Caxton's prologue to his translation of Virgil's *Æneid*

After dyverse werkes made, translated, and achieved, havyng noo werke in hande, I, sittyng in my studye, where laye many dyverse paunflettis and bookys, happened that to my hande came a lytyl booke in frenshe, whiche late was translated out of latyn by some noble clerke of fraunce, whiche book is named

Eneydos, made in latyn by that noble poete and grete clerke vyrgyle, whiche booke I sawe over and redde therein. How, after the generall destruccyon of the grete Troye, Eneas departed, berynge his olde fader anchises upon his sholdres, his lityl son yolus on his honde, his wyfe wyth moche other people folowynge and how he shypped and departed, wyth alle the storye of his adventures that he had er he cam to the achievement of his conquest of ytalye, as all a longe shall be shewed in this present boke. In whiche booke I had grete playsyr, by cause of the fayr and honest termes and wordes in frenshe whyche I never sawe to-fore lyke, ne none so playsaunt ne so wel ordred; whiche booke, as me semed, sholde be moche requysyte to noble men to see, as wel for the eloquence as the historyes; how wel that many honderd yerys passed was the sayd booke of eneydos, wyth other werkes, made and lerned dayly in scolis, specyally in ytalye and other places, whiche historye the sayd vyrgyle made in metre. And whan I had advysed me in this sayd boke, I delybered and concluded to translate it in-to englysshe. And forthwyth toke a penne & ynke, and wrote a leef or tweyne whyche I oversawe agayn to corecte it. And whan I sawe the fayr and straunge termes therin I doubted that it sholde not please some gentylmen which late blamed me, sayeng, that in my translacyons I had over curyous terms, whiche coude not be understande of comyn peple, and desired me to use old and homely termes in my translacyons. And fayn wolde I satisfye every man; and so to doo, toke an olde boke and redde therin; and certaynly the englysshe was so rude and broad that I coude not wele understande it. And also my lorde abbot of westmynster ded do shew to me late certayn evydences wryten in olde englysshe, for to reduce it into our englysshe now usid. And certaynly it was wreton in suche wyse that it was more lyke to Dutch than englysshe; I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be understonden.

Anglo-Saxon charters

And certaynly, our language now used varyeth very ferre from that which was used and spoken when I was borne. For we englysshemen ben borne under the domynacion of the mone, which is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge, wexynge one season, and waneth and dyscreaseth another season. And that

comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another. In so moche that in my dayes happened that certayn merchauntes were in a ship in the Thames, for to have sayled over the see into Zealand, and for lacke of wynde they taryed atte Foreland, and wente to lande for to refreshe them. And one of them named Sheffelde, a mercer, came into an hows and axed for mete, and specyally he axyd after eggys; and the good wyf answerede that she coude speke no frenshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no frenshe, but wolde have hadde egges; and she understode hym not. And thenne at laste another sayd that he wolde have eyren; then the good wyf sayd that she understod hym wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte, egges or eyren? Certaynly, it is hard to playse every man, by cause of dyversite and chaunge of langage. For in these days, every man that is in any reputacyon in his countre will utter his commynycacyon and maters in such maners and termes that fewe men shall understonde them. And some honest and grete clerkes have ben wyth me, and desyred me to wryte the most curyous termes that I coude fynd. And thus between playn, rude, and curyous, I stand abasshed; but in my judgemente, the comyn termes that be dayli used ben lyghter to be understonde than the old and auncyent englysshe.

Caxton prefers to use the language he hears every day

II. Henry VIII

The brilliant, well-educated, ambitious, and popular young king, Henry VIII, as we see him in the narratives written during the early part of his reign, is described in the following letter from the Venetian ambassador Giustiniani, dated September 10, 1519.

195. The Venetian ambassador's impression of Henry VIII in 1519

His Majesty is about twenty-nine years of age, as handsome as nature could form him, above any other Christian prince; handsomer by far than the king of France. He is exceeding fair; and as well proportioned in every part as is possible. When he learned that the king of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow, which, being somewhat red, has at

present the appearance of being of gold. He is an excellent musician and composer, an admirable horseman and wrestler. He possesses a good knowledge of the French, Latin, and Spanish languages; and is very devout. On the days on which he goes to the chase he hears mass three times, but on other days he goes as often as five times. He has every day service in the queen's chamber at vespers and compline. He is uncommonly fond of the chase, and never indulges in this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. These he has stationed at the different places where he purposes to stop. When one is fatigued, he mounts another, and by the time he returns home they have all been used. He takes great delight in bowling, and it is the pleasantest sight in the world to see him engaged in this exercise, with his fair skin covered with a beautifully fine shirt. He plays with the hostages of France, and it is said that they risk from six to eight thousand ducats in a day. Affable and benign, he offends no one. He has often said to the ambassador, he wished that every one was content with his condition. "We are content with our island." He is very desirous of preserving peace; and possesses great wealth.

A contemporary judgment of Henry's character is given by one who had every opportunity to know him, Sir Thomas More, in the following extracts from Roper's *Life of More.*

196. Anecdotes concerning the king and Sir Thomas More

And for the pleasure the king took in his [More's] company, would his Grace suddenly sometimes come home to his house at Chelsea to be merry with him, whither on a time unlooked for he came to dinner, and after dinner, in a fair garden of his, walked with him by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck. As soon as his Grace was gone, I, rejoicing, told Sir Thomas More how happy he was whom the king had so familiarly entertained, as I had never seen him do to any before, except Cardinal Wolsey, whom I saw his Grace once walk with, arm in arm. "I thank our Lord, son," quoth he, "I find his Grace my very good lord, indeed, and I do

believe he doth as singularly favor me as any subject within this realm. Howbeit I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof. For if my head would win him a castle in France (for then there was war between us), it should not fail to go. . . .

On a time, walking along the Thames' side with me, at Chelsea, in talking of other things, he said to me: "Now would to God, son Roper, upon condition three things were well established in Christendom, I were put in a sack and here presently cast into the Thames." "What great things be these, sir," quoth I, "that should move you so to wish?" "I' faith, they be these, son," quoth he. "The first is, that whereas the most part of Christian princes be at mortal wars, they were at universal peace. The second, that where the church of Christ is at this present, sore afflicted with many heresies and errors, it were well settled in an uniformity of religion. The third, that where the king's matter of his marriage is now come into question, it were to the glory of God and quietness of all parties, brought to a good conclusion."

Now upon his resignment of his office came Thomas Cromwell, then in the king's high favor, to Chelsea, to him on a message from the king, wherein, when they had thoroughly communed together, "Mr. Cromwell," quoth he, "you are now entered into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince; if you will follow my poor advice, you shall, in counsel-giving unto his Grace, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never tell him what he is able to do. So shall you show yourself a true faithful servant, and a right worthy councilor. For if the lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him."

The following letter, written by one of the king's secretaries to Cardinal Wolsey, refers to Luther's treatise *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church.* Henry was already at work on a refutation of Luther's teachings, which he completed in August, 1521, and called *A Defense of the Seven Sacraments.* As a recognition of this

work, the pope, on October 11, 1521, conferred upon the king the honorary title, "Defender of the Faith," corresponding to the title "Most Christian," borne by the king of France, and to that of "Catholic," used by the king of Spain.

197. Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey (April, 1521)

Pleas itt your Grace, at myne arivall to the Kynge this mornynge, I founde hym lokynge uppon a boke of Luthers, and hys Grace schewde unto me that it was a newe werke off the sayde Luthers. I lokydde uppon the title theroff and perceived bi the same that itt is the same Boke put into prynte, whyche your Grace sende unto hym by me wretyn. And upon such disprayse as Hys Grace dydde yeve unto the sayde boke I delivrydde the Popis Bulle and hys Bryffe broght in my charge opportune, and with the whyche the Kynge was well contentidde: here at length schewynge unto me that it was verraye joyose to have thys tydyngis from the Popis Holynesse at suche tyme as he had takyn upon hym the defynce off Christis Churche wyth his penne, affore the recepte of the sayde tydyngis; and that he wull make an ende off hys boke wythin thiese . . . and desyrynge your Grace to provide that wythinne the same space all suche as be appoyntide to examine Luther's boks maye be congregated to gedre ffor hys Hynesse percevynge: and bi suche thyngis and I declarydde unto hym be the Popis bryffe that thys matier requirithe hasty expedicion, wull take the more payne for to make an ende therin the soner, and is condescendydde and agreable to every thynge desyrydde by your Grace; That is to saye to wryte hys lettres to th'Emperor and the Princes Electors, and to sende also suche a person with the same as schal be seen most meate for that purpose; and to sende hys Boke not oonly to Rome, but also into Fraunce and othre nacions as schall appere convenient. So that all the Churche is more bounde to thys goodde and vertuxe Prince for the vehement zele he berith unto the same, than I can expresse.

The papal bull condemning the teachings of Luther, issued in 1520

The prominence of Cardinal Wolsey, and at the same time the jealousy and hatred felt for him by the nobles

and by other courtiers, are well shown in a ranting, abusive poem by the contemporary poet John Skelton. It is called *Why come ye not to Court?* The answer to the question is to be found, according to Skelton, in the arrogance and overwhelming influence of the lowborn cardinal. Skelton and most of his contemporaries were unable to appreciate the great abilities and far-reaching measures of the great minister.

198. *Why come ye not to Court?*

. . . . . .
He is set so hye
In his ierarchy
Of frantycke frenesy
And folysshe fantasy,

Wolsey sits as chancellor in the Star Chamber

That in the Chambre of Starres
All maters there he marres;
Clappyng his rod on the borde,
No man dare speke a worde,
For he hathe all the sayenge,
Without any renayenge.

. . . . . .
Some say yes, and some
Syt styll as they were dom:
Thus thwartyng over thom,
He ruleth all the roste
With braggynge and with bost.

. . . . . .

His cardinal's hat

Whyles the red hat doth endure,
He maketh himselfe cock sure;
The red hat with his luer
Bryngeth all thynges under cure.

. . . . . .
Our barons be so bolde,
Into a mouse hole they wolde
Rynne away and crepe;
Lyke a mayny of shepe,
Dare not loke out at dur

For drede of the mastyve cur,
For drede of the bocher's dogge
Wold wyrry them lyke a hogge.
For and this curre do gnar,
They must stande all a far,
To holde up their hande at the bar.
For all their noble blode
He pluckes them by the hode,
And shakes them by the eare,
And brynges them in suche feare;
He bayteth them lyke a bere,
Lyke an oxe or a bull:
Theyr wyttes, he saith, are dull;
He sayth they have no brayne
Theyr astate to mayntayne;
And maketh them to bow theyr kne
Before his majeste.

Wolsey said to be son of a butcher of Ipswich

Juges of the kynges lawes,
He countys them foles and dawes;
Sergyantes of the coyfe eke,
He sayth they are to seke
In pledynge of theyr case
At the Commune Place,
Or at the Kynges Benche;
He wryngeth them suche a wrenche,
That all our lerned men
Dare nat set theyr penne
To plete a trew tryall
Within Westmynster hall.

He dictates to the judges of Common Pleas and King's Bench

. . . . . .

Why come ye not to court?
To whyche court?
To the kynges court,
Or to Hampton Court? —
Nay, to the kynges courte:
The kynges courte
Shulde haue the excellence;
But Hampton Coutt

Wolsey's two London palaces are more visited than the king's court

Hath the preemyence,
And Yorkes Place,
With my lorde's grace,
To whose magnifycence
Is all the conflewence,
Sutys and supplycacyons
Embassades of all nacyons.
Strawe for lawe canon,
Or for the lawe common,
Or for lawe cyvyll!
It shall be as he wyll.

III. The Early Stages of the Reformation

The following love letter, written from Henry to Anne Boleyn in May, 1528, may serve to introduce the period of his life when his dispute with the pope about the grant of a divorce transformed the king from an opponent of all forms of the Reformation to an influential advocate of many changes in the earlier organization of the English church.

199. Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn

My Mistress and Friend:

I and my heart put ourselves in your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favor, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is, that the farther the Moors are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching: so it is with our love; we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you that the uneasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me; and now, to put you

sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already, wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you.

This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H., Rex.

The court appointed by the pope to examine Henry's claim that his marriage with Catherine had not been lawful, met in London in June, 1529, but no result was reached. The following account is by the chronicler Hall.

200. Sitting of Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio as a court to investigate the marriage of Henry and Catherine

The court being thus furnished and ordered, the judges commanded the crier to proclaim silence; then was the judges' commission, which they had of the pope, published and read openly before all the audience there assembled. That done, the crier called the king, by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the court," etc. With that the king answered and said, "Here, my lords!" Then he called also the queen, by the name of "Catherine Queen of England, come into the court," etc.; who made no answer to the same, but rose up incontinent out of her chair, where as she sat, and because she could not come directly to the king for the distance which severed them, she took pain to go about unto the king, kneeling down at his feet in the sight of all the court and assembly, to whom she said in effect, in broken English, as followeth:

The queen's appeal to the king

"Sir," quoth she, "I beseech you for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominion; I have here no assured friend, and much less impartial counsel; I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I designed against your will and pleasure, intending, as I perceive, to put me from you? I take God

and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said nor did anything to the contrary thereof, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much, I never grudged in word or countenance, or showed a visage or spark of discontentation. I loved all those whom ye loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no; and whether they were my friends or my enemies.

This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which hath been no default in me. And when ye had me at the first, I take God to be my judge, I was a true maid, without touch of man; and whether this be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause by the law that ye can allege against me, either of dishonesty or any other impediment, to banish and put me from you, I am well content to depart to my great shame and dishonor; and if there be none, then here I most lowly beseech you let me remain in my former estate, and receive justice at your hands. The king, your father, who was in the time of his reign of such estimation through the world for his excellent wisdom that he was accounted and called of all men the second Solomon; and my father Ferdinand, king of Spain, who was esteemed to be one of the wittiest princes that reigned in Spain, many years before, were both wise and excellent kings in wisdom and princely behavior. It is not therefore to be doubted but that they elected and gathered as wise counselors about them as to their high discretions was thought meet. Also, as me seemeth, there was in those days as wise, as well learned men, and men of as good judgment as be at this present in both realms, who thought then the marriage between you and me good and lawful.

Therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are now invented against me, that never intended but honesty, and cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong, if ye intend any cruelty; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer,

having no indifferent counsel, but such as be assigned me, with whose wisdom and learning I am not acquainted. Ye must consider that they cannot be indifferent counselors for my part which be your subjects, and taken out of your own council before, wherein they be made privy, and dare not, for your displeasure, disobey your will and intent, being once made privy thereto. Therefore I most humbly require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court, until I may be advertised what way and order my friends in Spain will advise me to take. And if ye will not extend to me so much indifferent favor, your pleasure then be fulfilled, and to God I commit my cause!"

And with that she rose up, making a low courtesy to the king, and so departed from thence. Many supposed that she would have resorted again to her former place; but she took her way straight out of the house, leaning (as she was wont always to do) upon the arm of her general receiver, called Master Griffith. And the king being advertised of her departure, commanded the crier to call her again, who called her by the name of "Catherine Queen of England, come into the court," etc. With that quoth Master Griffith, "Madam, ye be called again." "On, on," quoth she; "it maketh no matter, for it is no impartial court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways." And thus she departed out of that court, without any farther answer at that time, or at any other, nor would never appear at any other court after.

The king's testimony to Catherine's nobility of birth and character

The king perceiving that she was departed in such sort, calling to his grace's memory all her lament words that she had pronounced before him and all the audience, said thus in effect. "Forasmuch," quoth he, "as the queen is gone, I will, in her absence, declare unto you all, my lords here presently assembled, she hath been to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could in my fantasy wish or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of baser estate. Surely she is also a noble woman born, if nothing were in her, but only her conditions will well declare the same."

In 1532 and the years immediately following, convocation and parliament showed themselves either sympathetic with or submissive to the king in his opposition to the pope, and a series of laws were passed and proclamations issued which strengthened the position of the king in England and completed the separation of the English church from the Roman Catholic church. Extracts from the four most important of these acts are here given. The first is the act passed by the clergy of England in their convocation in 1532, usually known as The Submission of the Clergy.

201. The Submission of the Clergy (1532)

We your most humble servants, daily orators and bedesmen of your clergy of England, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honor and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily increase in your majesty —

First, the clergy will not meet in convocation and will not pass any new canons without the king's consent

First, do offer and promise, on our priestly word, here unto your highness, submitting ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will never from henceforth enact, put in use, promulge, or execute any new canons or constitutions provincial, or any other new ordinance, provincial or synodal, in our convocation or synod in time coming, which convocation is, always has been, and must be, assembled only by your highness' commandment of writ, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to assemble our convocation, and to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions and ordinances as shall be made in the same; and thereto give your royal assent and authority.

Secondly, that whereas divers of the constitutions, ordinances, and canons, provincial or synodal, which have been heretofore enacted, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to

your highness' subjects, your clergy aforesaid is contented, if it may stand so with your highness' pleasure, that they be committed to the examination and judgment of your grace, and of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporalty, and the other sixteen of the clergy, all to be chosen and appointed by your most noble grace. So that, finally, whichsoever of the said constitutions, ordinances, or canons, provincial or synodal, shall be thought and determined by your grace and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons not to stand with God's laws and the laws of the realm, the same to be abrogated and taken away by your grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be seen by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, to stand in full strength and power, your grace's most royal assent and authority once impetrate and fully given to the same.

Secondly, the clergy approve of a revision of all the existing laws of the church by the king and a royal commission

The first Act of Annates, cutting off the financial connection between the English church and the pope, was passed in the same year, 1532.

202. The Act of Annates (1532).

Forasmuch as it is well perceived, by long-approved experience, that great and inestimable sums of money have been daily conveyed out of this realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and especially such sums of money as the pope's holiness, his predecessors, and the court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken from all and singular those spiritual persons which have been named, elected, presented, or postulated to be archbishops or bishops within this realm of England, under the title of the annates, otherwise called first-fruits: . . .

The payment of annates, or first-fruits, to Rome is intolerable

And albeit that our said sovereign the king, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, be as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of God and holy church, as any people be within any realm christened; yet the said exactions of annates, or first-fruits, be so intolerable and importable to this realm, that it is considered and declared by the whole body of this realm, now represented by all the

estates of the same assembled in this present parliament, that the king's highness before Almighty God is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and commonwealth of this his realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abuses and exactions of annates, or first-fruits. . . .

The payment of annates is therefore forbidden

It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by authority of this present parliament, that the unlawful payments of annates, or first-fruits, and all manner of contributions for the same, for any archbishopric or bishopric, or for any bulls hereafter to be obtained from the court of Rome to or for the aforesaid purpose and intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be paid for any archbishopric or bishopric within this realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present act is declared. . . .

The Statute of Appeals, passed in 1533, forbade appeals in church matters to any court outside of England.

203. The Statute of Appeals (1533)

By divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms, and by names of spiritualty and temporalty, be bound, and ought to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience: he being also institute and furnished, by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God, with plenary, whole, and entire power, preëminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction, to render and yield justice, and final determination to all manner of folk, residents or subjects within this his realm, in all causes, matters, debates, and contentions, happening to occur, insurge, or begin within the limits thereof, without restraint, or provocation to any foreign princes or potentates of the world. When any cause of the law divine, or of spiritual learning, happeneth to come in question, it hath been declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the said

The king is clothed with sufficient power and the clergy with sufficient wisdom to settle all questions of ecclesiastical law

body politic called the spiritualty, now being usually called the English church, which always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain. . . .

It is therefore enacted that all testamentary, matrimonial, and similar cases shall be finally decided within the kingdom

In consideration whereof the king's highness, with his nobles and commons, considering the great enormities, dangers, long delays, and hurts, that as well to his highness as to his said nobles, subjects, commons, and residents of this his realm, in causes testamentary, causes of matrimony and divorce, tithes, oblations and obventions, do daily ensue, does therefore by his royal assent, and by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, enact, establish, and ordain, that all causes testamentary, causes of matrimony and divorce, rights of tithes, oblations and obventions (the knowledge whereof by the goodness of princes of this realm, and by the laws and customs of the same, appertaineth to the spiritual jurisdiction of this realm) already commenced, moved, depending, being, happening, or hereafter coming in contention, debate, or question within this realm, or within any of the king's dominions, or marches of the same, or elsewhere, whether they concern the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, or any other subjects or residents within the same, of what degree soever they be, shall be from henceforth heard, examined, and discussed, and clearly, finally, and definitely adjudged and determined within the king's jurisdiction and authority, and not elsewhere. . . .

The following are the main provisions of the Act of Supremacy, which completed this group of statutes.

204. The Act of Supremacy (1534)

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof,

and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same; be it enacted by authority of this present parliament, that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, called *anglicana ecclesia;* and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, preëminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs, and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

The king's position as supreme head of the church confirmed and that title annexed to the crown

The dissolution of the monasteries is a difficult subject. Our accounts of it are all from those who wished to see them dissolved, and are therefore probably prejudiced and unfair. The two letters that follow were sent to Cromwell by two of the commissioners whom he sent out to investigate, to dismiss the younger monks, and to dissolve the whole body of monks and confiscate their property whenever they could find reason for doing so. The first letter has reference to the great monastery of St. Edmund's at Bury, the second to a chapel of the

Virgin Mary at Caversham, part of the possessions of Notley Abbey, and to a house of the Grey Friars at Reading, which the citizens of Reading wanted for a new townhall.

205. John Ap Rice to Secretary Cromwell (1535).

Please it your mastership, fforasmoche as I suppose ye shall have sute made unto yow touching Burie er we retourne, I thought convenient to advertise yow of our procedinges there, and also of the compertes of the same. As for th' abbot, we found nothing suspect as touching his lyving, but it was detected that he laye moche forth in his granges, that he delited moche in playng at dice and cardes, and therin spent moche money, and in buylding for his pleasure. He did not preche openly. Also that he converted divers fermes into copie holdes, wherof poore men doth complayne. Also he semeth to be addict to the mayntenyng of suche supersticious ceremones as hathe ben used hertofor.

As touching the convent, we coulde geate litle or no reportes amonge theym, although we did use moche diligence in our examinacion, and therby, with some other argumentes gethered of their examinacions, I fermely beleve and suppose that they had confedered and compacted bifore our commyng that they shulde disclose nothing. And yet it is confessed and proved, that there was here suche frequence of women commyng and reassorting to this monastery as to no place more. Amongest the reliques we founde moche vanitie and superstition, as the coles that Saint Laurence was tosted withall, the paring of S. Edmundes naylles, S. Thomas of Canterbury penneknyff and his bootes, and divers skullęs for the hedache; peces of the holie crosse able to make a hole crosse of; other reliques for rayne and certain other superstitiouse usages, for avoyding of wedes growing in corne, with suche other. Here departe of theym that be under age upon an eight, and of theym that be above age upon a five wolde departe yf they might, and they be of the best sorte in the house and of best lernyng and jugement. The hole nomber of the convent before we cam was lx., saving one, beside iij. that were at Oxforde. Of Elie I

Eight monks under age leave the monastery, and five over age would like to

have written to your mastership by my felowe Richard a Lee. And thus Almightie God have you in his tuicion. From Burie, v. Novembre.

Your servant moste bounden,
JOHN AP RICE.

206. John London to Cromwell (1538)

In my most humble maner I have me commendyd unto yower gude lordeschippe, acertenyng the same that I have pullyd down the image of our ladye at Caversham, wherunto wasse great pilgremage. The image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putt yt in a cheste fast lockyd and naylyd uppe, and by the next bardge that comythe from Reding to London yt shall be browght to your lordeschippe. I have also pullyd down the place sche stode in, with all other ceremonyes, as lightes, schrowdes, crowchys, and imagies of wex, hangyng abowt the chapell, and have defacyd the same thorowly in exchuyng of any farther resortt thedyr. Thys chapell dydde belong to Notley Abbey, and ther always wasse a chanon of that monastery wiche wasse callyd the warden of Caversham, and he songe in thys chapell, and hadde the offeringes for hys lyving. He wasse acostomyd to shew many prety relykes, among the wiche wer (as he made reportt) the holy dager that kylled kinge Henry, and the holy knyfe that kylled seynt Edwarde. All thees, with many other, with the cotes of thys image, her cappe and here, my servant shall bring unto your lordeschippe thys wek, with the surrendre of the Freers under the convent seale and ther seale also. . . .

The citizens of Reading want the church of the Grey Friars for a townhall

I besek your gudde lordeschippe to admytt me a power sutar for thees honest men of Redinge. They have a fayer towne and many good occupiers in ytt, butt they lacke that howse necessary, of the wiche, for the mynystracion of justice, they have most nede of. Ther towne hall ys a very small howse, and stondith upon the ryver, wher ys the commyn wassching place of the most partt of the towne, and in the cession dayes and other cowrt dayes ther ys such betyng with batildores as oon man can nott here another nor the quest here the chardg gevyng. The body of the church of the Grey Fryers, wiche ys solyd with lath and lyme, wold be a very commodiose

rowme for them. And now I have rydde all the fasschen of that church in parcleses, ymages, and awlters, it wolde mak a gudly towne hall. The mayer of that towne, Mr. Richard Turner, a very honest gentill person, with many other honest men, hathe expressyd unto me ther gref in thys behalf, and have desyred me to be an humble sutar unto your lordeschippe for the same, if it shulde be solde. The wallys besyd the coyne stonys be butt chalk and flynt, and the coveryng butt tile. And if it please the kinges grace to bestow that howse upon any of hys servantes, he may spare the body of the churche, wiche stondith next the strete, very well, and yit have rowme sufficient for a great man.

Your most bounden oratour and servant,

JOHN LONDON.

A heavy part of the price paid by Henry and by England for the separation from the papacy was the execution of many good and noble men who refused to accept the requirements of the new laws. The most conspicuous of these was Sir Thomas More, one of the wisest, wittiest, and best men of his time. An account of his life, with many anecdotes, was written by his son-in-law, William Roper, some extracts from which have been already given. Here is added an account of his last days.

207. From Roper's life of More

After this, as the duke of Norfolk and Sir Thomas More chanced to fall in familiar talk together, the duke said unto him: "By the mass, Mr. More, it is perilous striving with princes, and therefore I would wish you somewhat to incline to the king's pleasure. For by God's body, Mr. More, 'the anger of the king is death.'" "Is that all, my lord?" quoth he; "is there, in good faith, no more difference between your grace and me, but that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow?" . . .

Now after his arraignment departed he from the bar to the Tower again, led by Sir William Kingston, a tall, strong, and comely knight, constable of the Tower, his very dear friend, who

when he had brought him from Westminster to the Old Swan towards the Tower, there with a heavy heart, the tears running down his cheeks, bade him farewell. Sir Thomas More, seeing him so sorrowful, comforted him with as good words as he could, saying, "Good Mr. Kingston, trouble not yourself, but be of good cheer. For I will pray for you, and my good lady your wife, that we may meet in heaven together, where we shall be merry for ever and ever." Soon after, Sir William Kingston, talking with me of Sir Thomas More, said, "In faith, Mr. Roper, I was ashamed of myself, that at my departure from your father, I found my heart so feeble and his so strong, that he was fain to comfort me which should rather have comforted him."

Margaret Roper, the favorite child of Sir Thomas More

When Sir Thomas More came from Westminster to the Tower ward again, his daughter, my wife, desirous to see her father, whom she thought she should never see in this world after, and also to have his final blessing, gave attendance about the Tower wharf, where she knew he should pass by, ere he could enter into the Tower. There tarrying for his coming home, as soon as she saw him, after his blessings on her knees reverently received, she, hasting towards, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the midst of the throng and the company of the guard, that with halberds and bills were round about him, hastily ran to him, and there openly in the sight of all of them embraced and took him about the neck and kissed him, who, well liking her most daughterly love and affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing, and many godly words of comfort besides; from whom after she was departed, she, not satisfied with the former sight of her dear father, having respect neither to herself, nor to the press of the people and multitude that were about him, suddenly turned back again, and ran to him as before, took him about the neck, and divers times together most lovingly kissed him, and at last with a full heavy heart was fain to depart from him; the beholding whereof was to many of them that were present thereat so lamentable, that it made them for very sorrow to mourn and weep.

So remained Sir Thomas More in the Tower more than a seven-night after his judgment. From whence the day before

he suffered he sent his shirt of hair, not willing to have it seen, to my wife, his dearly beloved daughter, and a letter, written with a coal, contained in the aforesaid book of his works, showing plainly the fervent desire he had to suffer on the morrow in these words: "I cumber you, good Margaret, much, but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than to-morrow. For to-morrow is St. Thomas' even, and the octave of St. Peter, and therefore to-morrow long I to go to God, that were a day very meet and convenient for me. And I never liked your manners better than when you kissed me last. For I like when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy."

A messenger from the king and council with the death warrant

And so upon the next morning, being Tuesday, St. Thomas' even, and the octave of St. Peter, in the year of our Lord God 1537, according as he in his letter the day before had wished, early in the morning came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his singular friend, on message from the king and his council, that he should before nine of the clock in the same morning suffer death, and that therefore forthwith he should prepare himself thereto. "Mr. Pope," saith he, "for your good tidings I most heartily thank you. I have been always bounden much to the king's highness for the benefits and honors which he hath still from time to time most bountifully heaped upon me, and yet more bounden I am to his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end, and so help me God most of all, Mr. Pope, am I bound to his highness, that it pleased him so shortly to rid me of the miseries of this wretched world. And therefore will I not fail most earnestly to pray for his grace both here and also in another world." . . .

"Mr. Pope," quoth he, "you do well that you give me warning of his grace's pleasure. For otherwise had I purposed at that time somewhat to have spoken, but of no matter wherewith his grace or any other should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless, whatsoever I intend I am ready obediently to conform myself to his grace's commandment. And I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a mean unto his highness, that my daughter Margaret may be present at my

burial." "The king is well contented already," quoth Mr. Pope, "that your wife, children, and other friends shall have free liberty to be present thereat." "O how much beholden," then said Sir Thomas More, "am I to his grace, that unto my poor burial vouchsafeth to have so gracious consideration."

Wherewithal Mr. Pope, taking his leave of him, could not refrain from weeping, which Sir Thomas More perceiving, comforted him in this wise: "Quiet yourself, good Mr. Pope, and be not discomforted. For I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss eternally." Upon whose departure Sir Thomas More, as one that had been invited to a solemn feast, changed himself into his best apparel; which Mr. Lieutenant espying, advised him to put it off, saying, that he that should have it was but a worthless fellow. "What, Mr. Lieutenant," quoth he, "shall I account him a worthless fellow, that will do me this day so singular a benefit? Nay, I assure you, were it cloth of gold I would account it well bestowed on him, as St. Cyprian did, who gave his executioner thirty pieces of gold." And albeit at length, through Mr. Lieutenant's persuasions, he altered his apparel, yet, after the example of that holy martyr St. Cyprian, did he of that little money that was left him, send one angel of gold to his executioner.

The executioner always received the clothing of the person executed

And so was he brought by Mr. Lieutenant out of the Tower, and from thence led towards the place of execution, where going up the scaffold, which was so weak that it was ready to fall, he said to Mr. Lieutenant, "I pray you, I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." Then desired he all the people thereabouts to pray for him, and to bear witness with him, that he should then suffer death in and for the faith of the holy Catholic church, which done he kneeled down, and after his prayers said, he turned to the executioner, and with a cheerful countenance spake unto him: "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed, therefore, thou shoot not awry, for saving thine honesty."

The execution on Tower Hill

So passed Sir Thomas More out of this world to God upon the very same day in which himself had most desired. Soon

The criticism of Charles V

after whose death came intelligence thereof to the Emperor Charles, whereupon he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, our English ambassador, and said unto him, "My Lord Ambassador, we understand that the king, your master, hath put his faithful servant and wise councilor Sir Thomas More to death." Whereunto Sir Thomas Eliott answered, that he understood nothing therof. "Well," said the Emperor, "it is very true, and this will we say, that if we had been master of such a servant, of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions, than have lost such a worthy councilor." Which matter was by Sir Thomas Eliott to myself, to my wife, to Mr. Clement and his wife, to Mr. John Haywood and his wife, and divers others of his friends accordingly reported.

IV. The Reign of Edward VI

A curious chronicle of events in London in the early years of Edward VI exists, from whose confused wording, illiterate expressions, and reckless spelling can still be gathered the story of the pulling down of sacred images, opposition to the mass in its old form, tearing down of some churches, and cessation of church holidays; all of which was evidently disapproved of by the author.

208. **Extracts from the Grey Friars Chronicle (1547–1548)**

Item the v. day after in September beganne the kynges vysytacion at Powlles, and alle imagys pullyd downe; and the ix. day of the same monyth the sayd visytacion was at sent Bryddes, and after that in dyvers other paryche churches; and so all imagys pullyd downe thorrow alle Ynglonde att that tyme, and all churches new whytte-lymed, with the commandmenttes wryttyne on the walles. And at that tyme was the byshoppe of London put into the Flette, and was there more than viij. dayes; and after hym was the byshoppe of Wenchester put there also.

Item at this same tyme was pullyd up alle the tomes, grett stones, alle the auteres, with the stalles and walles of the qweer

and auteres in the church that was some tyme the Grey freeres, and solde, and the qweer made smaller.

Thys yere the iiijth day of November bagan the parlement at Westmyster, and before this parlament the lord Richard Ryche was made chaunseler of Ynglond, and the lord Sent Jone that was lorde grandmaster gave it up.

The crucifix and images in St. Paul's Cathedral destroyed

Item the xvij. day of the same monythe at nyghte was pullyd downe the Rode in Powlles with Mary and John, with all the images in the churche, and too of the men that labord at yt was slayne and dyvers other sore hurtte. *Item* also at that same time was pullyd downe thorrow alle the kynges domynyon in every churche alle Roddes with alle images. Also the newyeresday after preched doctor Latemer that some tyme was byshop of Wysseter preched at Powlles crosse, and too sondayes followyn, etc. Also this same tyme was moche spekyng agayne the sacrament of the auter, that some callyd it Jacke of the boxe, with divers other shamfulle names; and then was made a proclamacyon agayne it, and so contynewyd; and at Ester followyng there began the commonion and confession but of thoys that wolde, as the boke dothe specifythe. And at this tyme was moche prechyng agayne the masse. And the sacrament of the auter pullyd downe in dyvers placys thorrow the realme. *Item* after Ester beganne the servis in Ynglyshe (at Powles at the commandment of the dene at the tyme, William May), and also in dyvers other pariche churches. *Item* also at Wytsontude beganne the sermons at sent Mary spyttylle. *Item* also this yere was Barkyng chappylle at the Towre hylle pullyd downe, and sent Martyns at the chambulles end, sent Nicolas in the chambulles, and sent Ewyns, and within the gatte of Newgate thoys were put unto the churche that some tyme was the Grey Freres; and also Strand churche also pullyd downe to make the protector duke of Somerset's place larger.

Abolition of the chantries

Item this yere was alle the chaunterys put downe. . . .

Item on Trenyte sonday preched doctor Kyrkame, and sayd that in the sacrament was no substance but brede and wynne.

Item on sente Barnabes day was kepte no holiday through alle Londone at the commandment of the mayer, and at nyght was the aulter in Powlles pullyd downe, and as that

day the vayelle was hongyd up benethe the steppes and the tabulle sett up there ; and as sennet after there the comunion was mynysterd. *Item* the xiiij. day of June was sattorday, and before evyning was a mane slayne in Powlles church, and ij. frayes with-in the church that same tyme afterward.

Item also this yere Corpus Christi was not kepte holy day.

And the Assumpcion of our Lady was soche devision thorrow alle London that some kepte holy day and some none. Almyghty God helpe it whan hys wylle ys ! for this was the second yere, and also the same devision was at the fest of the Nativitie of our Lady.

Item the last day of August preched at the crosse Stephin Caston, and there spake agayne the lady Mary asmoche as he myghte, but he namyd not hare, but sayd there was a gret woman with-in the realme that was a gret supporter and mayntayner of popery and superstycione, and prayed that she myght forsake hare oppynyons, and to follow the kynges prosedynges, as he sayed. And also he sayed that kynge Henry the viijth was a papyst, with many obprobryus wordes of hym as yt was harde.

The Princess Mary opposed because she was a Catholic

The following passage is taken from the first book of More's *Utopia* (see above, p. 317). Although it was written some years before the reign of Edward VI, it was directed against the excessive introduction of sheep farming, the resulting eviction of small farmers, and sufferings of the lower classes, which continued to become worse and worse till they reached their highest point in his reign.

209. Sheep farming, inclosures, and evictions

Your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume and destroy and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certain abbots, holy men no

doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea much annoying the weal public, leave no ground for tillage; they inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church, to be made a sheep house.

And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lawns, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by cunning or fraud or by violent oppression they be put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fathers, children, widows, woeful mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household, small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in.

All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale: yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till they be spent, what can they else do but steal, and then justly pardy be hanged, or else go about begging. And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set a work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite.

V. The Reign of Queen Mary

The following description of Queen Mary is given by one of the Venetian ambassadors to whom we owe so many such accounts. He was at the English court shortly after the middle of Mary's reign.

210. Report of Giovanni Michele to the Venetian senate (1557)

Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and of his queen Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, is a princess of great worth. In her youth she was rendered unhappy by the event of her mother's divorce; by the ignominy and threats to which she was exposed after the change of religion in England, she being unwilling to unbend to the new one; and by the dangers to which she was exposed by the duke of Northumberland, and the riots among the people when she ascended the throne.

Mary, like her grandfather, father, brother, and sister, was well educated and fond of music

She is of short stature, well made, thin, and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very shortsighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages, — English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work, such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but is withal high-spirited, courageous, and resolute, having during the whole course of her adversity not been guilty of the least approach to meanness of deportment; she is, moreover, devout and stanch in the defense of her religion. Some personal infirmities under which she labors are the causes to her of both public and private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent bloodletting, and this is the real cause of her paleness and the general weakness of her frame. These also have given rise to the unfounded rumor that the

queen is in a state of pregnancy. The cavil she has been exposed to, the evil disposition of the people toward her, the present poverty and the debt of the crown, and her passion for King Philip, from whom she is doomed to live separate, are so many causes of the grief with which she is overwhelmed. She is, moreover, a prey to the hatred she bears to my lady Elizabeth, which has its source in the recollection of the wrongs she experienced on account of her mother, and in the fact that all eyes and hearts are turned towards my lady Elizabeth as successor to the throne.

The following account of the death of Lady Jane Grey was written by some one who was present at the execution.

211. From the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*

By this tyme was ther a scaffolde made upon the grene over agaynst the White tower, for the saide lady Jane to die apon. Who with hir husband was appoynted to have ben put to deathe the fryday before, but was staied tyll then, for what cause is not knowen, unlesse yt were because hir father was not then come into the Tower. The saide lady, being nothing at all abashed, neither with feare of her owne deathe, which then approached, neither with the sight of the ded carcase of hir husbande, when he was brought in to the chapell, came fourthe, the levetenaunt leding hir, in the same gown wherin she was arrayned, hir countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes enything moysted with teares, although her ij. gentylwomen, mistress Elizabeth Tylney and mistress Eleyn, wonderfully wept, with a boke in hir hande, wheron she praied all the way till she cam to the saide scaffolde, wheron when she was mounted she sayd to the people standing thereabout: "Good people, I am come hether to die, and by a lawe I am condemned to the same. The facte, in dede, against the quenes highnesse was unlawfull, and the consenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and desyre therof by me or on my halfe, I doo wash my handes thereof in innocencie, before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day," and therewith she wrong her handes, in which she had hir

The Lady Jane's speech on the scaffold

booke. Then she sayd, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to beare me witnesse that I dye a true Christian woman, and that I looke to be saved by none other meane, but only by the mercy of God in the merits of the blood of his only sonne Jesus Christ: and I confesse, when I dyd know the word of God I neglected the same, loved my selfe and the world, and therefore this plague or punyshment is happely and worthely happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God of his goodnesse that he hath thus geven me a tyme and respet to repent. And now, good people, while I am alyve, I pray you to assyst me with your prayers." And then, knelyng downe, she turned to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalme?" And he said, "Yea." Then she said the psalme of *Miserere mei Deus* in English, in most devout maner, to the end. Then she stode up, and gave her maiden, mistris Tilney, her gloves and handkercher, and her book to maister Bruges, the lyve-tenantes brother; forthwith she untyed her gown. The hangman went to her to help her off therewith; then she desyred him to let her alone, turning towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therwith, and also with her frosepaast and neckercher, geving to her a fayre handkercher to knytte about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled downe, and asked her forgevenesse, whome she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the strawe: which doing, she sawe the block. Then she sayd, "I pray you dispatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off before I lay me downe?" and the hangman answered her, "No, madame." She tyed the kercher about her eys; then feeling for the blocke, saide, "What shall I do? Where is it?" One of the standersby guyding her therunto, she layde her heade down upon the blocke, and stretched forth her body and said, "Lorde, into thy hands I commende my spirite!" And so she ended.

The two following cases of the burning for heresy of three obscure persons in the eastern counties of England may be taken as typical of more than two hundred similar

cases during Queen Mary's reign of five years, a number of which are described, like these, in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. It must be said that there is some question of the exact accuracy of these accounts, as they are given by a very ardent Protestant.

212. Execution of Rev. Robert Samuel of Ipswich

Mr. Robert Samuel was a very pious man, and an eminent preacher of the gospel, according to the principles of the Reformation, during the reign of Edward VI. He attended his charge with indefatigable industry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the truth of the gospel.

Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, he was turned out of his living, and retired to Ipswich; but he could not refrain from using his utmost efforts to propagate the reformed religion, and, therefore, what he was prevented doing in public he did in private. He assembled those who had been accustomed to hear him in a room in his house, and there daily taught them such precepts as might lead them to salvation. . . .

At length, his conduct reaching the ears of Foster, a justice of peace in those parts, every artifice was used by that popish bigot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was at length taken into custody by some of his myrmidons. . . .

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a close prison, where he was chained to a post in such a manner, that, standing only on tiptoe, he was, in that position, forced to sustain the whole weight of his body.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a starving condition twelve days, allowing him no more than two bits of bread and three spoonfuls of water each day, which was done in order to protract his misery till they could invent new torments to overcome his patience and resolution.

These inhuman proceedings brought him to so shocking a state that he was often ready to perish with thirst and hunger.

At length, when all the tortures that these savages could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and Master, he was condemned to be burned, an act less cruel than what he had already suffered.

On the 31st of August, 1555, he was taken to the stake, where he declared to the people around him what cruelties he had suffered during the time of his imprisonment, but that he had been enabled to sustain them all by the consolations of the divine spirit, with which he had been daily visited. Before Mr. Samuel was chained to the stake, he exhorted the spectators to avoid idolatry, and hold fast the truths of the gospel; after which he knelt down and prayed audibly.

When he had finished his prayer he arose, and, being fastened to the stake, the fagots were placed around him and immediately lighted. He bore his sufferings with a courage and resolution truly Christian, cheerfully resigning this life of care and trouble in exchange for another where death shall be swallowed up in victory.

Execution of Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield of Ipswich

These two advocates and sufferers for the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, lived in the town of Ipswich, in Suffolk. Being apprehended on an information of heresy, they were brought before the bishop of Norwich, who examined them concerning their religion in general and their faith in the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar in particular.

With respect to the latter article, they both delivered it as their opinion, that, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there was represented the memorial only of Christ's death and passion, saying that according to the scriptures he was ascended up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God the Father, and therefore his body could not be really and substantially in the sacrament.

A few days after this they were examined by the bishop, when, both of them still continuing steadfast in the profession of their faith, sentence was pronounced against them as heretics, and they were delivered over to the secular power.

On the day appointed for their execution, which was in the month of March, 1556, they were both led to the stake and burnt, in the town of Ipswich. Their constancy was admired by the multitude who saw them suffer; for as they undressed and prepared themselves for the fire, they earnestly exhorted the people to believe only in the unerring word of the only

living and true God, and not regard the devices and inventions of men.

They both openly declared that they despised the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, and most patiently submitted to the acute torments of devouring flames, calling upon the God of their salvation, and triumphing in being deemed worthy to suffer for the glorious cause of Jesus Christ, their Lord and Master.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, 1558–1603

I. The Early Period of Queen Elizabeth

The following extract from a report of a Venetian ambassador, made in the middle of Queen Mary's reign, indicates the impression which "my lady Elizabeth" made before she became queen, and describes her difficult position during these troubled years.

213. The Princess Elizabeth at her sister's court (1556)

My lady Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, was born in 1533, in the month of September, — so that she is at present twenty-three years of age. She is a lady of great elegance both of body and mind, although her face may rather be called pleasing than beautiful; she is tall and well made; her complexion fine, though rather sallow; her eyes, but, above all, her hands, which she takes care not to conceal, are of superior beauty. She excels the queen in the knowledge of languages, for in addition to Latin she has acquired no small acquaintance with Greek. She speaks Italian, which the queen does not, in which language she takes such delight, that in the presence of Italians it is her ambition not to converse in any other. Her spirits and understanding are admirable, as she has proved by her conduct in the midst of suspicion and danger, when she concealed her religion and comported herself like a good Catholic.

She is proud and dignified in her manners; for, though her mother's condition is well known to her, she is also aware that this mother of hers was united to the king in wedlock, with the sanction of the holy church and the concurrence of the primate of the realm; and though misled with regard to her religion, she

is conscious of having acted with good faith; nor can this latter circumstance reflect upon her birth, since she was born in the same faith as that professed by the queen. Her father's affection she shared at least in equal measure with her sister; it is said that she resembles her father more than the queen does, and the king considered them equally in his will, settling on both of them ten thousand *scudi* per annum. Yet with this allowance she is always in debt. And she would be much more so, if she did not studiously abstain from enlarging her establishment, and so giving greater offense to the queen. For indeed there is not a knight or gentleman in the kingdom who has not sought her service, either for himself, or for some son or brother; such is the affection and love that she commands. This is one reason why her expenses are increased. She always alleges her poverty as an excuse to those who wish to enter her service, and by this means she has cleverly contrived to excite compassion, and at the same time a greater affection; because there is no one to whom it does not appear strange that she — the daughter of a king — should be treated in so miserable a manner.

Elizabeth at Hatfield House

She is allowed to live in one of her houses about twelve miles distant from London, but she is surrounded by a number of guards and spies, who watch her narrowly and report every movement to the queen. Moreover, the queen, though she hates her most sincerely, yet treats her in public with every outward sign of affection and regard, and never converses with her but on pleasing and agreeable subjects. She has also contrived to ingratiate herself with the king of Spain, through whose influence the queen is prevented from bastardizing her, as she certainly has it in her power to do by means of an act of parliament, and which would exclude her from the throne. It is believed that but for this interference of the king, the queen would without remorse chastise her in the severest manner; for whatever plots against the queen are discovered, my lady Elizabeth or some of her people may always be sure to be mentioned among the persons concerned in them.

Philip favors Elizabeth

When Mary died and Elizabeth became queen, the ambassador of Spain, the Count de Feria, hoped, at first,

that he might exercise as strong an influence over her as he had over the former queen. His disappointment, his efforts to retain his influence, and his growing recognition that there was to be an entire change in religion and policy, are well shown in the following extracts from his letters written to the king of Spain during the first six months of the new reign.

214. Letters from the Spanish ambassador to the king of Spain

December 15, 1558

It gives me great trouble every time I write to your Majesty not to be able to send more pleasing intelligence, but what can be expected from a country governed by a queen, and she a young lass, who, although sharp, is without prudence, and is every day standing up against religion more openly? The kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics, and traitors, and the queen does not favor a single man whom her Majesty, who is now in heaven, would have received, and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary. On the way from the Tower to her house where she now is, she saw the marquis of Northampton, who is ill with a quartan ague, at a window, and she stopped her palfrey and was for a long while asking him about his health in the most cordial way in the world. The only true reason for this was that he had been a great traitor to her sister, and he who is most prominent in this way is now best thought of. The old people and the Catholics are dissatisfied, but dare not open their lips. She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister, and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did. Her present controller and Secretary Cecil govern the kingdom, and they tell me the earl of Bedford has a good deal to say.

When I spoke to her at Lord North's house, she told me that when anything had to be discussed with me she would send two of her Council to me. I asked her which two they would be, so that I might know with whom to communicate in case I had anything to say. She said they would be the controller, Cecil, and Admiral Clinton, and directly afterwards she appointed the first two, so I knew she only mentioned Clinton

because she thought I was friendly with him, and I satisfied myself of this subsequently. She afterwards said that when I wanted anything I was to speak to her personally, and I made an appearance of being very highly gratified with this. I know this is a very feeble foundation to begin with, but I was glad nevertheless.

I am trying to get a chamber in the palace when she goes to Whitehall, although I am very much afraid they will not give me one, but I have little chance of getting to talk to these people from the outside, and they are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak to me; as the late chancellor has told me plainly. He is a worthy person and she knows it, but he is not in the gang and will not return to office. He tells me that if they offered it to him he would not accept it. I think Paget is dying as fast as he can. He was very bad before, and the queen seems not to have favored him as he expected; indeed I do not think she will return him his office, and this no doubt has increased his malady.

Unpopularity of Philip in England

They are all very glad to be free of your Majesty, as if you had done harm instead of very much good, and although in all my letters to your Majesty I have said how small a party you have here, I am never satisfied that I have said enough to describe things as they really are. As I am so isolated from them I am much embarrassed and confused to devise means of finding out what is going on, for truly they run away from me as if I were the devil. The best thing will be to get my foot into the palace, so as to speak oftener to the queen, as she is a woman who is very fond of argument.

Everybody thinks that she will not marry a foreigner, and they cannot make out whom she favors, so that nearly every day some new cry is raised about a husband. They have dropped the earls of Arundel and Westmoreland, and say now she will marry William Howard's son, or Pickering, who went to bring over the Germans that Wallerthum raised. The most discreet people fear she will marry for caprice, and as the good or evil of the business all turns on this, I do nothing but think how and when I can get a word in about it. As your Majesty tells me I am to give my opinion I proceed to do so.

after describing the real state of affairs here, as I always do, because in that case the simple things I say myself are of less importance. . . .

I have seen her twice since she has been queen, once in Lord North's house and once in that which belonged to the duke of Somerset, where she is now. When I saw her at North's she began taking off her glove as soon as she saw me, so that I might kiss her hand, as I did. I did not speak of business, confining myself to compliments, but told her, as my only reason for being here was to serve her and advise your Majesty how to gratify her in everything, I proposed also to convey to her the knowledge of things in which your Majesty could be gratified, and so to help forward the good fellowship which I thought both parties wished to preserve. In pursuance of this I said your Majesty had ordered me to beg her to be very careful about religious affairs as they were what first and principally concerned you. She answered that it would indeed be bad for her to forget God who had been so good to her, which appeared to me rather an equivocal reply. . . .

The queen's caution in religious matters

The day I saw the queen at Lord North's the Swedish ambassadors spoke with her, the same man as was here before and another. They still urge the marriage, but these people take no notice of them.

Boxall told me that the queen says the king of France was at war with her sister, but not with her. I quite believe it, for she is a very strange sort of a woman. All the heretics who had escaped are beginning to flock back again from Germany, and they tell me there are some pestilential fellows amongst them.

On the Sunday of Christmastide the queen before going to mass sent for the bishop of Carlisle, who was to officiate, and told him that he need not elevate the host for adoration. The bishop answered that her Majesty was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience, and accordingly she heard the mass until after the gospel, when she rose and left, so as not to be present at the canon and adoration of the host which the bishop elevated as usual. They tell me that yesterday she heard

December 29, 1558

mass said by another bishop, who was requested not to elevate the host, and acted accordingly, and she heard it to the end. I should like in these affairs to animate and encourage the Catholics so that she may find difficulties in the way of doing the wicked things she is beginning, but I am doing it with the utmost caution in order that she may not be offended or quarrel with me more than need be. This affair is going at a pace that, in spite of the good offices your Majesty may perform with the pope, it will be impossible to stop, and I hear that he will declare this queen a bastard and will proceed against her, giving the right to the crown to the queen of Scots.

February 20, 1559

The marriage with Philip

I have thought best not to speak in earnest to the queen about religion yet, although I see her plainly going to perdition, but it seems to me that if the marriage is carried out the rest will soon be arranged, and all will proceed in accordance with the glory of God and the wishes of your Majesty, whilst if the marriage do not take place, all I could say to the queen would be of little avail, as she is so badly advised by the heretics she has around her and in her council, and it might even greatly prejudice the conclusion of the principal matter. . . .

After talking a long time on these points the queen wished to be seated and seemed to expect that I was going to reopen the former conversation. I did not wish to begin on that subject again, and only said that all these difficulties could be overcome if only her Majesty would do certain things which I would talk about when we had got rid of the other affair (i.e. of the peace). She gave me no answer, but she understood very well what I meant, and that I was displeased with the result of the last audience, in which, as I told your Majesty at the beginning of this letter, she was going to give me an answer to the effect that she did not mean to marry, and questioned the power of the pope about the dispensation; and with this the conversation ended.

In the meanwhile I think it will be well for your Majesty's commissioners to speak with the queen's commissioners on this subject of religion, and express their sorrow at the wickedness which is being planned in this parliament, which consists of

persons chosen throughout the country as being the most perverse and heretical. The queen has entire disposal of the upper chamber in a way never seen before in previous parliaments, as in this there are several who have hopes of getting her to marry them, and they are careful to please her in all things and persuade others to do the same, besides which there are a great number whom she has made barons to strengthen her party, and that accursed cardinal left twelve bishoprics to be filled which will now be given to as many ministers of Lucifer instead of being worthily bestowed.

The first parliament of Elizabeth which adopted the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity

March 19, 1559

These heretics and the devil that prompts them are so careful to leave no stone unturned to compass their ends that no doubt they have persuaded her that your Majesty wishes to marry her for religious objects alone, and so she kept repeating to me that she was heretical and consequently could not marry your Majesty. She was so disturbed and excited and so resolved to restore religion as her father left it, that at last I said that I did not consider she was heretical and could not believe that she would sanction the things which were being discussed in parliament, because if she changed the religion she would be ruined, and that your Majesty would not separate from the union of the church for all the kingdoms of the earth. She said then much less would you do it for a woman. I did not want to be all rigor, so I said that men did more for a woman than for anything else.

The clergymen who had gone into exile during Mary's reign and had now returned

She said she would not take the title of head of the church, but that so much money was taken out of the country for the pope every year that she must put an end to it, and that the bishops were lazy poltroons. I replied that the poltroons were the preachers she listened to, and that it added little to her honor and was a great scandal that so many rogues should come from Germany, and get into the pulpit before her and great congregations to preach a thousand absurdities, without being learned or worthy of being listened to.

After we had been talking for half an hour Knollys came in and said supper was ready, a new thing, and as I think arranged by those who are working this wickedness, for there is

nothing annoys them more than that I should speak to her. I took my leave, saying that she was not the Queen Elizabeth that I knew and that I was very dissatisfied with what I had heard, and if she did what she said she would be ruined. This was Tuesday evening, and on the next day there was no sermon at the palace, as she was unwell; and truly I do not think her health is good. The treasurer of the household (although he is a favorite with the queen) is not at all discreet, nor is he a good Catholic, as I have said, but still he behaves better than the others.

William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh

Cecil is very clever but a mischievous man and a heretic, and governs the queen in spite of the treasurer, for they are not at all good friends and I have done what I can to make them worse.

May 10, 1559

The news here is that parliament closed day before yesterday, Monday, and the queen having confirmed what had been adopted, which I wrote to your Majesty, she now remains governess of the Anglican church. The bishops and others who are considered Catholics are as firm as on the first day, and the bishop of Ely has honored himself in the sight of God and the world, for the Catholics did not hold him in high esteem, and the heretics tried to gain him over by presents, but he determined to remain a good Catholic and an honest man. It is a great pity to see what is going on here. From Easter they will begin to say all the service everywhere in English, and they have already commenced to do so in the queen's chapel. They tell me that everything is worse even than in the time of King Edward. . . .

In short, what can be said here to your Majesty is only that this country after thirty years of a government such as your Majesty knows, has fallen into the hands of a woman who is a daughter of the devil, and the greatest scoundrels and heretics in the land. She is losing the regard of the people and the nobles, and in future will lose it still more, now that they have brought the question of religion to an end.

The action taken, with her approval, by Elizabeth's first parliament consisted principally of a new Act of

Supremacy and a new Act of Uniformity, the most important sections of which follow.

215. Extracts from the Act of Supremacy

To the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may forever be clearly extinguished, and never be used or obeyed within this realm, or any other your Majesty's dominions or countries, may it please your Highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm or within any other your Majesty's dominions or countries that now be, or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm, and all other your Highness' dominions forever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

The headship of the church in England

And may it likewise please your Highness, that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and preëminences, spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority, which have heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, shall forever, by authority of this present parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. . . .

And for the better observation and maintenance of this act, may it please your Highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop, bishop, and all and every other ecclesiastical person, and other ecclesiastical officer and minister, of what estate, dignity, preeminence, or degree soever he or they be or shall be, and all and every temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay or temporal officer and minister, and every other person having your Highness' fee or wages, within this realm, or any your

Highness' dominions, shall make, take, and receive a corporal oath upon the evangelist, before such person or persons as shall please your Highness, your heirs or successors under the great seal of England to assign and name to accept and to take the same, according to the tenor and effect hereafter following, that is to say:

The oath of supremacy

"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preëminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, preëminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to the queen's Highness, her heirs or successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this book." . . .

Any teaching in support of the powers of the pope in England to be punished by confiscation of goods

And for the more sure observation of this act, and the utter extinguishment of all foreign and usurped power and authority, may it please your Highness, that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons dwelling or inhabiting within this your realm, or in any other your Highness' realms or dominions, of what estate, dignity, or degree soever he or they be, after the end of thirty days next after the determination of this session of this present parliament, shall by writing, printing, teaching, preaching, express words, deed, or act, advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, preëminence, power, or jurisdiction, spiritual or ecclesiastical, of any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within this realm, or any dominion or country being within or under the power, dominion, or obeisance of your Highness, or shall advisedly,

maliciously, and directly put in use or execute anything for the extolling, advancement, setting forth, maintenance, or defense of any such pretended or usurped jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, or authority, or any part thereof; that then every such person or persons so doing and offending, their abettors, aiders, procurers, and counselors, being therefore lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the due order and course of the common laws of this realm, for his or their first offense shall forfeit and lose unto your Highness, your heirs and successors, all his and their goods and chattels, as well real as personal. . . .

A third offense of the same kind to be punished as treason

And if any such offender or offenders, at any time after the said second conviction and attainder, do the third time commit and do the said offenses, or any of them, in manner or form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted and attainted, as is aforesaid; that then every such offense or offenses shall be deemed and adjudged high treason, and that the offender and offenders therein, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the laws of this realm, shall suffer pains of death, and other penalties, forfeitures, and losses, as in cases of high treason by the laws of this realm.

216. Extracts from the Act of Uniformity

Where at the death of our late sovereign lord King Edward VI there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies in the church of England, which was set forth in one book, entitled: *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England;* authorized by act of parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late sovereign lord King Edward VI, entitled: An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; the which was repealed and taken away by act of parliament in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honor of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion:

Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said statute of repeal, and everything therein

The use of the prayer book of Edward VI reintroduced

contained, only concerning the said book, and the service, administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies contained or appointed in or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming; and that the said book, with the order of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute, shall stand and be, from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this statute; anything in the aforesaid statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

Clergymen must use the prayer book in their services

And further be it enacted by the queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the same, or other the queen's dominions, shall, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, be bound to say and use the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper and administration of the sacraments, in all their common and open prayer. . . .

All persons bound to go to church

And that from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the queen's Majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavor themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where common prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offense twelve pence, to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offense shall be done, to the use of the

poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.

Notwithstanding the settlement of religion indicated by the passage of these laws, hopes were still entertained in Roman Catholic countries, and especially by the pope, that the queen and England would return to the old church. The following letter was therefore sent to Elizabeth by the pope in 1560.

217. Pope Pius IV to Queen Elizabeth (May 5, 1560)

Dear daughter in Christ: Health and apostolic benediction. How greatly we desire, our pastoral charge requiring it, to procure the salvation of your soul, and to provide likewise for your honor, and the establishment of your kingdom withal, God, the searcher of all hearts, knoweth, and you may understand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son, Vincentius Parpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, a man well known to you and well approved by us. Wherefore we do again and again exhort and admonish your Highness, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil counselors, which love not you but themselves and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into counsel with you, and acknowledging the time of your visitation, show yourself obedient to our fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels, and promise to yourself from us all things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also whatsoever you shall desire from us, for the establishment and confirming of your princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office committed unto us by God.

And, if so be, as we desire and hope, you shall return into the bosom of the church, we shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honor, and rejoicing that the father in the gospel did his son returning unto him: although our joy is like to be the greater in that he was joyful for the salvation of one son, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, shall hear us and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly, God willing, to be assembled in a general council, for the taking away of heresies and so for the salvation of yourself and your whole nation) fill the universal church

with rejoicing and gladness: yea, you shall make glad heaven itself with such a memorable act, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear. But concerning this matter the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you; and we entreat your Majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches which you would to ourself.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, May 5, 1560, in our first year.

Many of the personal characteristics of Elizabeth and of the circumstances of the time come out in the interesting *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville, who came twice to Elizabeth's court, in 1564 and 1565, as ambassador from Mary, Queen of Scots, then living at Edinburgh.

218. Extracts from the *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville

Being arrived at London, I lodged near the Court, which was at Westminster. My host immediately gave advertisement of my coming; and that same night her Majesty sent Mr. Hatton, afterward governor of the Isle of Wight, in her name to welcome me, and to show me that the next morning she would give me audience in her garden at eight of the clock. She had been advertised by the earl of Bedford, governor of Berwick, that I was upon the way. That same night I was visited by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of my old and dearest friends by long acquaintance; first during his banishment in France, in the reign of Queen Mary; and afterward while he was an ambassador in France for this queen, where I was for the time pensioner to King Henry II, and servant to the constable.

This Sir Nicholas was my dear friend, and had procured a pension for me from his mistress, to help to entertain me on my travels, when I had willingly banished myself the court of France, so long as there were civil wars between France and Scotland. He was a devout friend to the queen my mistress, and to her right and title to the succession of the crown of England. From him I had full information of affairs, and friendly advice how to proceed with the queen and every

courtier in particular: for he was a special instrument of helping my lord of Murray and secretary Liddington to pack up the first friendship betwixt the two queens; and betwixt the earl of Murray and Lord Robert; and between the two secretaries. Albeit he had no great kindness either for my lord Robert or Secretary Cecil, yet he knew that nothing could be done without them. Among other counsels, he gave me advice to use great familiarity with the ambassador of Spain, in case I found the queen his mistress hard to be dealt with; alleging that it would be a great spur to move the queen of England to give our queen greater and more speedy contentment in her desire than yet she had done.

Lord Robert Dudley, afterward earl of Leicester, the queen's favorite

The next morning Mr. Hatton and Mr. Randolph, late agent for the queen of England in Scotland, came to my lodging to convey me to her Majesty, who was, as they said, already in the garden. With them came a servant of my lord Robert's, with a horse and a foot mantle of velvet laced with gold for me to ride upon; which servant, with the said horse, waited upon me all the time that I remained there. I found her Majesty walking in an alley. And after I had kissed her hand, and presented my letter of credence, I told her Majesty in French the effect of my commission, as near to the aforesaid instructions as I could; and sometimes being interrupted by her demands, I answered as I judged most pertinent. The reason why I spoke French was, that being but lately come home, I could not speak my own language so promptly as was requisite.

Her first demand was concerning the letter that the queen had written to her with such despiteful language that she thence conjectured all friendship and familiarity to have been given up: which had made her resolve never to write any more but another as despiteful, which she took out of her pocket to give me to read, she having had it already written to show it to me. She told me she had hitherto delayed to send it, because she thought it too gentle, till she had written another more vehement, for answer to the queen's angry bill. For my part, I appeared to find such hard interpretation to be made upon the queen's loving and frank dealing very strange.

The queen of Scots' displeasing letter to Elizabeth

I told her Majesty that my mistress could not call to mind what words they were which had given her such offense. Whereupon she brought forth the queen's letter, giving it to me to read; which when I had perused, I said I could find therein no offensive word, when I considered the familiarity had formerly been betwixt them: alleging, that albeit her Majesty could speak as good French as any who had not been out of the country, that yet she was out of use of the French court language, which was frank and short, and had frequently two significations, which familiar friends took always in the best part: intreating her Majesty to tear the angry letter, which she thought to have sent in answer. And in revenge of the queen's, I protested that I should never let her Majesty know that her true plain meaning had been so misconstructed.

Having tossed some words upon this matter, she being desirous of an honest color or pretext, she appeared the more readily satisfied in that point for the fear she had, that friendship and correspondence should altogether break off, our queen being the first seeker to renew and continue the same, by sending me thither, thereby evidencing that she did not stand upon ceremonies with her elder sister. In my presence then she did rend her angry letter, with promise of such friendly and frank dealing in times coming, as all her good sister's dealings and proceedings should be interpreted to the best.

Elizabeth wants to arrange a marriage between Sir Robert Dudley and Queen Mary

Thus the old friendship being renewed, she inquired if the queen had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage made to her by Mr. Randolph. I answered, as I had been instructed, that my mistress thought little or nothing thereof, but expected the meeting of some commissioners upon the Borders, with my lord of Murray and the secretary Liddington, to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance as should be judged to concern the quiet of both the countries and satisfaction of both their Majesties' minds. For seeing your Majesties cannot so soon find the opportunity of meeting betwixt yourselves, so much desired, which in itself is not so expedient until all other jealousies be first removed, and all former doubts cleared by your most trusty and familiar counselors, the queen my mistress, as I have said, is minded

to send for her part my lord of Murray and the secretary Liddington, and expects that your Majesty will send my lord of Bedford and my lord Robert Dudley. She answered, it appeared that I made but small account of my lord Robert, seeing that I named the earl of Bedford before him; but said, that ere long she would make him a far greater earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home. For she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married, had she ever minded to have taken a husband.

But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the queen her sister might marry him, as meetest of all other whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For being matched with him, it would best remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions to be offended by any usurpation before her death; being assured that he was so loving and trusty that he would never permit any such thing to be attempted during her time. And that the queen my mistress might have the higher esteem of him, I was required to stay till I should see him made earl of Leicester and baron of Denbigh; which was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned, asking at me, how I liked him. I answered, that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy who had a princess who could discern and reward good service. "Yet," says she, "you like better of yonder long lad," pointing towards my lord Darnley, who as nearest prince of the blood, did bear the sword of honor that day before her. My answer was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who more resembled a woman than a man; for he was handsome, beardless, and lady-faced. And I had no will that she should think I liked him, or had any eye or dealing that way. Albeit I had a secret charge to deal with my lady Lenox, to endeavor to procure liberty for him to go to Scotland (where his father was already) under the pretext of seeing the country, and conveying the earl, his father, back again to England. . . .

Lord Darnley, cousin of Elizabeth and Mary, and later husband of Mary

"Yes," says she, "I am resolved never to marry, if I be not thereto necessitated by the queen my sister's harsh behavior toward me." "I know the truth of that, Madam," said I; "you need not tell it me. Your Majesty thinks, if you were married, you would be but queen of England; and now you are both king and queen. I know your spirit cannot endure a commander." She appeared to be so affectionate to the queen her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her. And because their so much (by her) desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her Majesty's picture.

Elizabeth's private collection of portraits

She took me to her bedchamber and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written, "My lord's picture." I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named. She appeared loath to let me see it; yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and found it to be the earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my queen; which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, "Your Majesty hath here the original"; for I perceived him at the farthest part of the chamber, speaking with Secretary Cecil. Then she took out the queen's picture, and kissed it; and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my mistress. . . .

Melville's opinion on ladies' costumes

The queen my mistress had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that queen's natural temper. Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had clothes of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered, in my judgment, the Italian dress: which answer I found pleased her well; for she delighted to show her golden-colored hair,

wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally.

She desired to know of me, what color of hair was reputed best; and whether my queen's hair or hers was best; and which of them two was fairest. I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest. I said, she was the fairest queen in England, and mine the fairest queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her Majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, my queen. "Then," saith she, "she is too high; for I myself am neither too high nor too low." Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I answered, that when I received my dispatch, the queen was lately come from the Highlands hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said, reasonably, — for a queen.

Elizabeth as a musician

That same day, after dinner, my lord of Hunsdon drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music (but he said that he durst not avow it), where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I stood by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alleging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there. I answered, as I was walking with my lord Hunsdon, as we passed by the chamber door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the court of France, where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict

upon me for so great an offense. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her; but with her own hand she gave me a cushion, to lay under my knee; which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my lady Strafford out of the next chamber; for the queen was alone. She inquired whether my queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise.

The queen shows off her French, Italian, and German

She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian; which she spoke reasonably well. I told her Majesty I had no time to learn the language perfectly, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spake to me in Dutch, which was not good; and would know what kind of books I most delighted in, whether theology, history, or love matters. I said, I liked well of all the sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch. She said I was weary sooner of her company than she was of mine. I told her Majesty, that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home: yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her dance, as I was afterward informed. Which being over, she inquired of me whether she or my queen danced best. I answered, the queen danced not so high and disposedly as she did.

Then again she wished that she might see the queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland by post, clothed like a page; that under this disguise she might see the queen, as James V had gone in disguise to France with his own ambassador, to see the duke of Vendome's sister, who should have been his wife: telling her that her chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick: that none need be privy thereto, except my lady Strafford and one of the grooms of her chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language, only answered it with a sigh, saying, "Alas! if I might do it thus." She used all the means she could to oblige me to persuade the queen of the great love she did bear unto her, and that she was fully minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming to entertain a stricter friendship than formerly. She promised that my dispatch should be delivered to me very shortly at

London, by Secretary Cecil: for now she was at Hampton Court, where she gave me my answer by mouth herself, and her secretary by writing.

The next day my lord of Leicester desired me to go down the river in his barge with him to London. He had in his company Sir Henry Sidney, Deputy of Ireland. By the way my lord entered familiarly into discourse with me, alleging that he was well acquainted with my lord of Murray, Liddington, and my brother, Sir Robert; and that he was by report so well acquainted with me, that he durst, upon the character he had heard of me, desire to know what the queen my mistress thought of him, and the marriage that Mr. Randolph had proposed. Whereunto I answered very coldly, as I had been by my queen commanded. Then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretense as to marry so great a queen, declaring he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes; declaring that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy. "For if I," says he, "should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the queens, and lost their favor." He intreated me to excuse him at her Majesty's hands, and to beg, in his name, that she would not impute that matter to him, but to the malice of his enemies. An interview with Leicester

Being landed at London our dinner was prepared by the earl of Pembroke; who, being great master, yet humbled himself so far as to serve the said table as master of the household himself. He was a devout friend to my queen's title of succeeding to the crown of England.

The following passage describes Melville's second visit to Elizabeth's court, in 1565.

All the while I lay within the castle of Edinburgh, praying night and day for her Majesty's good and happy delivery of a fair son. This prayer being granted, I was the first who was thereof advertised, by the lady Boin, in her Majesty's name, to part with diligence the 19th of June, 1565, betwixt ten and eleven in the morning. By twelve of the clock I took horse, 219. Melville's announcement to Elizabeth of the birth of the future James I of England

and was that night at Berwick. The fourth day after, I was at London, and did first meet with my brother Sir Robert, who that same night sent and advertised Secretary Cecil of my arrival, and of the birth of the prince; desiring him to keep it quiet till my coming to Court, to show it myself unto her Majesty, who was for the time at Greenwich, where her Majesty was in great mirth, dancing after supper. But so soon as Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night; all present marveling whence proceeded such a change, for the queen did sit down, putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock.

Elizabeth's real regret and pretended joy at the birth of Mary's son

The next morning was appointed for me to get audience. At that time my brother and I went by water to Greenwich, and were met by some friends who told us how sorrowful her Majesty was at my news; but that she had been advised to show a glad and cheerful countenance, which she did, in her best apparel, saying that the joyful news of the queen her sister's delivery of a fair son, which I had sent her by Secretary Cecil, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lyen under for fifteen days. Therefore she welcomed me with a merry volt, and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence.

II. The Struggle with the Catholics

The imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots in England, the rebellion in the north of England in her favor, the work of the Jesuit missionaries in trying to win England back to Catholicism, the establishment of Roman Catholic colleges for Englishmen on the Continent, and several other causes, combined to make religious conflicts more bitter after about 1570. In that year, therefore, the pope finally issued the following declaration of excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth.

Pius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the future memory of the matter. **220. Bull of deposition of Elizabeth (1570)**

He who reigns in the highest, to whom has been given all power in heaven and earth, in the plenitude of his power has given the governance of one holy Catholic and apostolic church, outside of which there is no salvation, to one upon earth, that is to say, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, the successor of Peter. Him alone has he appointed prince over all nations and all kingdoms, to pluck out, to overthrow, to scatter, to destroy, to plant, to build up, in order that he may keep his people faithful in the unity of the spirit, bound with the bond of mutual love, and that he may deliver them unharmed to their Saviour. In the fulfillment of this duty, we, called by the grace of God to the government of the same church, have neglected no labor, striving with all our strength that the unity and entirety of that church should remain unbroken, which its founder has for the testing of our faith and our correction permitted to be smitten by so many storms. But the number of the wicked has so increased in strength that there is no place left upon earth which they have not tried to corrupt with the most evil teachings.

Assistance has been given them among others, by Elizabeth, servant of evil doers, pretended queen of England, to whom as to an asylum the most wicked of all have come for refuge. She, after she had gained the throne, usurped to herself monstrously the place of supreme head of the church in all England and the principal authority and jurisdiction in it; and called back again to miserable destruction that realm which had but just then been restored to the Catholic faith and good fruit. For she has taken away by a violent hand the use of true religion which had been previously overthrown by the apostate Henry VIII, but restored by the legitimate Queen Mary, of distinguished memory, with the help of this see; she has followed and embraced the errors of heretics; she has dissipated the royal council, formed of the English nobility, and filled it with obscure men who are heretics. She has oppressed holders of the Catholic faith; she has restored agitators and dealers in impieties; she has abolished the sacrifice of the

Wicked doings ascribed to Elizabeth

mass, prayers, fastings, choice of foods, celibacy, and Catholic rites; she has commanded books which contain manifest heresy to be spread through the whole kingdom; she has required services which are impious and instituted according to the prescriptions of Calvin to be accepted and observed by herself and to be acknowledged by her subjects.

She has ventured to eject bishops, rectors of churches, and other Catholic priests from their churches and benefices, and to confer their goods and other ecclesiastical possessions upon heretics, and to give decisions concerning ecclesiastical causes. She has forbidden prelates, clergy, and people to acknowledge the Roman church or to obey its precepts and canonical sanctions. She has compelled by an oath very many to agree to her wicked laws and to abjure the authority and obedience of the Roman pontiff, and to recognize her alone as mistress in temporal and spiritual affairs; she has imposed pains and penalties upon those who were not obedient to her word and those who persevered in the aforesaid obedience and in the unity of the faith. Catholic bishops and rectors of churches she has cast into bonds, where many, worn out by long-continued weariness and sadness, have finished their days miserably.

The oath of supremacy

Since all these things are familiar and well known among all nations and so well established by the strongest testimony of many men that there is no place left for any excuse, defense, or denial; and since other crimes and impieties are being multiplied, and the persecution of the faithful and the affliction of religion daily growing by the influence and the action of the said Elizabeth; and since her mind is, we understand, so confirmed and hardened that not only has she treated with contempt the pious prayers and advice of Catholic princes for her well being and conversion, but has not permitted the ambassadors of this see to come to England to her on this matter; we have been compelled to turn the arms of justice against her, though we cannot subdue our grief that we are required to take action against one whose forefathers have merited so much from the Christian commonwealth.

And so, supported by the authority of him who has willed that we should be placed in this supreme throne of justice, though

unequal to such a burden, out of the plenitude of apostolic power we declare the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic and a favorer of heretics, and those who adhere to her in the aforesaid matter to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. Moreover she is deprived of her pretended right to the aforesaid kingdom and to all dominions, dignity, and privileges whatsoever of every kind. Likewise the nobles, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who have taken an oath to her of any kind we absolve by the authority of these presents and declare them absolved perpetually for the future from all duty, fidelity, and obedience due. We deprive the same Elizabeth of the pretended right to the kingdom and to all the things named above; and we require and order each and all nobles, subjects, people, and others above said, not to venture to obey her instructions, mandates, or laws. Those who shall act differently we bind with the same sentence of anathema.

Elizabeth declared to be a heretic and deprived of the right to rule in England

The queen's subjects forbidden to obey her

Because, however, it would be too difficult to take the present writings wherever there is need of them, we will that copies of them, signed with a seal by the hand of a notary public and of a prelate of the church or of his court, should obtain the same confidence in court and out of it among all nations as these presents would if they should be exhibited or shown.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Lord's incarnation, 1570, the fifth of the Calends of March, in the fifth year of our pontificate.

In retaliation for the bull and other Roman Catholic activity, the English government began to treat the English Catholics more harshly. One of the first steps was an attempt to show that if they were faithful to the pope they were necessarily traitors to the queen. The following questions were ordered to be submitted to such men as were suspected of being Roman Catholics.

1. Whether the bull of Pius V against the queen's Majesty be a lawful sentence, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England?

221. Questions submitted to English Roman Catholics to test their loyalty

2. Whether the queen's Majesty be a lawful queen and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England, notwithstanding the bull of Pius V or any other bull or sentence that the pope hath pronounced, or may pronounce, against her Majesty?

3. Whether the pope has, or had, power to authorize the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and others of her Majesty's subjects, to rebel, or take arms against her Majesty; or to authorize Dr. Saunders or others to invade Ireland, or any other of her dominions, and to bear arms against her, and whether they did therein lawfully, or not?

4. Whether the pope hath power to discharge any of her Highness' subjects, or the subjects of any Christian prince, from their allegiance or oath of obedience to her Majesty or to their prince for any cause?

5. Whether the said Dr. Saunders, in his book the *Visible Monarchy of the Church*, and Dr. Bristowe, in his book of *Motives*, written in allowance, commendation, and confirmation of the said bull of Pius V, have therein taught, testified, or maintained a truth or a falsehood?

6. If the pope do by his bull or sentence pronounce her Majesty to be deprived and no lawful queen, and her subjects to be discharged of their allegiance and obedience unto her, and, after, the pope or any other of his appointment and authority do invade this realm, which part would you take, or which part ought a good subject of England to take?

Two typical sets of answers follow, one in which the person questioned declares his entire loyalty to the queen, another in which he expresses grave doubts concerning his duty, yet may be loyal. The second is countersigned by the royal officials who submitted the questions.

222. Answers of Henry Orton

To the first he sayth, that he thinketh the bull of Pius V was at no time a lawful sentence, or of force to binde any of her Majestie's subjects, and that notwithstanding, her Majestie was and is to be obeyed by every of her subjects.

To the second, he thinketh that her Majestie is to be holden for lawfull queene of this realm, and ought to be obeyed by all

her subjects, notwithstanding any thing that the pope eyther hath done, or can doe.

To the third, he thinketh the pope neither hath nor had authoritie to warrant any of the persons here named, to doe as they have done, or any other of her subjects, to take armes against her Majestie, and that those which have taken armes against her, upon that, or the like warrant, have done unlawfully.

To the fourth, he thinketh the pope hath no authoritie to discharge any subject from his allegiance and obedience to his prince.

To the fifth, he thinketh that Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristowe have, in the poyntes mentioned in this article, taught and maintayned an untruth and a falshood.

To the last, he sayth, that in the case here supposed, he would take part with her Majestie against the pope, or any other invading the realme by his authoritie.

HENRY ORTON

223. Answers of John Hart

To the first, he saith, that it is a difficult question, and that he cannot make answere thereto.

To the second, hee saith, that her majestie is lawful queene, and ought to be obeyed, notwithstanding the bul supposed to be published by Pius V. But whether she ought to be obeyed and taken for lawful queene, notwithstanding any bul or sentence that the pope can give, he saith, he cannot answere.

To the third, he cannot answere, and further saith, that he will not meddle with any such questions.

To the fourth, he saith, he is not resolved, and therefore he cannot answere.

To the fifth, he saith, he will not deale with any such questions, and knoweth not whether Saunders and Bristowe have taught wel herein or not.

To the last, he saith, that when such a case shall happen, he will then advise what becommeth him to do, for presently he is not resolved.

This hee did acknowledge to us, after hee had fully perused the same, but refused to subscribe to it.

JOHN POPHAM THOS. EGERTON DA. LEWIS JOHN HAMMOND

The following are sad narratives of executions of Roman Catholic priests or Jesuits under the new treason laws passed under Queen Elizabeth. The first describes the execution in 1581 of Edmund Campion, a Jesuit, and his two companions, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Brian, seminary priests; the second, that of Robert Johnson, also a graduate of the seminary at Douai, who, with two others, Fathers Ford and Shert, was executed May 28, 1582; the third, that of William Hart, a seminary priest, educated at Douai, Rheims, and Rome, returning to England for missionary work and executed at York in 1583; the last, that of James Fenn, an Oxford graduate and a married man, who, holding Roman Catholic opinions, went to Rheims to be ordained a priest, returned to England afterwards, and was executed in 1584. These accounts were gathered from the reports of eyewitnesses. The terrible punishment then inflicted for treason consisted of "hanging, drawing, and quartering." In hanging, a man was either placed on a cart and driven under the gallows till the noose was adjusted, when the cart was driven away, or required to climb a ladder for the same purpose, the ladder being then turned over so that the man should fall. "Drawing" was removing the body from the gallows before life was extinct, opening it, and throwing the entrails into a fire. "Quartering" was severing the limbs from the trunk and sending them to be placed in various conspicuous places connected with the life of the traitor, as an additional humiliation to him and a warning to others.

At his first racking, they went no further with him; but afterwards, when they saw he could not be won to condescend somewhat at least in religion, which was the thing they most

desired, they thought good to forge matter of treason against him, and framed their demands accordingly; about which he was so cruelly torn and rent upon the torture, the two last times, that he told a friend of his, that found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make him away in that manner. Before he went to the rack, he used to fall down at the rack-house door upon both knees, to commend himself to God's mercy; and upon the rack he called continually upon God, repeating often the holy name of Jesus. . . .

224. Execution of Edmund Campion and two companions (1581)

They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, there to be martyr'd for the Catholic faith and religion. Father Campion was alone on one hurdle, and the other two together on another, all molested by ministers and others, calling upon them by the way for their subversion; and by some also, as opportunity serv'd, comforted; and Father Campion especially consulted by one in some cases of conscience and religion; and the mire, wherewith he was all spatter'd, most courteously wiped off his face.

When they were come to the place of execution, where divers of her Majesty's honorable council, with many other persons of honor, besides an infinite multitude of people, attended their coming, Father Campion was first brought up into the cart; where, after some small pause, he began to speak upon that text of St. Paul, 1. Cor. iv. 9: *We are made a spectacle to the world, etc.;* but was interrupted by Sir Francis Knowles and the sheriffs, urging him to confess his treason against her Majesty and to acknowledge himself guilty: to whom he answer'd, "For the treasons which have been layd to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for, I desire you all to bear witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent." Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the council, that he should not seem to deny the objections against him, having been proved by sufficient evidence. "Well, my lord," said he, "I am a Catholic man, and a priest; in that faith have I lived, and in that faith do I intend to die; and if you esteem my religion treason, then am I guilty; as for any other treason, I never committed it, God is my judge. But you have now what you desire; I beseech you to have patience,

and suffer me to speak a word or two for discharge of my conscience." But not being suffer'd to go forward, he was forced to speak only to that point which they most urged, protesting that he was innocent of all treason and conspiracy; desiring credit to be given to his answers, as to the last answer made upon his death and soul. . . .

They pressed him to declare his opinion of Pius the Fifth his bull concerning the excommunication of the queen. To which demand he gave no answer. Then they ask'd, whether he renounced the pope. He answered, he was a Catholic: whereupon one inferr'd, saying, "In your Catholicism all treason is contain'd." In fine, preparing himself to drink his last draught of Christ's cup, he was interrupted in his prayer by a minister, willing him to say some prayer with him; unto whom, looking back with a mild countenance, he meekly reply'd: "You and I are not one in religion, wherefore I pray you content yourself. I barr none of prayer, only I desire them of the household of faith to pray with me, and in my agony to say one creed." . . .

Some also called to him to pray in English; to whom he answer'd, that he would pray in a language he well understood. At the upshot of this conflict he was willed to ask the queen forgiveness, and to pray for her; he meekly answered: "Wherein have I offended her? In this I am innocent; this is my last speech; in this give me credit: I have and do pray for her." Then the lord Charles Howard ask'd of him, for which queen he prayed, whether for Elizabeth the queen? To whom he answered, "Yea, for Elizabeth your queen and my queen." And the cart being drawn away, he meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect Catholic.

225. Execution of Robert Johnson (1582)

Being brought from the hurdle, he was commanded to look upon Mr. Shert, who was hanging, and then immediately cut down: and so being help'd into the cart, he was commanded again to look back towards Mr. Shert, who was then in quartering. And after he had turned and sign'd himself with the sign of the cross, saying, *In nomine patris, etc.* "Dispatch," quoth

the sheriff, "and speak quietly." "I would be sorry," answered Mr. Johnson, "to trouble or offend your worship." "You shall not offend me," saith the sheriff, "so that you offend not God." *Johnson.* "I am a Catholic, and am condemn'd for conspiring the queen's death at Rheims, with the other company who were condemn'd with me. I protest, that as for some of them with whom I was condemn'd to have conspired withal, I did never see them before we met at the barr, neither did I ever write unto them, or receive letters from them: and as for any treasons, I am not guilty in deed nor thought." . . .

Sheriff. "Dost thou acknowledge the queen for lawful queen? Repent thee, and notwithstanding thy traitorous practices, we have authority from the queen to carry thee back."

Johnson. "I do acknowledge her as lawful as Queen Mary was. I can say no more; but pray to God to give her grace, and that she may now stay her hand from shedding of innocent blood."

Sheriff. "Dost thou acknowledge her supreme head of the church in ecclesiastical matters?"

Johnson. "I acknowledge her to have as full and great authority as ever Queen Mary had; and more with safety and conscience I cannot give her."

Sheriff. "Thou art a traitor most obstinate."

Johnson. "If I be a traitor for maintaining this faith, then all the kings and queens of this realm heretofore, and all our ancestors, were traitors, for they maintain'd the same."

Sheriff. "What! You will preach treason also, if we suffer you!"

Johnson. "I teach but the Catholic religion."

Hereupon the rope was put about his neck, and he was willed to pray, which he did in Latin. They willed him to pray in English, that they might witness with him; he said, "I pray that prayer which Christ taught, in a tongue I well understand." A minister cried out, "Pray as Christ taught": to whom Mr. Johnson replied, "What! do you think Christ taught in English?" He went on, saying in Latin his *Pater*, *Ave*, and Creed, and *In manus tuas*, *etc.* And so the

cart was drawn away, and he finish'd this life as the rest did. They all hang'd until they were dead, and so were cut down and quarter'd.

226. Execution of William Hart (1583)

The six last days before execution, he prepared himself for his exit by a rigorous fast, spending withal whole nights in prayer and contemplation, and ardently wishing for that happy hour that should eternally unite him to the sovereign object of his love. When he was brought out of his dungeon on the day he was to suffer he took his leave of the Catholic prisoners, earnestly recommending his last conflict to their prayers: then addressing himself to the chief jailer, he bid him farewell, thanking him for his kindnesses, though indeed he had met with little or no kindness or favor from him. Being fastened down upon the hurdle, he was drawn thro' the streets to the place of execution, having his eyes fix'd upon heaven, and his soul in silence attentive to God. Before he came to the gallows, he was met by two ministers, Mr. Bunny and Mr. Pace, who made it their business to affront him, and to persuade the people that he did not die for his religion, but for treason. As soon as he arrived at the place, he cheerfully went up the ladder, and began to pray in silence. They ask'd him if he prayed for the queen. He answered, that he had always prayed for her to that day, and as long as he lived would not cease to pray for her; that he willingly acknowledged her for his sovereign, and professed a ready obedience to her, in all things which were not inconsistent with the Catholic religion.

Then Mr. Bunny step'd out and read aloud to the people the bull of Pius V; by which he had excommunicated the queen, etc., pretending thereby to prove that Mr. Hart must needs be a traitor; and that the business of his coming over was to withdraw her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance. Mr. Hart answered, in short, that far from having any such thoughts, he had ever prayed for the queen's safety, and the happy state of the kingdom. But Mr. Pace was particularly troublesome to the holy confessor, continually loading him with reproaches and injuries. To which Mr. Hart made no other reply than this, "Good Mr. Pace, be so kind as to

let me be quiet this short time I have to live"; which he several times repeated. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, he began the psalm, *Ad te levavi oculos meos, etc.*, but was again interrupted by the ministers, calling upon him to join with them in prayer, which he refused to do, telling them that his faith and theirs was not the same. But he desired the Catholics to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in and for the Catholic faith, and not for any crime whatsoever, or treason against the state. With that he was thrown off the ladder; and, according to sentence, was cut down alive and quarter'd. And tho' the Lord Mayor and other magistrates who were present at the execution sought to hinder the Catholics from carrying home with them any relics of the confessor, yet some there were who, in spite of all their precautions and threats, carried off some of his blood, or fragments of his bones, or pieces of his clothes, which they kept as treasures; so great was the veneration they had for his virtue and the cause for which he died.

227. Execution of James Fenn (1584)

Having receiv'd sentence, he was carried to the Tower, and there kept in a dungeon, loaded with irons, from Friday, the day of his condemnation, till Wednesday following, which was the day of his execution. In the meantime, Mr. Popham, the attorney general, and a doctor of the civil law, formerly school-fellow to Mr. Fenn, came to him to exhort him to comply and acknowledge the queen's authority and obey the laws; promising, that if he would, they would use their best endeavours to save his life. The confessor told them, he willingly acknowledg'd the queen's authority in all temporal matters; but that he neither could nor would acknowledge her supreme head of the church, but only as one of the sheep, subject in spirituals to that shepherd to whom Christ committed his whole flock: and that he was ready to die in and for the profession of this faith.

On the day of execution he was laid on a hurdle to be drawn with his companions from the Tower to Tyburn. It was a moving spectacle to many to see his little daughter Frances, with many tears, take her last leave of her father upon this

occasion, whilst the good man, who had long since been dead to all things in this world, looking upon her with a calm and serene countenance, and lifting up his hands as well as he could, for they were pinion'd, gave her his blessing, and so was drawn away. At Tyburn he was not suffer'd to speak many words; but after he had pray'd for a while, he only declared to the people his innocence of the crime that had been falsely laid to his charge in the court; and then recommended himself and the queen, to whom he wish'd all manner of happiness, to God's mercy. And so the cart being drawn away, he was left hanging for a little while, and then cut down alive, bowell'd and quarter'd. His quarters were disposed on four of the gates of the city, and his head upon London Bridge.

III. Commerce and Explorations

The voyage of Martin Frobisher with three vessels in search of the Northwest passage in 1576 was the first of a long series of such attempts. Some extracts from his logbook are here given. The queen was then living at Greenwich, and the expedition was watched by her and her court as it sailed down the Thames from London. They found icy seas and arctic lands and the Eskimos, but no Northwest passage around America.

228. Voyage of Frobisher

June 8, 1576

The 8th day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of us, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made the best shew we could: Her Majestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand at us out of the window. Afterward shee sent a Gentleman aboord of us, who declared that her Majestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked us for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leave of her.

The same day towards night Mr. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of us, and declared to the company, that her Majestie had appointed him to give them charge to be obedient and

diligent to their Captaine and governours in all things, and wished us happie successe. . . .

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing up of the fogge, wee had sight of lande, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and sownded, but could get no ground at 100 fathom, and the yce being so thicke, I could not get to the shoare, and so lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Munday we came within a mile of the shoare, and sought a harborowe. All the sownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing ashoare, could get no ground at 100 fathom, within a Cable's length of the shoare: then we sailed Eastnortheast along the shoare, for so the land lyeth, and the currant is there great, setting Northeast and Southwest: and if we could have gotten anker ground, wee would have seene with what force it had runne, but I judge a ship may drive a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide. . . . July 28, off Labrador

The tenth I tooke foure men, and my selfe, and rowed to shoare to an Island one league from the maine, and there the flood setteth Southwest alongest the shoare, and it floweth as neere as I could judge so too. I could not tarry to prove it, because the ship was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge. . . . August 10

The 19th day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boate with eight men in her, to rowe us a shoare, to see if there were there any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seven boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we sent our boate with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shoare my selfe, and gave every of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboord with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we understoode August 19

The Eskimos

them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinnes, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe streekes down the cheekes, and round about the eyes. . . .

August 28 they turn back toward England

The 28th day we went our course Southeast. . . .

September 25

The 25th day of this moneth we had sight of the Island of Orkney, which was then East from us.

The first day of October we had sight of the Sheld, and so sailed about the coast, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The romantic adventures of Sir Francis Drake and his companions in their journey to the coasts of South America, through the straits of Magellan, up the west coast of South and North America, and on westward till they had circumnavigated the world and returned to England, are well told in the narrative of Thomas Cavendish, one of Drake's companions on the voyage and the leader of a similar expedition some years later.

229. A narrative of the voyage of Drake (1577–1580)

The 15. day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1577, Mr. Francis Drake, with a fleete of five ships and barkes, and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailers, departed from Plimmouth, giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth haven in Cornewael, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke us, as few men have seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremitie, and to afflict us onely for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admirall, which was the Pellican, was cut over boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore and some-what bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and having recovered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth

the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger. . . .

First sight of Brazil, 33° S.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54 dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we saw the fift of April in ye height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils, about which they use conjurations, making heepes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay upon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoales in every place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have bene divers experiments. . . .

From hence we went our course to 36. degrees, and entered the great river of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 55. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ship's side: But our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of April. . . .

The twentieth of June, wee harboured our selves againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port St. Julian, where we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company. . . .

Court martial of Thomas Doughty

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly have bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted

with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughtie's owne confession and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his private affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him (as indeede it ought) then the private respect of one man: so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receive punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee having embraced our Generall and taken his leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queene's majestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made divers speaches to the whole company, perswading us to unitie, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receive the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his businesse.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Julian, and the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The Strait of Magellan, first passed through by Magellan sixty years before

The 21. day we entred the streight, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against us, so that some of the fleete recovering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne back againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange maner, reaching themselves above their fellowes so high, that between them did appeare three regions of cloudes. These mountaines are covered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, even as it hath in the maine entrance ot the freat.

The streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, and in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narowest place hath a league over.

The 24. of August we arrived at an Island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selves throughly therewith.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore. . . .

Our Generall seeing this stayed her no longer, but wayed anchor, and set sayle towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking us to have bene Spaniards, came to us and tolde us, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gave him divers trifles, wherof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

Surprise and capture of a Spanish ship

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, having in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking us to have bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed us with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to us: but as soone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spanyards, and sayd unto him, "Abaxo Perro," that is in English, "Goe downe dogge." One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them under hatches all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt over boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrivall.

They of the towne being not above 9. households, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therin a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher, his minister. . . .

Not farre from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving 8. Llamas or sheepe of Peru which are as big as asses; every of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge conteining 50. li. weight of fine silver: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burden to the ships we found in all the bags 800. weight of silver.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3 barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would have ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the

way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe. . . .

Our generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied and revenged: and supposing that her majestie at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey. He thought it not good to returne by the streights; he resolved therefore to avoyde these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucoer, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperanza. . . .

Return by the Cape of Good Hope

We arrived in England the third of November, 1580, being the third yeere of our departure.

Such accounts as the two just given and many other narratives of voyages of exploration or adventure made by Englishmen were gathered up and published in 1589 by a clergyman, Richard Hakluyt. His patriotic impulse to this is described in the following preface to his work, addressed to Secretary Walsingham.

230. Preface to Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589)

Right Honorable:

I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majestie's scholars at Westminster, that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part,

with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time and more convenient place might be minstred for these studies, I would by God's assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me. . . .

Extent of English exploration, trade, and diplomacy

To speake a word of that just commendation which our nation doe indeed deserve: it cannot be denied, but as in all former ages, they have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerleese governement of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? Which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large and loving privileges? Who ever saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? Who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English Shippes did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate? passe and repasse the unpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Nova Hispania, further then any Christian ever passed, travers the

mighty bredth of the South sea, land upon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arive at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects of this now florishing monarchy have done? . . .

IV. Mary Queen of Scots and the Armada

The following letter from Elizabeth to James VI of Scotland, which was written by her own hand, and in which she disavows all responsibility for the execution of James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, is a better illustration of Elizabeth's deceit than it is of the real history of the time. She was certainly responsible for the execution of Mary.

231. Elizabeth to James, king of Scotland

My deare Brother:

I would you knewe (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaninge) hath befalen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom ere now yt hath pleased yow to favor, to instruct yow trewly of that which ys to yerksom for my penne to tell yow. I beseche yow that as God and many moe knowe, how innocent I am in this case; so you will believe me, that yf I had bid ought I owld have bid by yt. I am not so bace minded that feare of any livinge creature or prince should make me afrayde to do that were just, or don to denye the same. I am not of so base a linage, nor cary so vile a minde. But, as not to disguise, fits not a kinge, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cawse them shewe even as I ment them. Thus assuringe yourself of me, that as I knowe this was deserved, yet yf I had ment yt I would never laye yt on others shoulders; no more will I not damnifie my selfe, that thought yt not.

The circumstance yt may please yow to have of this bearer. And for your part, thincke yow have not in the world a more

lovinge kinswoman, nor a more deare frend that my self; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve yow and your estate. And who shall otherwise perswade yow, judge them more partiall to others then yow. And thus in hast I leave to troble yow; besechinge God to send yow a longe reign. The 14th of Feb., 1587.

Your most assured lovinge sister
and cosin
ELIZAB., R.

The two following official letters, written in the midst of the fight with the Spanish Armada, show the success of the English, but at the same time their difficulties for want of ammunition and food, and the great danger to England if the weather and other chances had not favored her.

232. Admiral Howard to Secretary Walsingham

Sir:

I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off of the Lizard, whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbor that night, and upon Saturday turned out very hardly, the wind being at southwest; and about three of the clock in the afternoon descried the Spanish fleet, and did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of 120 sail, whereof there are 4 galeasses and many ships of great burden.

At nine of the clock we gave them fight, which continued until one. In this fight we made some of them to bear room to stop their leaks; notwithstanding we durst not adventure to put in among them, their fleet being so strong. But there shall be nothing either neglected or unhazarded that may work their overthrow.

Sir, the captains in her Majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will continue, to their great commendation. And so,

recommending our good success to your godly prayers, I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard the *Ark*, thwart of Plymouth, the 21st of July, 1588.

Your very loving friend,

C. Howard.

Sir, the southerly wind that brought us back from the coast of Spain brought them out. God blessed us with turning us back. Sir, for the love of God and our country let us have with speed some great shot sent us of all bigness; for this service will continue long; — and some powder with it.

233. Captain Drake to Secretary Walsingham

Right Honorable:

The bearer came aboard the ship I was in in a wonderful good time, and brought with him as good knowledge as we could wish. His carefulness therein is worthy recompense, for that God hath given us so good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward as I hope in God the prince of Parma and the duke of Sidonia shall not shake hands these few days; and whensoever they shall meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoice of this day's service. The town of Calais hath seen some part thereof, whose mayor her Majesty is beholden unto. Business commands me to end. God bless her Majesty, our gracious sovereign, and give us all grace to live in his fear. I assure your honor this day's service hath much appalled the enemy, and no doubt but encouraged our army. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the *Revenge*, this 29th of July, 1588.

Your Honor's most ready to be commanded,

Fra. Drake.

There must be great care taken to send us ammunition and victuals whithersoever the enemy goeth.

Yours,

Fra. Drake.

Admiral Howard planned to follow the Spanish fleet up through the North Sea till it should be destroyed or scattered, but finding the English vessels short of

provisions and ammunition, called a council of the captains at which the following agreement was made.

234. Agreement of the captains (August 1, 1588)

We whose names are hereunder written have determined and agreed in council to follow and pursue the Spanish fleet until we have cleared our own coast and brought the Frith west of us; and then to return back again, as well to revictual our ships, which stand in extreme scarcity, as also to guard and defend our own coast at home; with further protestations, that, if our want of victuals and ammunition were supplied, we would pursue them to the furthest that they durst have gone.

C. Howard	Thomas Fenner
T. Howard	George Cumberland
Fra. Drake	Edmunde Sheffeylde
John Hawkyns	Edw. Hoby

The following narrative is by a young courtier, Robert Carey, who, hearing the news of the arrival of the Spanish fleet, hurried away from court to take part in the fighting, and after the crisis was past returned to court, all within twelve days.

235. Extracts from the memoirs of Robert Carey (1588)

The next yeare the king of Spain's great Armado came upon our coast, thinking to devour us all. Upon the newes sent to court from Plimouth of their certain arrivall, my Lord Cumberland and myselfe tooke post horse, and rode streight to Portsmouth, where we found a frigot that carried us to sea; and having sought for the fleets a whole day, the night after wee fell amongst them: where it was our fortune to light first on the Spanish fleet; and finding ourselves in the wrong, we tackt about, and in short time gott to our own fleet, which was not farre from the other. At our coming aboord our Admirall, wee stay'd there awhile; but finding the ship much pestered and scant of cabins, we left the Admirall and went aboord Captain Reyman, where wee stay'd and were very welcome, and much made of.

It was on Thursday that wee came to the fleete. All that day wee followed close the Spanish Armado, and nothing was

attempted on either side: the same course wee held all Friday and Saturday, by which time the Spanish fleet cast anchor just before Calais. We likewise did the same, a very small distance behind them, and so continued till Munday morning about two of the clocke; in which time our counsaile of warre had provided six old hulkes and stuffed them full of all combustible matter fitt for burning, and on Monday at two in the morning they were lett loose, with each of them a man in her to direct them. The tide serving they brought them very near the Spanish fleet, so that they could not misse to come amongst the midest of them; then they set fire on them, and came off themselves, having each of them a little boate to bring him off. The ships set on fire, came so directly to the Spanish fleet, as they had no way to avoid them, but to cut all their halsers, and so escape; and their haste was such that they left one of their four great galeasses on ground before Calais, which our men took and had the spoil of, where many of the Spaniards were slaine with the governour thereof, but most of them were saved with wading ashore to Calais.

Sea fight before Calais

They being in this disorder, wee made ready to follow them, where began a cruell fight, and wee had such advantage both of wind and tide as wee had a glorious day of them; continuing fight from foure o'clocke in the morning, till almost five or six at night, where they lost a douzen or fourteene of their best shippes, some sunke, and the rest ranne ashore in diverse parts to keep themselves from sinking. After God had given us this great victory, they made all the hast they could away, and wee followed them Tuesday and Wednesday, by which time they were gotten as farre as Flamboroughhead. It was resolved on Wednesday at night, that by four o'clocke on Thursday, wee should have a new fight with them for a farewell; but by two in the morning, there was a flagge of counsaile hung out in our Vice-Admirall, when it was found that in the whole fleet there was not munition sufficient to make halfe a fight; and therefore it was concluded that we should let them passe, and our fleet to return to the Downes. That night wee parted with them, wee had a mighty storme. Our fleet cast anchor, and endured it; but the Spanish fleet,

wanting their anchors, were many of them cast ashore on the west of Ireland, where they had all their throates cutt by the kernes; and some of them on Scotland, where they were no better used; and the rest (with much adoe) gott into Spaine againe. Thus did God blesse us, and gave victory over this invincible navy; the sea calmed, and all our shippes came to the Downes on Friday in safety.

On Saturday my lord of Cumberland and myselfe came on shore, and took post horse and found the queene in her army at Tilbury campe, where I fell sick of a burning fever and was carried in a litter to London.

V. Personal Characteristics of Elizabeth

The following passages bear witness to Elizabeth's proficiency in the languages and to her intellectual interests generally. The specimens of her handwriting that have come down to us, however, hardly justify her teacher's praise. The first extract is from Roger Ascham, who had once been Elizabeth's teacher; the second, from a learned physician of the period.

236. Roger Ascham's testimony to Elizabeth's learning

It is your shame (I speak to you all, you yong Jentlemen of England) that one Mayde (i.e. the Queen) should goe beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tonges. Pointe forth six of the best geven Jentlemen of this Court, and all they togither shew not so much good will, spend not so much tyme, bestow not so many houres, dayly, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledg, as doth the Queene's Majestie herselfe. Yea, I beleeve, that beside her perfit redines in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, she readeth here now at Winsdore more Greeke every daye, then some Prebendarie of this Church doth read Latin in a whole weeke. And that which is most prayse worthy of all, within the walles of her privy chamber, she hath obtained that excellency of learning, to understand, speake and write both witely with head, and fayre with hand, as scarse one or

two rare wittes in both the Universyties have in many yeares reached unto. Amongest all the benefites that God hath blessed mee withall, next the knowledge of Christes true Religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call mee to be one poore Minister in setting forward these excellent giftes of learning in this most excellent Prince. Whose onely example, if the rest of our nobilitie would folowe, then might England bee, for learning and wisdome in nobilitie, a spectacle to all the world beside.

237. Dedication of Dr. William Turner's *Herbal*

As for your knowledge in the Latin tonge, xviij yeares ago or more I had in the duke of Somersettes house (beynge his Physition at that tyme) a good tryal thereof, when it pleased your grace to speake Latin unto me; for I have both in England, lowe and highe Germanye, and other places of my longe traveil and pelgrimage, never spake with any noble or gentle woman that spake so wel and so much congrue, fyne, and pure Latin, as your grace did unto me so long ago. Sence whiche tyme howe muche and wounderfullye ye have proceded in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, and also profited in the Greke, Frenche, and Italian tonges and others also, and in all partes of Philosophie and good learninge, not onlye your owne faythfull subiectes, beynge far from all suspicion of flattery bear witnes; but also strangers, men of great learninge in their bokes set out in the Latin tonge, geve honorable testimonye.

The 17th of November, the anniversary of the day of Elizabeth's accession, became during the latter part of her reign a regular festival, celebrated with constantly increasing enthusiasm. The following verses, first published in 1578, were composed as a form of prayer to be used on that day.

238. A form of prayer to be used on the queen's festival day

Lorde, keepe Elizabeth our Queene,
  Defend her in her right;
Shewe forth thyselfe as thou hast beene,
  Her fortresse and her might.
Preserve her Grace, confound her foes,
  And bringe them downe full lowe:

Lorde turn thy hande against all those
That would her overthrowe.

Mayntaine her scepter as thine owne,
For thou hast plaste her here:
And let this mightie worke be knowne,
To nations farre and nere.
A noble ancient Nurse, O Lorde,
In England let her raigne:
Her Grace among us do afforde,
For ever to remaine.

Indue her, Lorde, with vertues store,
Rule thou her royall Rod;
Into her minde thy spirit powre,
And shewe thyselfe her God.
In trueth upright, Lorde guide her still,
Thy Gospell to defende:
To say and do what thou doest will,
And stay where thou doest ende.

Her counsell, Lorde, vouchsafe to guide,
With wisdome let them shine,
In godlines for to abide,
As it becommeth thine.
To seeke the glorie of thy name,
Their countries wealth procure,
And that they may perfourme the same,
Lorde graunt thy Spirit pure.

The following speech was made by Elizabeth at Tilbury, on the Thames below London, when she had come to visit the army encamped there to meet the Spanish invaders who were coming with the Armada in 1588.

239. A speech by Queen Elizabeth (1588)

My Loving People:

We have been perswaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdoms and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England, too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.

A promise which the queen afterwards forgot

I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people.

Occasionally one gets glimpses of the other side of Elizabeth's character, her ungratefulness and peevishness toward her faithful and devoted ministers, her coarseness and ill temper, as in the following letter.

240. Sir Robert Carey to his father, Lord Hunsdon, Warden of the Marches

May it please your Lordship to understande, that yesterday yn the afternoone, I stoode by her Majestie, as she was att cards yn the presens chamber. She cawlde me too her, and asked me, when you ment too go too Barwyke? I towlde hyr, that you determynde to begyn your journey presently after Whytsontyd. She grew yntoo a grate rage, begynnynge with "Gods Wonds," that she wolde sett you by the feete, and sende another yn your place, if you dalyed with her thus; for

she wolde nott be thus dalyed with all. I towlde her, that with as much possyble speed as myght be, you wolde departe; and that your lyyng att London thys fortnyght was too no other ende but to make provysion for your jorney. She anseryd me, that you have byn goynge from Crystmas too Ester, and from Ester to Whytsonday; but if you differde the tyme any longer, she wolde appoynt some uther yn your place; and thys message she commandyd me to sende you.

Your L'ps humble and obedyent Sunne,

R. Carey.

The same characteristics are shown in the following anecdotes told by the Spanish ambassador.

241. Anecdotes of the queen

When the queen heard this she turned to Secretary Walsingham who was present, and said a few words to him . . . after which she threw a slipper at Walsingham and hit him in the face.

Walsingham, in conversation lately with the queen, had much to say of the good parts and understanding of Alençon, whose only fault, he said, was his ugly face. She replied, "Well, you knave, why have you so often spoken ill of him? You veer around like a weathercock."

VI. The Close of Elizabeth's Reign

It is of course impossible, as it is unnecessary, to include any extended examples of the abundant literature of this period. The following letter, however, from Sir Henry Sidney, an official in the service of the queen, to his son, then a boy at college, who afterwards became the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, may be given as an example not only of the literary style but of the highest personal ideals of the time.

242. Sir Henry Sidney to his son Philip

Son Philip:

I have received two letters from you, the one written in Latin, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often, for it will stand

you in stead in that profession of life which you are born to live in. And now, since that this is my first letter that did ever I write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as documents to you in this tender age. Let your first action be the lifting up of your hands and mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayers, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer, with continual meditations and thinking of him to whom you pray; and use this at an ordinary hour, whereby the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that thing which you are accustomed in that time.

Each student had a special tutor

Apply to your study such hours as your discreet master doth assign you earnestly, and the time, I know, he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health; and mark the sense and matter of that you read, as well as the words; so shall you both enrich your tongue with words, and your wit with matter; and judgment will grow as years grow on you.

Be humble and obedient to your master; for, unless you frame yourself to obey, yea, and to feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you hereafter.

Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men with universality of reverence, according to the dignity of the person: there is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

Use moderate diet, so as after your meat you may find your wit fresher and not duller; and your body more lively and not more heavy.

Seldom drink wines, and yet sometimes do; lest, being forced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself inflamed. Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your bones or joints; it will much increase your force and enlarge your breath.

Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body, as in your garments; it shall make you grateful in each company and otherwise loathsome.

Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to

do anything, when you be most merry. But let your mirth be ever void of scurillity and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word is harder to be cured than that which is given by a sword.

Be you rather a hearer and a bearer away of other men's talk, than a beginner, or procurer of speech, otherwise you will be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak.

Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden shamefacedness, than by your sober friends for pert boldness.

Think upon every word you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath, as it were, rampired up the tongue with teeth, lips, yea, and hair without the lips, and all betoken reins and bridles to the restraining use of that member.

Above all things, tell no untruth, no not in trifles. The custom of it is naught. And let it not satisfy you, that the hearers, for a time, take it for a truth; for afterwards it will be known as it is to your shame; and there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman than to be accounted a liar.

Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied; so shall you make such a habit of well doing as you shall not know how to do evil, though you would.

Mary, daughter of the duke of Northumberland

Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side, and think, that only by a virtuous life and good actions, you may be an ornament to your illustrious family; and otherwise, through vice and sloth, you may be esteemed *labes generis*, one of the greatest curses that can happen to a man. Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this time; but yet, if I find that this light meat of digestion do nourish anything the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food. Farewell; your mother and I send you our blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his fear, guide you with his grace, and make you a good servant to your prince and country.

Your loving Father,

HENRY SIDNEY.

There is little doubt that Elizabeth lost some of her popularity before her death. One of the causes of this was the cupidity of some of her courtiers and others who had obtained from the queen what were then called "monopolies." These were, in some cases, trade privileges, like our modern patents and copyrights; in others, the exclusive right to buy and sell, import and export, and otherwise deal in certain common articles. The matter was brought up in parliament in 1601, and the opposition was so outspoken that the queen thought best to yield to it, which she always knew how to do gracefully. She therefore sent word that the monopolies would be investigated and the objectionable ones withdrawn. When the House of Commons came to thank her for this concession and to take leave of her on their dissolution, November 30, 1601, she delivered the following speech.

243. Speech of Queen Elizabeth to parliament (November 30, 1601)

Mr. Speaker:

We perceive your coming is to present thanks unto us. Know I accept them with no less joy than your loves can desire to offer such a present, and do more esteem it than any treasure, or riches; for these we know how to prize, but loyalty, love, and thanks, I account them invaluable; and though God hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people, and to be the means under God to conserve you in safety, and preserve you from danger, yea to be the instrument to deliver you from dishonour, from shame, and from infamy, to keep you from out of servitude, and from slavery under our enemies, and cruel tyranny, and vile oppression intended against us; for the better withstanding whereof, we take very acceptably your intended helps, and chiefly in that it manifesteth your loves and largeness of hearts to your sovereign.

Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy scraping grasper, nor a strict fasting-holding prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set upon any worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again; yea mine own properties I account yours to be expended for your good, and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it for your welfare.

The members of the House of Commons asked to rise from their knees

Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I fear I shall yet trouble you with longer speech.

Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you to thank them of the Lower House from me; for had I not received knowledge from you, I might a' fallen into the lapse of an error, only for want of true information.

Since I was queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant but upon pretext and semblance made me, that it was for the good and avail of my subjects generally, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants, who have deserved well; but that my grants shall be made grievances to my people, and oppressions, to be privileged under color of our patents, our princely dignity shall not suffer it.

When I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I had reformed it, and those varlets, lewd persons, abusers of my bounty, shall know I will not suffer it. . . .

And in my governing this land, I have ever set the last judgment day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged and answer before a higher judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal; in that thought was never cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good.

And if my princely bounty have been abused; and my grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning; or if any in authority under me have neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps to my charge.

To be a king, and wear a crown, is a thing more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasant to them that bear it: for myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or the royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God

hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from dishonour, damage, tyranny, and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these to myself or to my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hands, but to God only and wholly all is given and ascribed.

The queen was now sixty-eight years old

The cares and troubles of a crown I cannot more fitly resemble than to the drugs of a learned phisitian, perfumed with some aromatical savour, or to bitter pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take; and for my own part, were it not for conscience' sake, to discharge the duty that God hath lay'd upon me, and to maintain his glory, and keep you in safety, in mine own disposition I should be willing to resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the glory with the labours, for it is not my desire to live or to reign longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never have had nor shall have any that will love you better.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I commend me to your loyal loves, and yours to my best care and your further councils; and I pray you, Mr. Controubrand, Mr. Secretary, and you of my council, that before these gentlemen depart into their counties, you bring them all to kiss my hand.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PERSONAL MONARCHY OF THE EARLY STUARTS, 1603–1640

I. Royal, Parliamentary, and Puritan Theories

The following passage is an extract from the memoirs of the contemporary French minister, Sully, describing the new English king, James I, whom he had been sent to greet in the name of the French king, Henry IV.

244. Extracts from memoirs of the Duc de Sully (June 22, 1603)

The king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the 22d, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted anything. To this favor was also added a present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, he had killed that day, and was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chase; the reason was, there being very few in Scotland, and this the first he had hunted in England.

From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he had attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied . . . that when the king my master made a party for the chase, he was so far from thinking, like the king of England, that my presence would contribute to its success, that he generally sent me to attend to other affairs in the cabinet, where, he said, I was more happy. Though there was nothing serious in all this, I was nevertheless glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to insinuate myself into his Britannic Majesty's favor, and

with this view I turned my compliment in such a manner as might please the self-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any comparison with the king of France. . . .

James' vain boasting of his influence over the government of Elizabeth

The conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment; but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even boasted of the dexterity which he had employed to manage her by means of her own councilors, all of whom, he said, he had gained over during her life, so that they did nothing but what was agreeable to him; that it was, therefore, not at this time only he governed England, but several years before the death of the late queen, whose memory did not seem agreeable to him. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand toward Beaumont and myself, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that, too, without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be to the double union which he was planning between the royal houses.

He had never till now said a single word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surprised at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the Infanta for his son as it had to France for the Dauphin. At last he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passes part of the afternoon, and sometimes even the whole of it.

King James held positive opinions about most things, including the use of tobacco, which was now becoming a

widespread habit in England. He wrote, therefore, what he called *A Counterblast against Tobacco,* from which the following passages are selected.

245. King James on the new fashion of tobacco using

Many in this kingdom have had such a continual use of taking this unsavory smoke, as now they are not able to forbear the same, no more than a long drunkard can be long sober, without falling into an uncurable weakness. . . . It is, as you use, or rather abuse it, a branch of the sin of drunkenness, which is the root of all sins: for as the only delight that drunkards take in wine is in the strength of the taste, and the force of the fume thereof that mounts up to the brain; for no drunkards love any weak or sweet drink; so are not those (I mean the strong heat and the fume) the only qualities that make tobacco so delectable to all the lovers of it?

And for the vanities committed in this filthy custom, is it not both great vanity and uncleanliness, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanliness, of modesty, men should not be ashamed to sit tossing of tobacco pipes, and puffing of the smoke of tobacco one to another, making the filthy smoke and stink thereof to exhale athwart the dishes and infect the air, when very often men that abhor it are at their repast?

Surely smoke becomes a kitchen far better than a dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchen also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, soiling and infecting them with an unctuous and oily kind of soot, as hath been found in some great tobacco takers that after their death were opened. . . . The public use whereof at all times and in all places hath now so far prevailed, as that divers men, very sound both in judgment and complexion, have been at last forced to take it also without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seem singular . . . and partly to be as one that was content to eat garlic (which he did not love) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it in the breath of his fellows.

And is it not a great vanity that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must be in hand with tobacco? Now it is become in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship, and he that will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco

among his fellows (though for his own election he would rather feel the savor of a sink) is accounted peevish and no good company, even as they do with tippling in the cold Eastern countries. Yea the mistress cannot in a more mannerly kind entertain her servant than by giving him out of her fair hand a pipe of tobacco. . . . It is a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black, stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.

The views of James and of the authorities of the established church on the question of Sunday observance are brought out clearly in the Declaration of Sports, issued by the king, after noticing in Lancashire, when he was traveling through the country in 1617, that the puritanical magistrates and some of the clergymen were punishing people for carrying on their ancient amusements on Sunday.

246. The Declaration of Sports (1617)

Our express pleasure therefore is, that the laws of our kingdom and canons of the church be as well observed in that county, as in all places of this our kingdom; and on the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people which shall not tend to the breach of our aforesaid laws and canons of our church. Which to express more particularly, our pleasure is, that the bishop and all other inferior churchmen and churchwardens shall for their parts be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conform themselves but obstinately stand out, to our judges and justices, whom we likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.

Conversion or punishment of Catholics

Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves or to leave the country, according to the laws of our kingdom and canons of our church, and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemners of our authority and

Humiliation or exile of Puritans

The people not to be prevented from enjoying Sunday afternoon sports

adversaries of our church. And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May games, Whitsun ales, and morris dances; and the setting of Maypoles and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, bowling.

Roman Catholics and all absentees from church to be deprived of this privilege

And likewise we bar from this benefit and liberty all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God; prohibiting in like sort the said recreation to any that, though conformed in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God before their going to the said recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office shall present and sharply punish all such as, in abuse of this our liberty, will use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day. We likewise straitly command that every person shall resort to his own parish church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service; prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried or used in the said times of recreation. And our pleasure is, that this our declaration shall be published by order from the bishop of the diocese, through all the parish churches, and that both our judges of our circuit and our justices of our peace be informed thereof.

Given at our manor of Greenwich, the four and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth year of our reign in England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.

In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign had appeared a series of anonymous pamphlets, printed on a secret press, and signed "Martin Marprelate." They were bitter and coarse attacks on the bishops, and, although published fifteen years before the beginning of James' reign, give a good idea of the feelings of the more extreme Puritans of his time.

247. A Puritan attack on the bishops

Right poysond, persecuting, and terrible priests: the theame of mine Epistle unto your venerable masterdomes is of two parts. . . . Take heed brethren of your reverend and learned brother Martin Marprelate. For he meaneth in these reasons following, I can tell you, to prove that you ought not to be maintained by the authorite of the Magistrate in any Christian commonwealth: Martin is a shrewd fellow and reasoneth thus. Those that are pettie popes and pettie Antichrists ought not to be maintained in anie Christian commonwealth. But everie Lord Bishop in England, as for ilsample John of Canterbury, John of London, John Excetor, John Rochester, Thomas of Winchester, the Bishops of Lincolne, of Worcester, of Peterborow, and to be briefe all the Bishops in England, Wales, and Ireland are pettie popes and pettie Antichristes. . . .

Against the bishop of London

Well nowe to mine eloquence, for I can doe it I tell you. Who made the porter of his gate a dumb minister? Dumbe John of London. Who abuseth her Maiestie's subjects in urging them to subscribe contrary to lawe? John of London (and Dr. Stanop too). Whoe bound an Essex minister in 200£. to weare the surplice on Easter day last? John London. Who hath cut downe the Elmes at Fulham? John London. Who is a carnall defender of the breache of the Sabbath in all the places of his abode? John London. Who forbiddeth men to humble themselves in fasting and prayer before the Lorde, and then can say unto the preachers, now you were best to tell the people that we forbid fastes? John London. Who goeth to bowles upon the Sabbath? Dumbe, dunsticall John of good London hath done all this. . . .

Against the bishop of Winchester

But brother Winchester you of al other men are most wretched, for you openly in the audience of many hundreds at Saint Marie Overies church the last Lent, 1587, pronounced that men might finde fault if they were disposed to quarrell as well with the Scripture as with the booke of Common praier. Who coulde heare this comparison without trembling? But lest you should thinke that he hath not as good a gift in speaking against his conscience as my lord of Canterbury is endoued with: you are to understand that both in that sermon of his and in another which he preached at the court the same Lent he protested before God and the congregation where he stood that there was not in the world at this day, nay there had not bin since the apostles time, such a flourishing estate of a Church as we have now in England. Is it any marvaile that we have so many swine, dumbe dogs, nonresidents, with their journeimen, the hedge priests; so many lewd livers, as theeves, murtherers, adulterers, drunkards, cormorants, raschals; so many ignorant atheistical dolts, so many covetous popish Bishops in our ministery: and so many and so monstrous corruptions in our Church and yet likely to have no redresse, seing our impudent shamelesse and wainscote-faced bishops, like beasts, contrary to the knowledge of all men, and against their own consciences, dare in the eares of her Majestie affirme all to be well where there is nothing but sores and blisters, yea where the grief is even deadly at the heart. . . .

But you see my worshipfull priests of this crue to whom I write what a perilous fellow M. Mareprelate is: he understands of all your knaveries and it may be he keeps a register of them: unlesse you amend they shall al come into the light one day. And you brethren bishops take this warning from me. If you doe not leave your persecuting of godly Christians and good subjects that seeke to live rightly in the feare of God and the obedience of her Majestie all your dealing shal be made knowen unto the world. And ise be sure to make you an example to all posterities. You see I have taken some paynes with you alreadie and I will owe you a better turn and pay it you with advantage at the least thirteene to the dozen, unles you observe these conditions of peace which I drawe

betweene me and you. For I assure you I make not your doings known for anie mallice that I beare unto you but the hurt that you doe unto God's Churche. Leave you your wickednesse and ile leave the revealing of your knaveries.

A more dignified and more definite statement of a number of the reforms desired by the Puritans is contained in the so-called Millenary Petition, presented to James soon after his accession.

248. Extracts from the Millenary Petition

Although divers of us that sue for reformation have formerly in respect to the times subscribed to the book [of Common Prayer], some upon protestation, some upon exposition given them, some with condition, rather than the church should have been deprived of their labour and ministry; yet now we, to the number of more than a thousand of your Majesty's subjects and ministers, all groaning as under a common burthen of human rites and ceremonies, do with one joint consent humble ourselves at your Majesty's feet, to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our humble suit then unto your Majesty is that of these offenses following some may be removed, some amended, some qualified.

In the church service, that the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, and confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained. The cap and the surplice not urged. That examination may go before the communion. That it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms of "priests," and "absolution," and some others used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book, may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's day be not profaned; the rest upon holydays not so strictly urged. That there be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish opinion to be any more taught or defended: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures only be read in the church. . . .

So much of the history of this period turns upon the conflicting opinions concerning the powers of king and parliament held by the king and those who agreed with him, on the one hand, and the leaders in parliament and those that agreed with them, on the other, that it may be well to group some contemporary statements of these opinions here.

249. A speech of James I to parliament (1610)

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. There be three principal similitudes that illustrate the state of monarchy: one taken out of the word of God, and the two others out of the grounds of policy and philosophy. In the scriptures kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers of families, for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man. . . .

I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiom of divinity, That as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, . . . so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws. . . . I would wish you to be careful . . . that you do not meddle with the main points of government; that is my craft. . . . It is an undutiful part in subjects to press their king wherein they know beforehand he will refuse them.

250. A speech of James I to the judges (1616)

. . Now having spoken of your office in general, I am next to come to the limits wherein you are to bound yourselves, which likewise are three. First, encroach not upon the prerogative of the crown: if there falls out a question that concerns my prerogative or mystery of state, deal not with it,

till you consult with the king or his council, or both, for they are transcendent matters. . . . That which concerns the mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that belongs unto them that sit in the throne of God.

Secondly, that you keep yourselves within your own benches, not to invade other jurisdictions, which is unfit and an unlawful thing. . . . Keep you therefore all in your own bounds, and, for my part, I desire you to give me no more right, in my private prerogative, than you give to any subject, and therein I will be acquiescent: as for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is lawful to be disputed.

It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with his will revealed in his word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that; but rest in that which is the king's revealed will in his law.

These opinions were not peculiar to the king, as appears in the following extract from a contemporary sermon.

251. A sermon by Rev. Roger Mainwaring (1627)

Among all the powers that be ordained of God the regal is most high, strong, and large. . . . No power in the world or in the hierarchy of the church can lay restraint upon these supremes. . . . Now to this high, large, and most restraining power of kings, not only nature, but even God himself gives from heaven most full and ample testimony, and that this power is not merely human but superhuman and indeed no less than a power divine. . . . That sublime power, therefore, which resides in earthly potentates is not a derivation or collection of human power scattered among many and gathered into one head, but a participation of God's own omnipotency, which he never did communicate to any multitudes of men in the world, but only and immediately to his own vicegerents.

The second point was *mandatum regis;* the commandment of the king. . . . All the significations of a royal pleasure are, and ought to be, to all loyal subjects, in the nature and force of a command. . . . Nay, though any king in the world command flatly against the law of God, yet were his power no otherwise at all to be resisted, but (for the not doing of his will in that which is clearly unlawful) to endure with patience whatsoever penalty his pleasure should inflict upon them who in this case would desire rather to obey God than man.

The belief of the House of Commons, on the other hand, that the powers of the king were strictly limited, and that parliament had its clearly established part in the government of the country, comes out through all the forms of respect in the following protest.

252. Apology of the House of Commons to the king (1604)

Most Gracious Sovereign:

. . . We know and, with great thankfulness to God, acknowledge that he hath given us a king of such understanding and wisdom as is rare to find in any prince in the world. Howbeit, seeing no human wisdom, how great soever, can pierce into the particularities of the rights and customs of a people or of the sayings and doings of particular persons, but by tract of experience and faithful report of such as know them, . . . what grief, what anguish of mind hath it been unto us at some time in presence to hear, and so in other things to find and feel by effect, your gracious Majesty (to the extreme prejudice of all your subjects of England, and in particular of this House of the Commons thereof) so greatly wronged by misinformation, as well touching the estate of one as the privileges of the other, and their several proceedings during this parliament. . . .

With all humble and due respect to your Majesty, our sovereign lord and head, against these misinformations we most truly avouch, first, that our privileges and liberties are our right and due inheritance, no less than our very lands and goods. Secondly, that they cannot be withheld from us, denied, or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of

the realm. Thirdly, that our making of request in the entrance of parliament to enjoy our privilege is an act only of manners, and doth weaken our right no more than our suing to the king for our lands by petition, which form, though new and more decent than the old by *praecipe*, yet the subject's right is no less than of old. Fourthly, we avouch also that our House is a court of record, and so ever esteemed. Fifthly, that there is not the highest standing court in this land that ought to enter into competency either for dignity or authority with this high court of parliament, which with your Majesty's royal assent gives laws to other courts, but from other courts receives neither laws or orders.

Sixthly, and lastly, we avouch that the House of Commons is the sole proper judge of return of all such writs, and of the election of all such members as belong unto it, without which the freedom of election were not entire; and that the chancery, though a standing court under your Majesty, be to send out those writs and receive the returns and to preserve them, yet the same is done only for the use of the parliament; over which neither the chancery nor any other court ever had or ought to have any manner of jurisdiction.

Freedom of election, freedom from arrest, and freedom of speech

The rights and liberties of the Commons of England consisteth chiefly in these three things: first, that the shires, cities, and boroughs of England, by representation to be present, have free choice of such persons as they shall put in trust to represent them; secondly, that the persons chosen, during the time of the parliament, as also of their access and recess, be free from restraint, arrest, and imprisonment; thirdly, that in parliament they may speak freely their consciences without check and controlment, doing the same with due reverence to the sovereign court of parliament, that is, to your Majesty and both the Houses, who all in this case make but one politic body, whereof your Highness is the head. . . .

There remaineth, dread Sovereign, yet one part of our duty at this present, which faithfulness of heart, not presumption, doth press: we stand not in place to speak or do things pleasing. Our care is, and must be, to confirm the love and tie the hearts of your subjects, the Commons, most firmly to your

A protest against private influence over the king unfavorable to parliament

Majesty. Herein lieth the means of our well deserving of both: there was never prince entered with greater love, with greater joy and applause of all his people. This love, this joy, let it flourish in their hearts forever. Let no suspicion have access to their fearful thoughts, that their privileges, which they think by your Majesty should be protected, should now by sinister informations or counsel be violated or impaired; or that those which with dutiful respects to your Majesty speak freely for the right and good of their country, shall be oppressed or disgraced. Let your Majesty be pleased to receive public information from your Commons in parliament as to the civil estate and government; for private informations pass often by practice: the voice of the people, in the things of their knowledge, is said to be as the voice of God. And if your Majesty shall vouchsafe, at your best pleasure and leisure, to enter into your gracious consideration of our petition for the ease of these burthens, under which your people have of long time mourned, hoping for relief by your Majesty, then may you be assured to be possessed of their hearts, and, if of their hearts, of all they can do or have. And so we, your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, whose ancestors have with great loyalty, readiness, and joyfulness served your famous progenitors, kings and queens of this realm, shall with like loyalty and joy, both we and our posterity, serve your Majesty and your most royal issue forever, with our lives, lands and goods, and all other our abilities; and by all means endeavor to procure your Majesty's honor, with all plenty, tranquillity, content, joy, and felicity.

II. The Religious Question

The following is an extract from a contemporaneous pamphlet describing the Hampton Court Conference, the turning point in King James' attitude to the Puritans.

Then hee (Doctor Reynolds) desireth, that according to certaine Provincial Constitutions, they of the Clergy might have meetinges once every three weeks; first in Rurall Deaneries, and therein to have Prophecying, according as

253. A contemporary account of the Hampton Court Conference (1604)

the Reverend Father, Archibishop Grindall and other Bishops desired of her late Majestie; that such thinges as could not be resolved upon there might bee referred to the Archdeacon's Visitation; and so from thence to the Episcopall Synode, where the Bishop with his Presbyters should determine all such pointes as before could not be decided.

At which speech, his Majestie was somewhat stirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or shew thereof; thinking that they aymed at a Scottish Presbytery, "which," saith he, "as wel agreeth with a Monarchy, as God and the Devill. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meete, and at their pleasures censure me and my Councell and all our proceedinges. Then Will shall stand up and say it must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, nay, marry, but wee will have it thus. And therefore, here I must once reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'avisera*.[1] Stay, I pray you, for one seven yeares, before you demaund that of mee, and if then you finde me purseye and fat and my windepipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government bee once up, I am sure I shall bee kept in breath; then shall we all of us have worke enough, both our hands ful. But Doctor Reynolds, til you finde that I grow lazy, let that alone.

"No Bishop, no King, as before I said. Neither doe I thus speak, at random, without grounde, for I have observed since my coming into England, that some preachers before me can be content to pray for James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, but as for Supreme Governor in all Causes and over all persons (as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill), they passe that over with silence; and what cut they have beene of, I after learned." After this, asking them if they had any more to object, and Dr. Reynolds aunswering, No, his Majestie appointed the next Wednesday for both parties to meete before him, and rising from his Chaire, as he was going to his inner Chamber, "If this bee al," quoth he, "that they have to say, I shall make them conforme themselves, or I wil harrie them out of the land, or else doe worse."

[1] "The king will consider it further." This is the form of words used by the king when he vetoes a bill passed by parliament.

And this was the Summe of the Second daye's Conference, which raysed such an admiration in the Lordes, in respect of the King, his singular readiness, and exact knowledge; that one of them saide, hee was fully perswaded, his Majestie spake by the instinct of the spirite of God.

The Gunpowder Plot is a subject of much difficulty. Many modern scholars believe that it was only a pretended plot, alleged by the king's ministers in order to enable them to take more severe action against the Catholics. The following extract from a narrative of contemporary occurrences by a country gentleman of the time shows at least what was believed about it then, and what has generally been taught since.[1]

254. Extracts from the diary of Walter Yonge

November 5, 1605. This day there was a horrible treason intended to be put in practice against the king, the queen, the prince, all the nobility, the bishops, and chiefest clergy of this land, which were to be assembled at this day in parliament. The design was to blow up the parliament house with gunpowder. The chief actors were Johnson, alias Fawkes, alias Foster, alias Browne, who should have set the powder on fire; Thomas Percy, a pensioner; Catesbie, Robert Winter, Graunt, Ruckwood, Thomas Winter, Cays, Bates, Sir Everard Digby. There were also of the nobility, as the story goes, privy thereunto, the earl of Northumberland, Lord Stourton, Lord Mordaunt, Lord Lumley, Lord Vaux. It was discovered by a letter written to the Lord Mounteagle (and as though by Sir Francis Tresham, one of the conspirators), but without any name to it. Upon the discovery Percy, Catesbie, Robert and Thomas Winter fled from London into Warwickshire; where they raised the county, took certain great horses, to the number of fourteen, out of the town of Warwick; from thence went into Staffordshire, being in all sixty or eighty horse; where, being pursued by the sheriff of Warwickshire, and seeing that the

[1] On this controversy see Gerard, *What Was the Gunpowder Plot?* and Gardiner, *What Gunpowder Plot Was.*

country stuck not to them as they thought, they took one Littleton's house, which being by the sheriff aforesaid beset, after some small resistance, were all taken, Percy and Catesbie being then slain, the rest brought up to London and committed to prison. Afterwards, upon examination of these captives, were apprehended the earl of Northumberland, Lord Vaux, Lord Stourton, Lord Lumley, and the Lord Mordaunt, and committed to the Tower.

On Thursday, being the 30th of January, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates were, for the facts aforesaid, hanged, drawn, and quartered, at London, in Paul's Churchyard.

The next day, being Friday, Thomas Winter, the younger brother, Ruckwood, Caies, and Faulkes were likewise executed in the old palace in Westminster.

III. The Spanish Marriage Project

The following letters concerning the plan for a marriage between Prince Charles of England and the princess of Spain will illustrate not only that subject but the somewhat undignified fondness of James for his son and Buckingham, — "Steenie," as he called him. The first letter was written while the Spanish marriage was a new plan.

255. King James to Buckingham

My onlie sweete and deare chylde, I praye thee haiste thee hoame to thy deare daddie by sunne setting at the farthest, and forgette not to make Dikbie give the Spanishe ambassador assurance that I will leave nothing undone that I may parforme with justice and honour in holding a mylde hande upon the Papists; onlie a way muste be founde to make thaire complaints come to my eares. But as for miladie Lake, I must both confesse to have pronounced an unjuste sentence and breake my promise to miladie Exceter in a matter of justice, if I grawnte her any ease at this tyme; besydes that this cause hath no aspect to Religion, excepte the Romishe Religion be composid of the seven deadlie sinnes: for I dare swaere she

is guilty of them all. If Spaine trouble me with suites of this nature both against my justice and honoure, thaire friendshippe will be more burthensome then usefull unto me, and so the Lorde send me a comfortable and happie meeting with thee this night.

JAMES, R.

This letter and the next were written while Charles and Buckingham were in Spain.

256. King James to Prince Charles and Buckingham

My sweete boyes, I hoape before this tyme ye are fullie satisfyed with my diligent caire in wrytting unto you upon all occasions; but I have bettir cause to quarrel you, that ye shoulde ever have been in doubte of my often writting unto you. . . .

But the newis of your glorious reception thaire makes me affrayed that ye will both miskenne your old Daddie hereafter; but in earniste my babie ye must be spairing as ye can in youre spending thaire, for your officers are allreaddie putte to the height of thaire speede with provyding the fyve thowsands powndis by exchange, and now youre tilting stuffe quhiche thaye knowe not how to provyde will come to three more: and God knowis how my coffers are allreadie drained. . . .

But I praye you, my babie, take heade of being hurte if you runne at tilte. As for Steenie, I hoape thow will come bakke before that tyme, for I hoape my babie will be readdie to come awaye before the horses can be thaire wel restid, and all things readdie for running at tilte, quhiche muste be my babies pairting blow if he can have laaser to parforme it thaire. I praye you in the meanetyme keepe yourselfis in use of dawncing privatlie, thogh ye showlde quhissell and sing one to another like Jakke and Tom, for faulte of bettir musike. As for the maine bussienesse, I hoape that Dispensation will come speedielie and well, if other wayes ye muste putte that King bravelie to it. . . .

And thus God keepe you my sweete Boyes with my fatherlie blessing; and sende you a happie successfull journey, and a joyefull and happie returne in the armes of yore deare Dade.

From Theobaldis, the first of Apryle.

JAMES, R.

Dere Dad, Gossope, and Steward :

257. The duke of Buckingham to the king

Though your babie himselfe hath sent word what neede he hath of more jewells, yet will I by this berer, who can make more speede then Carlile, againe acquaint your Majesty therewith, and give my poure and sausie opinion what will be fittest more to send. Hetherto you have bine so spareing that whereas you thought to have sent him sufficiently for his one waring, to present his Mistris who I ame sure shall shortlie now louse that title, and to lend me, that I to the contrarie have bine forsed to lend him. You neede not aske who made me able to do it. Sir, he hath neyther chaine nor hattband ; and I beseech you consider first how rich they are in jewells here, then in what a poure equipage he came in, how he hath no other meanes to appere liek a Kings sonne, how they are usefullest at such a time as this when they may doe your selfe, your sonne, and the nation honor, and lastlie how it will neyther caust nor hasard you anie things. These reasons, I hope since you have ventured allredie your cheefest jewel, your Sonne, will serve to perswade you to lett louse thesse more after him ; first your best hatband ; the Portingall diamond ; the rest of the pendent diamonds, to make up a Necles to give his Mistris ; and the best rope of perle ; with a rich chaine or tow for himself to waire, or els your Doge must want a coller ; which is the redie way to put him into it. There are manie other jewells which are of so mean qualitie as they deserve not that name but will save much in your purs and serve verie well for Presents. . . .

Your Majesty's most humble slave and doge,

STEENIE.

The following letter describes the rejoicing when the prince came home without his Spanish bride, and illustrates the unpopularity of the plan.

Sir :

258. Mr. Meade to Sir M. Stuteville (from Oxford)

I shall not need tell you the Prince is come and at Royston. The news came to our Vicechancellor Munday forenoone ; our Belles rung all that day, and the Towne made bonefires at night. Tuesday, the belles continued ringing. Every College had a speech and one dish more for supper, and bonefires and

squibbes in their Courts; the Townsmen still continuing to warme their streets in every corner also with bonefires, least they should not be merry when we were. Wednesday the University assembled; in the forenoone to a gratulatorie Sermon at St. Maries; in the afternoone to a publick Oration. The close, at night, was with bonefires, drummes, gunnes, fireworks, till past midnight all the Towne about.

I can tell you no more yet, for we have not received this dayes Letters from London, and the Court will tell us nothing. The Prince hath gott a beard and is chearfull. The Marquess (some conceive) not so. We heare nothing of the Match at all: but we are sure yet the Infanta is not come. How the King and the new-come-home guests greeted at their meeting it is not yet publick, and it seemes it was performed in private. To morrow all our Doctors and many besides of our University go to Court to present our Book of Verses.

IV. Francis Bacon and Walter Raleigh

The thoughtfulness, insight, wit, and eloquence of Bacon can be seen in the following, — one of the most familiar of his *Essays*.

259. Bacon's Essay *On Studies*

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse; and for ability is in the judgment and disposition of business: for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshaling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humor of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience; for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience.

Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use, but that

is a wisdom without them and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not.

Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: "*Abeunt studia in mores*"; nay, there is no stand or impediment in the wit but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics, for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not able to distinguish or find difference, let him study the schoolmen, for they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not apt to beat over matters and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

During the long imprisonment of Raleigh in the Tower of London he found relief, among other occupations, in writing a *History of the World*. The following extract from this work will give some idea of his philosophical observations and eloquent style.

260. Extract from Raleigh's *History of the World*

Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germanes, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearfull in the East, but that of the Turk; nor in the West any Prince that hath spred his wings farre over his nest, but the Spaniard; who since the time that Ferdinand expel'd the Moores out of Grenado, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of al Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many kingdoms which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerfull.

But as the Turke is now counterpoysed by the Persian, so instead of so many millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensive warre, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeeres, or three at the most, they may not onely be perswaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streames may bee brought backe into their naturall channels and old bankes. These two nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to joyne all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spaine.

Reflections on human ambition

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath beene already said; that the Kings and Princes of the world have alwaies laid before them the actions but not the ends of those great ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, upon his first approach. It is hee that puts into man all wisedome of the world, without speaking a word, which God with all the words of his law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeved; God, which hath him and loves him, is alwaies deferred. I have considered (saith Solomon) all the workes that are under the

Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of spirit: but who beleeves it, till Death tells it us?

It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoyne his sonne Philip to restore Navarre; and King Francis the First of France to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the Protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which til then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravell that fills his mouth. He holds a glasse before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformitie and rottenesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farr stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet.*

The two letters that follow show another side of Raleigh's character, his active interest in practical matters, like shipbuilding, and his experiences in exploration.

261. Raleigh to Prince Henry (from the Tower)

Most Excellent Prince:

If the ship your highness intends to build be bigger than the *Victorie*, then her beams which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her timbers and other stuff will not serve; whereas if she be a size less, the timber of the old ship will serve well to the building of a new. If she be bigger she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, — our channels decaying every year; less nimble; less manyable; and seldom to be used. "*Grande navio, grande fatica,*" saith the Spaniard.

A ship of six hundred tons will carrie as good ordinance as a ship of twelve hundred tons; and where the greater hath double her ordinance, the less will turn her broadside twice before the great ship can wind once, and so no advantage in that overplus of guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go; leave or take; and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanyable, and ever full of encumber. In a well conditioned ship these things are chiefly required: —

The best way to build and arm a war ship

(1) That she be strong built; — (2) Swift in sail; — (3) Stout-sided; — (4) That her ports be so laid, as she may carry out her guns all weathers; — (5) That she hull and trie well; — (6) That she stay well, when boarding or turning on a wind is required. . . .

Two decks and a half is enough, and no building at all above that but a low master's cabbin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Besides those high cabbin works aloft are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all things, have care that the great guns be four foot clear above water, when all lading is in; or else these best pieces are idle at sea: for if the ports lie lower and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly ship and many gallant gentlemen lost in the days of Henry the Eighth, before the Isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of *Mary Rose*.

262. Raleigh to his wife, Lady Raleigh (from Guiana)

Sweet Heart:

I can yet write unto you with but a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture [fever] for fifteen days, that ever man did, and lived: but God that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which fourtie-two have died, and there are yet many sick; but

having recovered the land of Guiana, this 12 of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men; and the rest of our fleet are reasonably strong; strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassadour have not taught the Spanish king to fortifie all the enterances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure; and if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his Majestie, to loose, among many other, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it. . . .

To tell you that I might be here king of the Indians were a vanitie; but my name hath still lived among them. Here they feed me with fresh meat and all that the country yields; all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor Carew, my son.

From Galliana in Guiana, the 14th of November, 1617.

There is in existence an interesting series of letters, from which the following extracts are taken, written by Lord George Carew, a courtier, to Sir Thomas Roe, then in India on a mission to the Great Mogul. The letters recount the gossip of court at the time, and mention the escapades of Sir Walter Raleigh's son Walter, his own movements, the rising influence of Buckingham, the increasing activity of Star Chamber, the settlement of Virginia, and other matters of current interest.

263. Extracts from the letters of Carew to Roe

Aprill, Yonge Walter Ralegh in duel hathe wounded Robert Tirwett, my Lord Threasurer's servant. Raleghe fled into the Low Countries, where he is entertayned by the Prince Maurice. Sir Walter Raleghe hathe the libertie of the Tower. Your old friend Sir William Lower is dead.

April, 1616

Mr. George Villers is knighted by his Majestie, and sworne a gentleman of his bed chamber, and as like to prosper in the way of a favorite as any man that hathe preceded him; and to beginne withall he hathe £1,000 a year pention payed him out of the Court of Wardes. The Lord Knowles and the Lord

Fenton were made Knights of the Garter, and they rode to Windsor as well accompanied with lordes and gentlemen as any which you have seene.

Sir Julius Cæsar, the new Master of the Roles, hathe married the widdow Hungatt, sister to the younge Ladie Killygrew, of Hanworthe.

Black Oliver St. John, who was prisoner in the Tower when you left England, about a lettre by him written to the Mayor of Marleboroughe, is sentenced in the Starre Chamber to pay unto his Majestie £5,000, imprisonment during life, and to acknowledge his fault publiquelye in all the courtes in Westminster. . . .

The 20th the Kinges Majestie in person satt in the Starre Chamber, where he made a longe speeche, to the admiration of the hearers, speakinge more like an angell than a man, and he promises to frequent thatt place oftener.

Pocahontas in England

Sir Thomas Dale retourned frome Virginia; he hath brought divers men and women of thatt countrye to be educated here and one Rolfe, who married a daughter of Pohetan (the barbarous prince), called Pocahuntas, hathe brought his wife withe him into England. The worst of thatt plantation is past, for our men are well victualled by their own industrie, but yett no profit is returned. In the Bermudas little good is expected; they make some tobacco, but of other industrie I know nothinge. Since our plantation there the ratts are so multiplied, whereof that island was free, as thatt they destroyed whatsoever is planted. . . .

August 27, 1616

The 27. of this monethe Sir George Villiers att Woodstocke was created Baron of Whaddon, (which was the Lord Grayes house,) and Viscount Villiers: he was formerlye Master of the Horse when the Earl of Worcester was made Lord Privie Seale, which, as I remember, I related unto you in my last lettre; and about the same tyme, by the resignation of the Lord Chancelor, he was made Lord Lieutenant of the countie of Buckingham. . . .

Sir Walter Raleghe hathe built a goodlye shipp of 500 tonnes; in this monethe she was lanched, and is called the *Destinye*. God graunt her to be no lesse fortunatt unto her owner than

is wished by me! In Februarie next he purposes to sett sayle towardes his golden myne, whereof he is extremely confident.

The allarme of his jorney is flowne into Spayne, and, as he tells me, sea forces are prepared to lye for him, but he is nothinge appalled with the report, for he will be a good fleet and well manned; and number and names of his shipps, captens, and forces, you shall receve with these. I amm sure he will be able to land 500 men, which is a competent armye to performe any exploite uppon the continent of America, the Spaniards (and especiallye about Orinoque) beinge so poorelye planted as they are. . . .

The 5. the Vicecount Villiers was at Whitehall created Erle of Buckingham; the Erle of Montgomerie carried his robes, the Erle of Dorset his sword, the Duke of Lennox, as Erle of Richmond, his cappe, the Lord Admiral his coronet, and supported by the Erle of Suffolk, Lord Threasurer, and the Erle of Worcester, Lord Privie Seale. . . . January 5, 1617

This 28. Marche Sir Walter Raleghe's shippe fell downe the river unto the Downes, and himselfe is gone overland to Dover. Untill he come to Plimouthe (where is the rendevous of his little fleet) I cannot exactlye send you a report either of his shippes, captens, or men. He goes for the Orenoquen myne. God graunt he may retourne deepe loden with Guianian gold oure! March 28, 1617

V. The Settlement of America

The following extracts are from the diary of George Percy, kept during the voyage of the ships that carried the first colonists to Jamestown.

264. Extracts from the diary of one of the first colonists of Virginia

On Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606 the fleet fell from London, and the fift of January we anchored in the Downes; but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time, where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger. . . .

The twelfth day of February at night we saw a blazing Starre, and presently a storme. The three and twentieth dav

we fell with the Iland of Mattanenio in the West Indies. The foure and twentieth day we anchored at Dominico, within fourteene degrees of the Line, a very faire Iland, the trees full of sweet and good smels, inhabited by many Savage Indians. . . .

April 26, 1607 The six and twentieth day of April about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia: the same day we entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hindrance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Savages creeping upon all foure, from the Hills, like Beares, with their bowes in their mouthes, charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captaine Gabrille Archer in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired in to the woods with a great noise, and so left us. . . .

Wee rowed over to a point of Land, where wee found a channell and sounded six, eight, ten, twelve fathom: which put us in good Comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort.

The nine and twentieth day we set up a Crosse at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. . . .

May 12, 1607 The twelfth day we went backe to our ships, and discovered a point of Land, called Archers Hope, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selves against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good timber. There are also great store of Vines in bignesse of a mans thigh running up to the tops of the trees in great abundance. We also did see many squirrels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and divers other fowles and birds of divers and sundrie colours of crimson, watchet, yellow, greene, murry, and divers other hewes naturally without any art using.

We found store of Turkie nests and many egges. If it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day we came to our seating place in Paspihas Countrey some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the trees in six fathom water. Establishment of Jamestown (May 13, 1607)

The fourteenth day we landed all our men which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was convenient. . . .

The foure and twentieth day wee set up a Crosse at the head of this River, naming it Kings River, where we proclaimed James, King of England, to have the most right unto it. When wee had finished and set up our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for James Fort. By the way wee came to Pohatans Towne where the Captaine went on shore, suffering none to goe with him; hee presented the Commander of this place with a Hatchet which hee tooke joyfully, and was well pleased. . . . An exploring voyage up the James River

The fifteenth day of June we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle-wise, having three bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe moone, and foure or five pieces of artillerie mounted in them. We had made our selves sufficiently strong for these Savages, we had also sowne most of our Corne on two mountaines; it sprang a mans height from the ground. This countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull trees, as mulberries, cherries, walnuts, ceders, cypresse, sassafras, and vines in great abundance. June 15, 1607

Two of the most prominent of the early "Pilgrim Fathers," Bradford and Winslow, left narratives of their experiences and those of their people in England, Holland, and America. The following extracts from these narratives extend from the beginning of the persecution of the Separatists by the authorities of the established church in England, through their period of exile in Holland to their final arrival and first settlement in New England. The early part of the story is best told in Bradford's *History*.

265. Bradford's *History of Plimouth Plantation*

When as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers in the parish churches, and God's blessing on their labours; as in other places of the land of England so in the north parts, many became inlightened by the word of God; and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them; and began by his grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways: the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude; and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced. And the poor people were so vexed with apparitors and pursuivants, and the commissary courts; as truly their affliction was not small: which notwithstanding they bore, sundry years, with much patience, till they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days, to see further into things, by the light of the word of God; how not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful; but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted unto: which thus, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load and burden men's consciences; and, by their compulsive power, make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and callings, courts and canons, were unlawful and antichristian: being such as have no warrant in the word of God; but the same were used in popery and still retained. . . .

Puritan ministers required to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles

Formation of Separatist congregations

So many of these professors as saw the evil of these things, in these parts; and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth; they shook off the yoke of Christian bondage; and, as the Lord's free people, joined themselves by a covenant of the Lord, into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known, unto them, according to their best endeavours; whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something, this ensuing history will declare. . . .

But, after these things, they could not long continue in any peaceable condition; but were hunted and persecuted on every

side; so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison. Others had their houses beset and watched, night and day; and hardly escaped their hands: and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterwards befell them were no other than they looked for; and therefore were they the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and spirit.

Yet seeing themselves molested; and that there was no hope of their continuance there as a church; by a joint consent, they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men; as also how sundry, from London and other parts of the land of England, had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land of Holland.

So, after they had continued together about a year; and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries; they, seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, resolved to get over in Holland as they could. Which was in the years 1607 and 1608. . . .

Emigration to Holland

Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities strongly walled and guarded with troops of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language; and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from their plain country villages, wherein they were bred and had lived so long, as it seemed they had come into a new world. . . .

Amsterdam (1607–1609)

And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Master Robinson, their pastor, and some others of best discerning, seeing how Master John Smith and his company were already fallen into contention with the church that was there before them; and no means they could use, would do any good to

cure the same: and also that the flames of contention were likely to break out in the ancient church itself, as afterwards lamentably came to pass.

For these, and some other reasons, they removed to Leyden, a fair and beautiful city, and of a sweet situation: but made more famous by the university wherewith it is adorned; in which, of late, has been so many learned men. But wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoys, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and imployments as they best could; valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living; but with hard and continual labor.

Leyden (1609–1620)

Being thus settled, after many difficulties; they continued many years in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Master John Robinson and Master William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him, in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness.

And many came unto them, from divers parts of England; so as they grew to a great congregation. . . .

Reasons for wanting to go to America

Our reverend pastor, Master John Robinson of late memory; and our grave elder, Master William Brewster, now both at rest with the Lord; considering, amongst many other inconveniences; how hard the country was where we lived; how many spent their whole estate in it, and were forced to return for England; how grievous it was to live from under the protection of the state of England; how likely we were to lose our language and our name of English; how little good we did, or were likely to do, to the Dutch, in reforming the sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received; in their grave wisdoms they thought we might more glorify God, do more good to our country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed

by our labours than ever we could do in Holland where we were. . . .

Now these their private thoughts, upon mature deliberation they imparted to the brethren of the congregation which, after much private discussion, came to public agitation, till at length the Lord was solemnly sought in the congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us. Who moving our hearts more and more to the work, we sent some of good abilities over into England, to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might find with the king.

These also found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sandys, a religious gentleman then living, to stir in it. Who procured Sir Robert Naunton, then principal secretary of state to King James of famous memory, to move his Majesty, by a private motion, to give way to such a people, who could not so comfortably live under the government of another state, to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America; where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesty's dominions and the enlargement of the gospel by all due means.

This, his Majesty said, was a good and honest motion: and asking what profits might arise in the part we intended (for our eye was on the most northern parts of Virginia) it was answered "fishing." To which he replied with his ordinary asseveration, "So God have my soul! 't is an honest trade! It was the apostles' own calling!"

But afterwards he told Sir Robert Naunton, who took all occasions to further it, that we should confer with the bishops of Canterbury and London. . . .

Farewell from those who stayed behind in Holland

After this, they who stayed accompanied us to Delfshaven, (about twenty-four miles from Leyden) where we were to embark; and there feasted us again. And after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard the ship lying to the quay and ready to set sail, the wind being fair, we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so lifting up our hands to each

other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits that he carried us through. . . .

The remaining stages of the journey are more clearly and concisely told in the narrative of Winslow, *Hypocrisy Unmasked.*

266. The *Mayflower* and her journey

Thus, hoisting sail, with a prosperous wind they came in short time to Southampton; where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready with all the rest of their company. After a joyful welcome and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments, they fell to parley about their business, how to despatch with the best expedition. . . .

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued divers days together and was some incouragement to them. Yet, according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with seasickness.

And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen, of a lusty able body, which made him the more haughty. He would always be contemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and he did not let to tell them that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end and to make merry with what property they had. And if he were by any gently reproved he would curse and swear most bitterly.

But it pleased God before they came half seas over to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so he was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses lighted on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him. . . .

But to omit other things, that I may be brief, after long beating at sea, they fell in with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made, and certainly known to be it,

they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward, the wind and weather being fair, to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far intangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape; and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's good providence they did. And the next day but one they got into the Cape harbour where they rid in safety.

Arrival in Plymouth Bay

VI. Contests between King and Parliament

The embittered dispute between King James and parliament reached its crisis in 1621, in the following angry letter from the king and the protest to which it gave origin.

267. Letter of the king to the House of Commons (December 3, 1621)

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Thomas Richardson, knight, speaker of the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker, we have heard by divers reports, to our great grief, that our distance from the house of parliament, caused by our indisposition of health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular spirits of some of the House of Commons to argue and debate publicly of matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonour and breach of prerogative royal. These are therefore to command you to make known in our name unto the House that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of state, and namely, not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that king or any other our friends and confederates; and also not to meddle with any men's particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary courts of justice.

And whereas we hear that they have sent a message to Sir Edwin Sandys, to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall in our name resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanor of his in parliament. But, to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our name, that we think ourself very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanours in parliament, as well during their sitting as after; which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there that shall be ministered unto us. And if they have already touched any of these points which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they reform it before it comes to our hands, we will not deign the hearing nor answering of it.

Upon receipt of this letter from the king the House of Commons drew up and placed on record the following document, which has come to be known as the "Great Protestation."

268. Protestation of the House of Commons (December 18, 1621)

The Commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following: that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the house of parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their

judgments shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament business; and that, if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for anything done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewed to the king by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information.

The following letter was written by James Howell, a young man then in London, to his father, who was in Wales. It is curious to note that among all the difficulties of which he speaks as confronting the new king he does not mention the conflict with parliament, which had been so long imminent. This is probably due to the fact that the last parliament had been on better terms with King James than any of its predecessors, and Howell did not see that the old disputes were sure to be revived.

269. James Howell to his father (December 11, 1625)

Sir:

I received yours of the third of February, by the hands of my cousin Thomas Gwin of Trecastle.

It was my fortune to be, on Sunday was fortnight, at Theobalds, where his late Majesty King James departed this life, and went to his last rest upon the day of rest, presently after sermon was done. A little before break of day he sent for the Prince, who rose out of his bed, and came in his nightgown; the King seemed to have some earnest thing to say to him, and so endeavour'd to raise himself upon his pillow; but his spirits were so spent, that he had not strength to make his words audible. He died of a fever, which began with an ague, and some Scotch doctors mutter at a plaister the Countess of Buckingham applied at the outside of his stomach. 'T is thought the last breach of the match with Spain, which for so many years he had so vehemently desir'd, took too deep an impression in him, and that he was forced to rush into a war now in

his declining age, having liv'd in a continual uninterrupted peace his whole life, except some collateral aids he had sent his son-in-law.

As soon as he expir'd the Privy Council sat, and in less than a quarter of an hour King Charles was proclaim'd at Theobalds Court Gate, by Sir Edwin Zouch, Knight Marshal, Mr. Secretary Conway dictating to him, that "whereas it has pleas'd God to take to his mercy our most gracious Sovereign King James of famous memory, We proclaim Prince Charles, his rightful and indubitable heir, to be King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, etc." The Knight Marshal mistook, saying "his rightful and dubitable heir," but he was rectified by the Secretary. This being done I took my horse instantly and came to London first except one, who was come a little before me, insomuch that I found the gates shut. His now Majesty took coach, and the Duke of Buckingham was with him, and came to St. James'. In the evening he was proclaim'd at Whitehall-gate, in Cheapside, and other places in a sad shower of rain; and the weather was suitable to the condition wherein he finds the kingdom, which is cloudy; for he is left engaged in a war with a potent prince, the people by long desuetude unapt for arms, the fleet royal in quarter repair, himself without a queen, his sister without a country, the crown pitifully laden with debts, and the purse of the state lightly ballasted, tho' it never had better opportunity to be rich than it had these last twenty years. But God Almighty, I hope, will make him emerge, and pull this island out of all these plunges, and preserve us from worser times.

The difficulties of the new king

The plague is begun in Whitechapel, and as they say, in the same house, on the same day of the month, with the same number that dy'd twenty-two years since, when Queen Elizabeth departed.

There are great preparations for the funeral, and there is a design to buy all the cloth for mourning white and then to put it to the dyers in gross, which is like to save the crown a good deal of money. The drapers murmur extremely at the Lord Cranfield for it.

I am not settled yet in any stable condition, but I lie windbound at the Cape of Good Hope, expecting some gentle gale to launch out into any employment.

So, with my love to all my brothers and sisters at the Bryn, and near Brecknock, I humbly crave a continuance of your prayers and blessing to —

Your dutiful son, J. H.

The conflict between king and parliament broke out again, immediately after the accession of Charles I, as shown in the following extract from the autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

270. The dispute concerning Buckingham in the first parliament of Charles I (1625)

. . . The present parliament, which had been adjourned or prorogued on July 11th, at London, to begin again at Oxford on August 1st, was now suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved, to the great grief of all good subjects that loved true religion, their king, and the commonwealth. For this, being the first parliament of our royal Charles, should have been a happy occasion and means to have united and settled the affections of prince and people in a firm concord and correspondence. The duke of Buckingham, a most unfortunate man, being now questioned for sundry particulars, would rather hazard the final overthrow of the public than endeavor to purge himself and justify his actions by a speedy and humble defense. And a happy moderation doubtless it had been in the House of Commons, if at that meeting they had winked at the duke's errors and fallen upon the consideration of many particulars in church and commonwealth, which more needed their help and assistance. But what the Divine Providence hath decreed must come to pass.

The preamble to the impeachment of Buckingham, and parts of the speeches made in its support by certain members of the House of Commons before the House of Lords follow here. The articles of impeachment are far too long for insertion, but the long list of offices granted

to Buckingham by the king's favor shows one reason for resentment to him. The sudden dissolution of parliament by the king, June 15, 1626, brought the trial of the impeachment to an end.

271. Preamble to the impeachment of Buckingham (1626)

For the speedy redress of great evils and mischiefs and of the chief cause of these evils and mischiefs, which this kingdom of England now grievously suffereth and of late years hath suffered; and to the honour and safety of our sovereign lord the king, and of his crown and dignity, and to the good and welfare of his people, the Commons in this present parliament by the authority of our said sovereign lord the king assembled, do by this their bill shew and declare against George, duke, marquess, and earl of Buckingham, earl of Coventry, viscount Villiers, baron of Whaddon, great admiral of the kingdoms of England and Ireland and of the principality of Wales and of the dominions and islands of the same, of the town of Calais and of the marches of the same, and of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Guienne, general governor of the seas and ships of the said kingdom, lieutenant general, admiral, captain general, and governor of his Majestie's royal fleet and army lately set forth, master of the horse of our sovereign lord the king, lord warden, chancellor, and admiral of the Cinque Ports, and of the members thereof, constable of Dover Castle, justice in eyre of all the forests and chases on this side the river Trent, constable of the Castle of Windsor, gentleman of his Majesties bedchamber, one of his Majesties most honourable privy council in his realms, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter; the misdemeanours, misprision, offences, crimes, and other matters, comprised in the article following; and him the said duke do accuse and impeach of the said misdemeanours, misprisions, offences, and crimes. . . .

The bitter antagonism to Buckingham is shown in the two following extracts from speeches delivered by Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot during the impeachment.

272. Extracts from impeachment speeches

Your lordships have heard in the labors of these two days spent in this service, a representation from the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of parliament, of their apprehension of the present evils and dangers of this kingdom; of the cause of the same; and of the application of them to the duke of Buckingham, so clearly and fully as I presume your lordships expect I should rather conclude than adde anything to his charge.

Your lordships have heard how his ambition was expressed in procuring and getting into his hands the greatest offices of strength and power of this kingdom, by what means he had attained them, and how money stood for merit.

There needs no argument to prove this but the common sense of the miseries and misfortunes which we suffer. . . .

My lords, I have done. You see the man. Only this which was conceived by the knights, citizens, and burgesses should be boldly by me spoken, that by him came all these evils, in him we finde the cause, and on him we expect the remedies, and to this end we met your lordships in conference; to which, as your wisdom invites us, so we cannot doubt, but in your lordships' wisdom, greatness, and power we shall in due time finde judgment as he deserves.

A glimpse of the sessions of the parliament that passed the Petition of Right is obtained in the following letter from a gentlemen then living in Oxford to a friend in France.

273. Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville (April 28, 1628)

What news we received on Saturday you shall find enclosed, and with it the king's speech on Monday before. I saw also the keeper's preamble, and the petition for unbilleting of soldiers; but because they were long, and I had no scribe to write them, I have not furnished you with them. And, alas! what delight could you find in reading them, when you must hear that since that time all is grown woful and desperate? I have not yet seen this day's letters; yet all that come from London tell us that the parliament is not like to hold above three or four days; that the greater part of the Lords stand

for the king's prerogative against the subjects' liberties; that my lord president made a speech in the upper house on the king's behalf, endeavouring to show the inconveniences which might follow in having our king's hands so tied. Against whom the earl of Arundel stood up, confuted him, and made a public protestation against him and the rest who were of the same opinion, concluding that those liberties which now they would betray were those which had cost so much of their predecessors' blood to maintain them, and for his own part, he was resolved to lose his own life and spend his own blood rather than he would ever give consent to the betraying of them. Of his part were fifty lords and earls. . . . The bishop of Lincoln was much commended for what he spoke on behalf of the subject, acknowledging he had once offended in the days of his late master, in standing for the prerogative to the prejudice of the subjects' liberties; for which he now desired forgiveness, professing that henceforward neither hope of greater preferments nor fear of the loss of what he presently enjoyed should make him do or speak against his conscience.

The Petition of Right, with its reference to the Great Charter, its bold assertion of the rights of the people, and the restrictions on royal power which the king was forced to accept, is one of the most important documents in English history.

274. Extracts from the Petition of Right (1628)

Humbly show unto our sovereign lord the king, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non Concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm.

And where also by the statute called The Great Charter of the Liberties of England it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his

freehold or liberties or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

The six points of the Petition

They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer or to take such oath or to give attendance or to be confined or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land.

Royal officers to act in accordance with the law

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties and according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your Majesty should also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your Majesty should be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and surety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of the realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty and the prosperity of this kingdom.

Political and religious disputes were closely interwoven, and the latter were frequently brought in to embitter the relations between Anglican king and Puritan parliament, as the following speech by a member of the House of Commons, named John Rous, indicates.

275. Extract from a speech in parliament (1629)

Mr. Speaker, we have of late entered into consideration of the Petition of Rights and the violation of it, and upon good reason, for it concerns our goods, liberties, and laws; but there is a right of higher nature, that preserves for us far greater things, — eternal life, our souls, yea our God himself; a religion derived to us from the King of kings, confirmed upon us by the kings of this kingdom, enacted by laws in this place, streaming down to us in the blood of martyrs, witnessed from heaven by miracles, even miraculous deliverances, and this right in the name of this nation I this day require and claim that there may be a deep and serious consideration of the violation of it.

These differences of opinion on political and religious matters resulted in the scene in parliament described in the following contemporary though anonymous account; an occurrence which was followed by the suspension of all meetings of parliament for eleven years.

276. A scene in parliament (March 2, 1629)

Upon Monday the second of March, as soone as praiers were ended, the Speaker went into the chaire, and delivered the Kinges command for the adjornement of the Howse untill Tewsday sevenight following, being the tenth of March.

The Howse made him answere, that it was not the office of a Speaker to deliver any such command unto them, but for the adjornement of the Howse it did properly belong unto themselves, and after they had uttered some thinges they thought fitt to be spoken of, they would sattisfie the King.

Sir John Finch, speaker of the House

The Speaker tould them, he had an expresse command from his Majestie that as soone as he had delivered his message he should rise, and upon that left the chaire, but was by force drawne to it againe by Mr. Densill Holles sonn to the Earle of Clare, Mr. Valentine, and others; and Mr. Hollis, notwithstanding the endeavour of Sir Thomas Edmonds, Sir Humfrey May, and other privie Councellers to free the Speaker from the chaire, swore, "God's wounds!" he should sitt still until they pleased to rise.

Lord Weston, lord treasurer

Here Sir John Elliott begann in a rhetoricall oration to enveigh against the Lord Treasorer and the Bishop of Winchester, saying he could prove the Lord Treasorer to be a great

instrument in the innovation of Religion, and invation of the liberties of the howse; and offered a remonstrance to the howse, wherein he said he could prove him to be the great enimie of the Commonwealth, saying, "This is the Lord Treasorer, in whose person is contracted all the evill: I find him acting and building on those grounds laid by his master the late duke of Buckingham, and his spiritt is moving for these interruptions: and from this feare they breake Parliaments lest Parliaments should breake them. I find him the head of all that great party, the Papists; and all Jesuits and Preists derive from him their shelter and protection. In this great question of Tonnage and Poundage, instruments moved att his command and pleasure, he dismaies our merchants, and he invites strangers to come in to drive our trade, and to serve their owne ends."

Refusal of the speaker to disobey the king

The Remonstrance which he offered was put to a question, but the Speaker refused to doe it, and said he was otherwise commaunded from the King; whereupon Mr. Selden spake: "You say, Mr. Speaker, you dare not put the question which wee commaund you; if you will not put it, we must sitt still, and thus wee shall never be able to doe anie thing; they which maie come after you maie saie they have the Kinges commandment not to doe it. We sitt here, by commaundement of the Kinge, under the great Seale; and for you, you are by his Majestie (sitting in his Royall chaire before both Howses) appointed our Speaker, and nowe you refuse to be our Speaker." The Speaker made an humble supplicatory speach unto the Howse with extremitie of weeping, shewing what commaund he had received from his Majesty, and withall desiring them not to command his ruine; yet, notwithstanding the Speaker's extremetie of weeping and supplicatory oration, Sir Peter Hayman (a gentleman of his own county) bitterly enveighed against him, and tould him, he was sorrie he was a Kentish man, and that he was a disgrace to his country, and a blott to a noble familie; and that all the inconveniences that should follow and their distraccion should be derived to posteritie as the yssue of his basenes, with whome he should be remembred with scorne and disdaine. And that he, for

his part (since he would not be perswaded to doe his dutie) thought it fitting he should be called to the barr, and a newe Speaker chosen in the mean time, since neither advise nor threatninges would prevaile. Mr. Strowd spake much to the same effect, and tould the Speaker that he was the instrument to cutt of the libertie of the subject by the roote, and that if he would not be perswaded to put the same to question, they must all retorne as scattered sheepe, and a scorne put upon them as it was last session.

Anger of the king

The King, hearing that the Howse continued to sitt (notwithstanding his command for the adjournement thereof) sent a messinger for the Serjant with his mase, which being taken from the table there cann be noe further proceeding; but the key of the dore was taken from the Serjant and delivered to Sir Miles Hubert to keepe, who, after he had receaved the same, put the serjant out of the Howse, leaving his mase behind him, and then locked the dore. After this, the King sent Mr. Maxell (the usher of the black rodd) for the dissolucion of the Parliament; but being informed that neither he nor his message would be receaved by the Howse, the King grewe into much rage and passion, and sent for the Captaine of the Pentioners and Guard to force the dore; but the rising of the Howse prevented the danger and ill consequence that might have followed.

The following are the three resolutions finally adopted at the violent session just described.

277. The three resolutions of March, 1629

1. Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.

2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

3. If any merchant or person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England and an enemy to the same.

VII. The Period of Personal Government of Charles I

The many prosecutions before Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission that took place during the next eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, while government was being carried on by the king and his ministers without any meeting of parliament, may be represented by the following extracts from the trial of William Prynne, a prominent lawyer.

278. Trial of Prynne in Star Chamber (1634)

The 7th of February Mr. William Prynn, utter barrester of Lincolns-Inn, was brought to the Star-Chamber, together with Michael Sparkes, William Buckner, and four other defendants, upon attorney Noyes' information, which, being opened by Mr. Hudson of Grayes-Inn, did set forth, that about 8 Car. Reg., Mr. Prynn compiled and put in print a libelous volume, entitled by the name of *Histriomastix*, against plays, masques, dancings, etc. And although he knew well that his Majestie's royal Queen, Lords of the Council, etc., were in their publick festivals and other times present spectators of some masques and dances and many recreations that were tolerable and in themselves sinless, and so published to be by a book printed in the time of his Majestie's royal father; yet Mr. Prynn in his book hath railed, not only against Stage plays, comedies, dancings, and all other exercises of the people, and against all such as behold them; but farther in particular against hunting, publique festivals, Christmas keeping, bonfires, and maypoles; nay, against the dressing up of a house with green ivy. . . .

The indictment

Prynne's counsel made the following answer:

That he the said Mr. Prynn, taking into his serious consideration the frequent resort of sundry sorts of people to

Answer of Prynne's counsel

common stage plays about the city of London ; and having read divers councils, laws, and statutes of this and other realms, against the frequenting of common stage plays, and the judgment and opinion of several divines, and other ancient authors, and divers English writers allowed by publick authority, and his own judgment running with those ; not intending to reflect, or to have relation to the king, queen, state, government, or your lordships, did about seven years ago compile this book entitled *Histriomastix ;* which is no more but a collection of divers arguments and authorities against common stage plays. . . .

After three days' trial one of the principal ministers gave the following sentence, with which the others agreed.

Sentence of Prynne

I do in the first place begin censure with his book ; I condemn it to be burnt, in the most publick manner that can be. The manner in other countries is (where such books are), to be burnt by the hangman, though not used in England, yet I wish it may, in respect of the strangeness and heinousness of the matter contained in it, to have a strange manner of burning ; therefore I shall desire it may be so burnt by the hand of the hangman.

If it may agree with the court, I do adjudge Mr. Prynn to be put from the barr, and to be for ever uncapable of his profession. I do adjudge him, my lords, that the Society of Lincolns Inn do put him out of the Society ; and because he had his offspring from Oxford (now with a low voice said the archbishop of Canterbury, "I am sorry that ever Oxford bred such an evil member") there to be degraded. And I do condemn Mr. Prynn to stand in the pillory in two places, in Westminster and Cheapside, and that he shall lose both his ears, one in each place, and with a paper on his head declaring how foul an offense it is, viz. that it is for an infamous libel against both their Majesties' state and government. And lastly, nay not lastly, I do condemn him in £5000 fine to the king. And lastly, perpetual imprisonment.

The following is the general form of the writs for ship money sent out by the king to the officers of cities

and counties. The first writ, in 1634, was really intended for its declared purpose; the three later issues, 1635–1639, were intended for a general income.

279. Extracts from the first writ of ship money (1634)

To the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of our city of London, and to the sheriffs of the same city and good men in the said city and in the liberties and members of the same, greeting: Because we are given to understand that certain thieves, pirates, and robbers of the sea, as well Turks, enemies of the Christian name, as others, being gathered together, wickedly taking by force and spoiling the ships and goods and merchandises, not only of our subjects but also the subjects of our friends on the sea, which hath been accustomed anciently to be defended by the English nation, and the same, at their pleasure, have carried away, delivering the men in the same into miserable captivity; and forasmuch as we see them daily preparing all manner of shipping farther to molest our merchants and to grieve the kingdom, unless remedy be sooner applied and their endeavours be not more manly met withal; also the dangers considered which on every side in these times of war do hang over our heads, that it behoveth us and our subjects to hasten the defense of the sea and kingdom with all expedition or speed that we can. . . .

London to provide seven ships manned and equipped

We command, firmly enjoining you the aforesaid mayor, commonalty, and citizens, and sheriffs of the said city, and the good men in the same city and in the liberties and members of the same, in the faith and allegiance wherein you are bound unto us, and as you do love us and our honor, and under the forfeiture of all which you can forfeit to us, that you cause to be prepared and brought to the port of Portsmouth, before the first day of March now next ensuing, one ship of war of the burden of nine hundred tons, with three hundred and fifty men at the least, as well expert masters as very able and skillful mariners; one other ship of war of the burden of eight hundred tons, with two hundred and sixty men at the least, as well skillful masters as very able and expert mariners; four other ships of war, every of them of the burden of five hundred tons, and every of them with two hundred men at the least as

well expert masters as very able and skillful mariners; and one other ship of war of the burden of three hundred tons, with a hundred and fifty men, as well expert masters as very able and skillful mariners. . . .

Also we have assigned you, the aforesaid mayor and aldermen of the city aforesaid, or any thirteen or more of you, within thirteen days after the receipt of this writ, to assess all men in the said city and in the liberties and members of the same, and the landholders in the same, not having a ship or any part of the aforesaid ships nor serving in the same, to contribute to the expenses about the necessary provision of the premises.

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH, 1640–1660

I. The Impeachment of Strafford

During the period of personal government of Charles I the earl of Strafford had come to be looked upon by the leaders of the party of popular rights, as Buckingham had been ten or fifteen years before, as the embodiment and chief support of despotic government. Almost the first action of parliament therefore, on its opening in 1640, was to impeach him. At the great trial which now took place in Westminster Hall, not only Strafford but the power of the king was being tested, and his condemnation showed that both had fallen. The following account of the trial is from the diary of Robert Baillie, a Scotchman who was in London at the time, attending to the interests of the rebellious Scotch parliament and army.

280. A contemporary account of the impeachment of Strafford

The Lieutenant of Ireland came bot on Monday to toun late; on Tuesday rested; on Wednesday came to Parliament; bot ere night he was caged. Intollerable pryde and oppression cryes to Heaven for a vengeance. The Lower House closed their doores; the Speaker keeped the keyes till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter, Mr. Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the Higher House and, in a prettie short speech, did, in name of the Lower House, and in name of the Commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of high treasone, and required his person to be arreisted till probatione might be heard. So Pym and

his back were removed; the Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the King; with speed he comes to the House; he calls rudelie at the doore. James Maxwell, keeper of the Black-Rod, opens; his Lordship, with a proud glouming countenance, makes towards his place at the boord-head: bot at once manie bids him void the house, so he is forced in confusion to goe to doore till he was called.

After consultation, being called in, he stands, bot is commanded to kneell and, on his knees, to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delyvered to the keeper of the Black-Rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crymes the House of Commons did charge him with. He offered to speak, bot was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer roome James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword; when he had gotten it, he cryes, with a loud voyce, for his man to carrie my Lord Lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coatch, all gazeing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered: all crying, "What is the matter?" He said, "A small matter I warrand yow!" They replyed, "Yes indeed, high treason is a small matter? . . ."

Soon afterward the impeachment trial was regularly opened in Westminster Hall, where it continued for three weeks.

Trial in Westminster Hall before the House of Lords

All the doores were keeped verie straitlie with guards; we always behooved to be there a little after five in the morning. . . . By favour we got place within the raile, among the Commons. The House was full dailie before seven; against eight the Earle of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied with the Lieutenant and a guard of musqueteers and halberders. The Lords, in their robes, were sett about eight; the king was usuallie halfe an howre before them; he came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England, that when the king appears he speaks what he will, bot no other speaks in his

presence. At the back of the throne, there was two rooms on the sydes; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke de Vallet, and other French nobles sit; in the other the king, the queen, Princesse Mary, the Prince Elector, and some Court ladies.

The king removes the lattice work before his box

The tirlies, that made them to be secret, the king brake down with his own hands; so they sat in the eye of all, bot little more regarded than if they had been absent; for the Lords sat all covered; those of the Lower House, and all other except the French Noblemen, sat discovered when the Lords came, not else. A number of ladies was in boxes, above the railes, for which they payed much money. It was dailie the most glorious Assemblie the Isle could afford; yet the gravitie not such as I expected; oft great clamour without about the doores; in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for answers, the Lords got alwayes to their feet, walked and clattered; the Lower House men too loud clattering; after ten houres, much public eating, not onlie of confections, bot of flesh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the king's eye; . . . there was no outgoing to returne; and oft the sitting was till two, or three, or four o'clock.

Beginning of the trial (Monday, March 22, 1641)

The first session was on Monday the 22nd of March. All being sett, as I have said, the Prince in his robes on a little chyre at the syde of the throne, the Chamberland and Black-Rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford; he was always in the same sute of black, as in doole. At the entrie he gave a low courtesie, proceeding a little, he gave a second, when he came to his dask a third, then at the barr, the foreface of his dask, he kneeled: ryseing quicklie, he saluted both sides of the Houses, and then satt down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hats to him; this was his dailie carriage.

My Lord Steward, in a sentence or two, shew that the House of Commons had accused the Earle of Strafford of High Treason; that he was there to answer; that they might manadge their evidence as they thought meet. They desyred one of the Clerks to read their impeachment. . . .

On Tuesday the 13th, all being sett as before, Strafford made a speech two hours and ane half; went through all the

Conclusion of the trial (Tuesday, April 13, 1641)

articles. . . . To all he repeated nought new, bot the best of his former answers; and in the end, after some lashness and fagging, he made such ane pathetick oration for ane half houre, as ever comedian did upon a stage. . . .

The prosecution was soon afterward resumed, this time in the form of a bill of attainder introduced into the House of Commons.

The bill of attainder against Strafford

The odiousness of the cryme was referred to the handeling of another. This was Mr. Pym, who truelie, to the confession of all, in half ane hour, made one of the most eloquent, wise, free speeches that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear. Some of the passages of it, and no more bot some, and these defaced, I send yow in print, as they have been taken in speaking by some common hand. To humble the man, God lett his memorie faill him a little before the end. His papers he looked on; bot they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to passe them: I believe the King never heard a lecture of so free language against that his idolised prerogative. . . . For diverse dayes thereafter the House of Commons went on with their Bill of Attainture. When it was readie and read three diverse dayes, at last it was voyced and carried, only fifty-eight contradicting. For this there was great joy among us all, and praise to God.

During Strafford's trial the king wrote to him the following letter of protection and comfort.

281. Charles I to the earl of Strafford (April 23, 1641)

Strafford:

The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs; yet I cannot satisfy myself in honor or conscience without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles) that upon the word of a king you shall not suffer in life, honor, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have showed

yourself to be; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being,

Your constant, faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

The difficult position in which Charles was placed by the condemnation of Strafford is shown in the following extract from the contemporary *Memorials* of Whitelocke.

282. Efforts of the king to save Strafford (May 1, 1641)

The king called both houses of parliament together, and did passionately desire of them not to proceed severely against the earl, whom he answered for, as to most of the main particulars of the charge against him; tells them that in conscience he cannot condemn the earl of high treason, and that neither fear nor any other respect should make him go against his conscience. . . .

The bill for continuance of the parliament was brought into the house the next morning after it was propounded. . . . This bill, and the act of attainder, being both passed by the commons, a conference was had with the lords after they had passed them; and a message sent by some lords to the king, to entreat his answer, who promised to satisfy them within two days.

The king being much perplexed upon the tendering of these two bills to him, between the clamors of a discontented people and an unsatisfied conscience; he took advice (as some reported) of several of the bishops, what to do in this intricate affair; and that the major part of them urged to him the opinions of the judges, that this was treason, and the bill legal. They pressed likewise the votes of the parliament, that he was but one man, that no other expedient could be found out to appease the enraged people, and that the consequences of a furious multitude would be very terrible. Upon all which they persuaded him to pass the bills.

But the chief motive was said to be a letter of the earl of Strafford, then sent unto him, wherein the gallant earl takes notice of these things, and what is best for his Majesty in these straits, and to set his conscience at liberty: he doth most humbly beseech him, for prevention of such mischief as may

happen on his refusal to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, "towards that blessed agreement which God, I trust, shall forever establish betwixt you and your subjects. Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God than all the world can do besides: to a willing man there is no injury done."

The following letter sent to the House of Lords by the hands of Prince Charles gives further indication of the king's desire to save Strafford.

283. Charles I to the House of Lords (Whitehall, May 11, 1641)

My Lords:

I did yesterday satisfy the justice of the kingdom, by passing of the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this time, in some measure, to show that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfill the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment, yet so that, if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer, directly or indirectly, to meddle with any sort of public business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life, without further press.

This, if it may be done without the discontent of my people, will be an unspeakable comfort to me; to which end, as in the first place, I by this letter do earnestly desire your approbation; and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry, that of all your house is most dear to me; so I do desire, that by a conference you will endeavor to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise is no more pleasing to me than to see both Houses of parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say that your complying with me in this my pretended mercy shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances; but if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *fiat justitia*.

Thus again earnestly recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

If he *must* die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

II. The Crisis of 1642

The following petition to parliament, known as the "Root and Branch Petition," from the use of those words in it, was one of several of much the same character presented by various counties, towns, and persons during the summer of 1641. These petitions indicate that the religious question was coming into greater prominence and that the Puritans wished to use this opportunity to reorganize the church.

284. Extracts from the Root and Branch Petition

The humble petition of many of his Majesty's subjects in and about the City of London, and several counties of the kingdom, sheweth; That whereas the government of archbishops and lord bishops, deans and archdeacons, etc., with their courts and ministrations in them, have proved prejudicial and very dangerous both to the church and commonwealth; they themselves having formerly held that they have their jurisdiction or authority of human authority, till of these later times, being further pressed about their unlawfulness, they have claimed their calling immediately from the Lord Jesus Christ, which is against the laws of this kingdom, and derogatory to his Majesty and his state royal; and whereas the said government is found by woeful experience to be a main cause and occasion of many foul evils, pressures, and grievances of a very high nature unto his Majesty's subjects in their own consciences, liberties, and estates; as in a schedule of particulars hereunto annexed may in part appear.

Opposition to the organization of the church

We therefore most humbly pray and beseech this honorable assembly, the premises considered, that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, may be abolished, and all laws in their behalf made void, and the government according to God's word may be rightly placed amongst us: and we your humble suppliants, as in duty we are bound, will daily pray for his Majesty's long and happy reign over us, and for the prosperous success of this high and honorable court of parliament.

A particular of the manifold evils, pressures, and grievances caused, practiced, and occasioned by the prelates and their dependents:

1. The subjecting and enthralling all ministers under them and their authority, and so by degrees exempting them from the temporal power; whence follows:

2. The faintheartedness of ministers to preach the truth of God, lest they should displease the prelates; as namely, the doctrine of predestination, of free grace, of perseverance, of original sin remaining after baptism, of the sabbath, the doctrine against universal grace, election for faith foreseen, free-will against antichrist, nonresidence, human inventions in God's worship; all which are generally withheld from the people's knowledge, because not relishing to the bishops. . . .

Moreover, the offices and jurisdictions of archbishops, lord bishops, deans, archdeacons, being the same way of church government which is in the Romish church and which was in England in the time of popery, little change thereof being made (except only the head from whence it was derived), the same arguments supporting the pope which do uphold the prelates, and overthrowing the prelates, which do pull down the pope:

Opposition to the ceremonies of the church

The great conformity and likeness both continued and increased of our church to the church of Rome, in vesture, postures, ceremonies, and administrations, namely the bishops' rochets and the lawn sleeves, the four-cornered cap, the cope and surplice, the tippet, the hood, and the canonical coat; the pulpits clothed, especially now of late, with the Jesuit's badge upon them every way:

The standing up at *Gloria Patri* and at the reading of the Gospel, praying towards the East, the bowing at the name of Jesus, the bowing to the altar towards the East, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the communion:

The turning of the communion tables altar wise, setting images, crucifixes, and conceits over them, and taper and books upon them, and bowing or adoring to or before them; the reading of the second service at the altar, and forcing people to come up thither to receive, or else denying the sacrament to them; terming the altar to be the mercy seat, or

the place of God Almighty in the church, which is a plain device to usher in the mass:

The christening and consecrating of churches and chapels, the consecrating fonts, tables, pulpits, chalices, churchyards, and many other things, and putting holiness in them:

Profanation of the Lord's day, pleading for it, and enjoining ministers to read a declaration set forth, as it is thought, by their procurement, for tolerating of sports upon that day, suspending and depriving many godly ministers for not reading the same only out of conscience, because it was against the law of God so to do, and no law of the land to enjoin it.

The unwise intrusion of the king into the House of Commons, in his eagerness to secure the arrest of certain leaders against whom he believed he had secured evidence of treason, is described in the following extract from the diary of Sir Ralph Verney, a member of the House of Commons at the time.

285. Extracts from the diary of Sir Ralph Verney (January 3, 1642)

The king sent Mr. Francis, a serjeant-at-armes, to Mr. Speaker with a message, and hee was cald in to the house and deliverd it at the barr, but hee was not sufferd to bring in his mace.

The message was thus, "Mr. Speaker, the king comanded mee, uppon my aleageance, to repaire to you where you are now sittinge, and to demaund five gentlemen, members of this house, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, Mr. Pim, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. William Strood, and when they are deliverd hee comanded mee in his name to arrest them for high treason."

Uppon this hee was comanded to withdraw, and the house resolved to send four members to the king, to let him know they had received the message and would take it into consideration, but being there was noe charge deliverd in against those five gentlemen, they have not deliverd them, but they have taken care to have them in a readinesse to answere any legall charge. And then the house commanded Mr. Speaker to call upp these five gentlemen by name, and injoyned them to attend *de die in diem*, till the house took farther order.

The serjeant of the house was sent to tell Serjeant Francis, that wee had sent to the king about these five gentlemen.

Mr. Pim and Mr. Hollis had there papers and studdies sealed upp, by warrant under the kings hand, and the house sent a serjeant-at-arms to arest those that did it and breake of the seales, and had a conference with the lords, and they likewise sent to breake oppen the seales and it was donn accordingly. Wee sent to them to joyne with us because they had protested with us to defend the privileges of parliament.

January 4, 1642 The five gentlemen which were to bee accused cam into the house, and there was information that they should bee taken away by force. Uppon this, the house sent to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common councell to let them know how there priviledges were like to bee broken and the citty put into dainger, and advised them to looke to there security.

Likewise some members were sent to the four inns of court, to let them know how they heard they were tampred withall to assist the king against them, and therfore they desired them not to come to Westminster.

Then the house adjourned till one of the clock.

As soone as the house mett againe 't was moved, considering there was an intention to take these five men away by force, to avoyd all tumult, let them be commanded to absent themselves. Uppon this the house gave them leave to absent themselves, but entred noe order for it, and then the five gentlemen went out of the house.

A little after, the kinge came, with all his guard and all his pentioners and two or three hundred soldiers and gentlemen. The king comanded the soldiers to stay in the hall, and sent us word hee was at the dore. The speaker was commanded to sit still, with his mace lying before him, and then the king came to the dore and tooke the palsgrave in with him and comand all that cam with him uppon there lives not to come in. Soe the dores were kept oppen, and the earle of Roxborough stood within the dore, leaninge uppon it. Then the king cam uppwards, towards the chaire, with his hat off, and the speaker steped out to meet him. Then the king steped upp to his place, and stood uppon the stepp, but sate not down in the

chaire. And after hee had looked a greate while hee told us hee would not breake our priviledges, but treason had noe priviledge; hee came for those five gentlemen, for he expected obedience yesterday and not an answere. Then hee called Mr. Pim and Mr. Hollis by name, but noe answere was made. Then he asked the speaker if they were heere, or where they were. Uppon that the speaker fell on his knees and desierd his excuse, for he was a servant to the house and had neither eyes nor tongue to see or say anything but what they commanded him. Then the king told him he thought his owne eyes were as good as his, and then said his birds were flowen, but hee did expect the house should send them to him and if they did not hee would seeke them himselfe, for there treason was foule, and such an one as they would all thanke him to discover. Then hee assured us they should have a faire triall, and soe went out, putting off his hat till hee came to the dore.

Uppon this the house did instantly resolve to adjourn till too-morrow at one of the clock, and in the interim they might consider what to doe.

The two following letters, one from a lawyer in London to his father-in-law in the country, the other from the king to one of the nobles who took his side, may be taken to indicate successive steps in the dispute between king and parliament, and the final resort to war.

286. John Turbervill to John Willoughby (January 29, 1641)

Worthy Sir:

I do believe you have more news in the country than we have here in London. But yours is at the second hand, and therefore I have sent you these pamphlets here inclosed, of the first edition. How the times are, every man knows; what the times will be, no man knows. This very day both the houses treated about the suppression of the Irish rebels, but in the manner how they should be suppressed there was a dissention; the king commanded that there should be a press of so many soldiers, and that he by his prerogative would appoint such captains and commanders over them as his Majesty

thought fit. The greater part of the House of Lords consented, but the House of Commons would not agree unless they might have the nomination of commanders. There is likewise a difference between the two houses about settling this kingdom into a posture of defense, both by land and sea. The House of Commons would have new lieutenants, new commanders, and men of their own election in every fortified place, and a new privy council about the king's person, and new officers. The higher house will leave that to the king, and that 's the difference. The Roundhead apprentices flock in troops to the parliament house with the protestation on the top of their swords, and their long ears cannot endure to hear the name of a bishop. The king is now at Windsor, and 't is not known when he intends to return here to London. Thus with my best wishes and prayers for you, I end, desiring to be remembered unto my brother Willoughby and his wife, my uncle William, and to all the rest.

Your ever loving son-in-law whiles I am,

JOHN TURBERVILL.

287. The king to the earl of Newcastle (Shrewsbury, September 23, 1642)

This is to tell you that this rebellion is growen to that height, that I must not looke what opinion men are who at this tyme ar willing and able to serve me. Therfore I doe not only permit, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their contienses, more than there loyalty to me, as you shall fynde most to conduce to the upholding of my just regall power. So I rest.

Your most asseured faithfull frend,

CHARLES R.

III. THE PERIOD OF THE WAR

The outbreak of the civil war left parliament in entire control of the religious as well as the political government of the country. The eloquent essay of Milton, which he called *Areopagitica*, from which the following extracts are taken, was an appeal to parliament for

moderation and religious liberty, and for allowing each man to think out religious problems for himself.

288. Extracts from Milton's *Areopagitica* (published November, 1644)

Lords and Commons of England, consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governments: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, suttle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have bin so ancient and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgment have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civill Roman, Julius Agricola, who govern'd once here for Cæsar, preferr'd the naturall wits of Britain before the labour'd studies of the French.

Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as farre as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their stay'd men, to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heav'n we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this nation chos'n before any other, that out of her, as out of Sion, should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europ? And had it not bin the obstinat perverseness of our prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of Wicklef, to suppresse him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerom, no nor the name of Luther or of Calvin had bin ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbors had bin compleatly ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demean'd the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest schollers, of whom God offer'd to have made us the teachers.

The attempted reformation of Wycliffe

Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the generall instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly expresse their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin

some new and great period in his church ev'n to the reforming of reformation itself: what does he then but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels and are unworthy.

London, a city of warlike and intellectual activity

Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompast and surrounded with his protection. The shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleagur'd truth, then there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so repliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile but wise and faithfull labourers to make a knowing people a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies. We reck'n more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks; had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already.

Different varieties of religious belief desirable

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and som grain of charity, might win all these diligences to joyn and unite into one generall and brotherly search after truth; could we but foregoe this prelaticall tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men.

The two following letters of Cromwell were written, the first just after the battle of Marston Moor, the

second just after the battle of Naseby. The first, in addition to the news of the battle, tells Colonel Walton of the death of his son; the second makes an appeal to parliament similar to that of Milton given above, in favor of the Independents, who were in danger of suffering from persecution by the Presbyterian parliament.

289. Oliver Cromwell to Colonel Valentine Walton (July 5, 1644)

Deere Sir:

It 's our duty to sympathize in all mercyes; that wee praise the Lord together in chastisements or tryalls, that soe wee may sorrowe together. Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favor from the Lord in this great victorie given unto us, such as the like never was since this War begunn. It had all the evidences of an absolute Victorie obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly partye principally. Wee never charged but wee routed the enimie. The lefte Winge, which I commanded, being our owne forse saving a few Scottes in our reere, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. Wee charged their Regiments of foote with our horse and routed all wee charged. The particulars I cannot relate now; but I believe of twenty thousand, the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

Sir, God hath taken away your eldest sonn by a cannon shott. Itt brake his legge. Wee were necessitated to have itt cutt off, whereof hee died. Sir, you know my tryalls this way, but the Lord supported mee with this, that the Lord tooke him into the happinesse wee all pant after and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, to know sinn nor sorrow any more. Hee was a gallant younge man, exceedinge gracious. God give you his comfort. . . .

Your truly faythfull and lovinge brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir:

Beinge commanded by you to this service, I thinke myselfe bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. Wee marched yesterday after the Kinge,

290. Oliver Cromwell to William Lenthall, speaker of the House of Commons (June 14, 1645)

whoe went before us from Daventree to Haverbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him. This day wee marched towards him. Hee drew out to meete us. Both Armies engaged. Wee, after three howers fight, very doubtfull, att last routed his Armie, killed and tooke about five thousand, very many officers, but of what quallitye wee yet know not. Wee tooke alsoe about two hundred carrages, all hee had, and all his gunnes, being twelve in number, whereof two were demie-cannon, two demie-culveringes, and, I thinke, the rest sacers. Wee persued the enimie from three miles short of Haverbrowe to nine beyond, even to sight of Leicester, whither the Kinge fled.

Lord Fairfax's services

Sir, this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie wher in none are to share with him. The Generall has served you with all faythfullness and honor, and the best commendations I can give him is that I dare say hee attributes all to God and would rather perish than assume to himselfe ; which is an honest and a thrivinge way, and yett as much for bravery may bee given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faythfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty. I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may begett thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in itt. Hee that venters his life for the libertye of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertye of his conscience and you for the liberty hee fights for. In this hee rests, whoe is

your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

During the whole of the war the king wrote constantly to the queen, who was in France. Some of his letters of the year 1646, when his fortunes were at almost their lowest ebb, are here given.

Dear Heart :

Because I desire to insist upon that which I conceive most necessary for our preservation, I refer thee to Sir Edw. Nicholas concerning the late unhappy accident in Ireland, and my last

291. The king to the queen (Oxford, February 1, 1646)

message to London. And first, I earnestly desire thee to believe that what I have sent to the rebells will not procure a peace. Secondly, that as I have not hitherto quitted foundations, so I am resolved to suffer those afflictions that it shall please God to inflict upon me, rather than to part with any more. I judge this short preamble necessary to hinder the greatest mischief which now can befall me, which is, that supplies should be stopt by thinking them needless, as if peace were assured on either my present or future concessions.

As at no time I desire to conceal anything from thee, so at this it is most necessary to shew the truth of my present condition, which is that, considering my own weakness, the small or rather no hopes of supplies from either Ireland or Scotland, and the rebells' strength, I am absolutely lost if some brisk action do not recover me, wherefore, having thought of many, I have at last resolved on this.

I shall, by the grace of God, without fail, draw into a body by the end of this February 2000 horse and dragoons; with these I resolve to march into Kent, where I am confident to possess some important place not far from the seaside (not being out of hope of Rochester), where, if I have either time or sufficient strength to settle myself, I shall esteem myself in a very good condition. Wherefore I desire thee, as thou lovest me, to hasten those men which Jermyn promised me by the middle of March; they must land at or near to Hastings, in Sussex. . . .

So desiring a speedy answer of this letter, I rest eternally thine.

C. R.

292. The king to the queen (Oxford, February 19, 1646)

Dear Heart:

Albeit that my personal danger must of necessity presede thine, yet thy safety seems to be hazarded by my resolution concerning church government. I am doubly grieved to differ with thee in opinion, though I am confident that my judgment, not love, is censured by thee for it. But I hope, whatsoever thou mayest wish, thou wilt not blame me at all, if thou rightly understand the state of the question. For I assure thee, I put little or no difference between setting up the Presbyterian

government, or submitting to the church of Rome. Therefore make the case thine own. With what patience wouldest thou give ear to him who should persuade thee, for worldly respects, to leave the communion of the Roman church for any other? Indeed, sweetheart, this is my case; for, suppose my concession in this should prove but temporary, it may palliate though not excuse my sin. . . .

But let not this sad discourse trouble thee (for, as thou art free from my faults, so doubtless God has blessings in store for thee), it being only a necessary freedom to shew thee that no slight cause can make me deny to do what thou desirest, who am eternally thine.

CHARLES R.

For God's sake, as thou lovest me, see what may be done for the landing of the 5000 men, at the place and by the time I wrote to thee the 1st of Feb., and with them as much money as possibly thou canst. I assure thee that the well-doing of this is likely to save both my crown and liberty.

293. The king to the queen (Oxford, March 3, 1646)

Dear Heart:

Amongst all the difficulties against which I have struggled in this unparalleled rebellion, none hath been more prejudice nor of half that vexation to me, as the causeless stumblings and mistakings of my friends; yet whilst I was rightly understood by thee, I despised them all; but, since from whence my chiefest comfort comes, I am now most mistaken, it may easily be judged how my misfortunes are multiplied upon me, and, which is worse, how I am deprived of means for the supporting them; and realy I should sink under my present miseries, if I did not know myself innocent of those faults which thy misinformed judgment condemns me of. . . .

294. The king to the queen (Newcastle, December 26, 1646)

Dear Heart:

I have nothing this week to say, but to desire thee that thou wilt publickly profess that thou wilt no more press me in matter of religion, because thou findest that I have offered as much in that point as I can with a safe conscience, which, in thy opinion, ought not to be forced upon any terms.

The reason of this I shall expound by my next (which I believe will be a dispatch of good importance), how much it concerns the safety of him who is eternally thine.

CHARLES R.

IV. The Trial and Execution of the King

After two periods of war, one against the king himself, the other against a party which wanted to restore him without conditions, the inevitable steps for his trial and execution were taken, the progress of which is illustrated by the following extract from Whitelock's *Memorials*. The first scene is in Westminster Hall, before the High Court of Justice.

295. The trial of the king in Westminster Hall

The clerk of the court read this aloud:

Charles Stuart, king of England, you have been accused on the behalf of the people of England of high treason and other crimes; the court have determined that you ought to answer the same.

King. I will answer the same, so soon as I know by what authority you do this. *President.* If this be all that you would say, then, gentlemen, you that brought the prisoner hither, take charge of him back again. *King.* I do require that I may give in my reasons why I do not answer, and give me time for that. *President.* It is not for prisoners to require. *King.* Prisoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.

President. The court hath considered of their jurisdiction; and they have already affirmed their jurisdiction: if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default. *King.* You have never heard my reasons yet. *President.* Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction. *King.* Show me what jurisdiction, where reason is not to be heard. *President.* Sir, we show it you here, the Commons of England; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the court, and, it may be, their final determination. *King.* Show me wherever the House of

Commons were a court of judicature of that kind. *President.* Sergeant, take away the prisoner.

King. Well, sir, remember that the king is not suffered to give in his reasons for the liberty and freedom of his subjects. *President.* Sir, you are not to have liberty to use this language; how great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge. *King.* Sir, under favor, it was the liberty, freedom, and laws of the subject that ever I took to defend myself with arms; I never took up arms against the people, but for the laws. *President.* The command of the court must be obeyed, no answer will be given to the charge. *King.* Well, sir. . . .

The justification claimed by the party in parliament and in the nation that put Charles to death is expressed in the sentence of the High Court of Justice that followed his condemnation.

296. Sentence of the High Court of Justice upon the king (January 27, 1649)

Whereas the Commons of England assembled in parliament, have by their late act, intituled "An Act of the Commons of England assembled in parliament for erecting an High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of the said Charles Stuart, king of England," authorized and constituted us an High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of the said Charles Stuart for the crimes and treasons in the said act mentioned; by virtue whereof the said Charles Stuart hath been three several times convented before this High Court.

The charge of treason

The first day, being Saturday, the 20th of January, instant, in pursuance of the said act, a charge of high treason and other high crimes was, in the behalf of the people of England, exhibited against him and read openly unto him, wherein it was charged that he, the said Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and therein trusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the law of the land and not otherwise; and by his trust, oath, and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people and for the preservation of their rights and liberties; yet, nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself

an unlimited and tyrannical power to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, and to take away and make void the foundations thereof and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom were reserved on the people's behalf in the right and power of frequent and successive parliaments or national meetings in council; he, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents in his and their wicked practices, to the same end hath traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and people therein represented, as with the circumstances of time and place is in the said charge more particularly set forth.

His responsibility for the war and its renewal

He hath hereby caused and procured many thousands of the free people of this nation to be slain; and by divisions, parties, and insurrections within this land, by invasions from foreign parts endeavored and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, he, the said Charles Stuart, hath not only maintained and carried on the said war both by sea and land, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said war against the parliament and good people of this nation in this present year 1648 in several counties and places in this kingdom in the charge specified; and he hath for that purpose given his commission to his son the Prince and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such as were by the parliament entrusted for the safety of this nation, being by him or his agents corrupted to the betraying of their trust, and revolting from the parliament, have had entertainment and commission for the continuing and renewing of the war and hostility against the said parliament and people.

By the said cruel and unnatural war so levied, continued, and renewed, much innocent blood of the free people of this nation hath been spilt, many families undone, the public treasure wasted, trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expense and damage to the nation incurred, and many parts of the land spoiled, some of them even to desolation; and he still continues his commission to his said son and other rebels and revolters, both English and foreigners, and to the earl of Ormond

and to the Irish rebels and revolters associated with him, from whom further invasions of this land are threatened by his procurement and on his behalf; and all the said wicked designs, wars, and evil practices of him, the said Charles Stuart, were still carried on for the advancement and upholding of the personal interest of will, power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest, common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation; and he thereby hath been and is the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damage, and mischief to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby. Whereupon the proceedings and judgment of this court were prayed against him, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and public enemy to the commonwealth, as by the said charge more fully appeareth. . . .

The verdict

Now, therefore, upon serious and mature deliberation of the premises, and consideration had of the notoriety of the matters of fact charged upon him as aforesaid, this court is in judgment and conscience satisfied that he, the said Charles Stuart, is guilty of levying war against the said parliament and people and maintaining and continuing the same, for which in the said charge he stands accused; and by the general course of his government, counsels, and practices, before and since this parliament began (which have been and are notorious and public, and the effects whereof remain abundantly upon record), this court is fully satisfied in their judgments and consciences that he has been and is guilty of the wicked designs and endeavors in the said charge set forth; and that the said war hath been levied, maintained, and continued by him as aforesaid, in prosecution and for accomplishment of the said designs; and that he hath been and is the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars, and therein guilty of high treason and of the murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damage, and mischief to this nation acted and committed in the said war, and occasioned thereby.

For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body. The sentence

The warrant for the execution of the king was issued two days after the announcement of his conviction, and appointed his death for the next day.

Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason and other crimes; and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which sentence execution yet remaineth to be done; these are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, soldiers, and others, the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service. **297. Death Warrant of Charles I (January 29, 1649)**

To Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Huncks, and Lieut.-Col. Phayre, and to every of them.

Given under our hands and seals

JOHN BRADSHAW.
THOMAS GREY.
OLIVER CROMWELL,
etc.

The dignified bearing of the king during the short time between his sentence and his execution is shown by the following account of his last night.

The king's deportment was very majestick and steady; and tho' his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind. And yet as he confest himself to the bishop of London that attended him **298. An account of the king's last night**

one action shockt him very much; for whilst he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden. He took it up, but seemed unconcerned; yet told the bishop, it really made a great impression upon him, and to this hour (sayes he) I know not possibly how it should come. 'T was an accident, I confess, I myselfe have often thought on, and cannot imagine how it came about: unless Hugh Peters (who was truly and really his gaoler, for at St. James' nobody went to him but by Peters' leave) had artificially tampered upon his staff; but such conjectures are of no use. . . .

He required Mr. Herbert (a gentleman who was appointed to attend him, and who had bin very civill to him and whom he recommended likewise to the present king) to call him at four of the clock in the morning; and Mr. Herbert slept little himselfe, lying by him on a pallet-bed; but observed through the whole night that the king slept very soundly, and at his hour awak'd himself and drew his curtain. He soon got up, was about an hour at his own private devotions, and then called to be drest; and Mr. Herbert, who was wont to comb his hair, combed it that morning with less care than usually: "Prethee (says he) tho' it be not long to stand on my shoulders, take the same paines with it you were wont to do: I am to be a bridegroom to-day and must be trimm."

His behavior when he came to the scaffold was no less simple and dignified.

299. The execution of the king

Then the king called to Dr. Juxon for his nightcap, and having put it on, he said to the executioner, "Does my hair trouble you?" He desired it might all be put under the cap, which the king did accordingly, by the help of the executioner and the bishop. Then the king turning to Dr. Juxon said, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side."

Dr. Juxon. There is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort. *King.* I go from a corruptible

to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbances can be. *Dr. Juxon.* You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange.

Then the king took off his cloak and his George, which he gave to Dr. Juxon, saying, "*Remember.*" Some other small ceremonies were passed, after which the king stooping down laid his neck upon the block, and after a very little pause, stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

The king died with true magnanimity and Christian patience; his body was put in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and removed to his lodging chamber in Whitehall. At this scene were many sighs and weeping eyes, and divers strove to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in the blood of a martyr.

The following stanzas from a poem written two years after the death of Charles, and by a poet who was certainly not a royalist, show the impression made by the king's bearing at his execution.

300. Two stanzas from Andrew Marvell, *An Horatian Ode*

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try:

Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bow'd his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.

The extracts from the *Eikon Basilike* which follow show how the king, or a very close adherent, looked upon his actions. The first paragraphs give the king's explanation, though an untrue one, of his calling the Long Parliament in 1640. The remaining portions are addressed to his son, closing with a prayer for his enemies.

301. Extracts from the *Eikon Basilike*

This last Parliament I called, not more by others' advice and necessity of my Affaires, than by my own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for my Crown, as best pleasing to my People. And although I was not forgetful of those sparks which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years I hoped to have extinguished;) yet resolving with Myself to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick Grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by my freedome and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with some Passion and Prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in Myself; not doubting but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions. . . .

No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament than Myself; who knowing best the Largenesse of my own Heart toward my Peoples' good and just contentment, pleased Myself most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between Me and my People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and my Children's Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the Love and welfare of my Subjects; the onely temporal Blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest Honor and Safety, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen Myself in some things of my wonted Prerogative, since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompense in my Subjects Affections.

The king's intentions in the parliament of 1640

I intended not onely to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The Odium and offences which some mens Rigor or Remisness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiss in Practice, but supply what was defective in the Constitution, No

man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, than Myself, whom it most concerns both in Piety and Policy; as knowing that, No flames of civil Dissentions are more dangerous than those which make Religious pretentions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced of to be amiss, and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told Me was fit to be desired. . . .

The king's appeal to his son, afterward Charles II

Son, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience and my most impartial thoughts touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd, they may be so far useful to You, as to state your Judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a Pious is the best use can be made. . . .

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my Sufferings as to the worlds censure into the honour of a kind of martyrdom as to the testimony of My own Conscience; the Troublers of my Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I prefer Religion and Laws establisht before those Alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons. . . .

The king's devotion to the Anglican church

But if you never see my face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and Obscurity (which the perfecting some mens Designs requires), wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with Me; I do require and entreat you as your Father and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes have concluded it to be the best in the world; not only in the Community as Christian

but also in the special notion as Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny and the meanness of fantastic Anarchy. . . .

As I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death; for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes. . . .

That I must dye as a Man is certain: that I may dye a King by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators, my Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise as to man's Cruelty; however I despair not of God's infinite mercy. . . .

Nor do I wish other than the safe bringing of the Ship to shore, when they have cast Me over-board: though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the Storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

The king's prayer

O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their Mercies to Me, as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve Me, have meditated nothing but my Ruine.

O deal not with them as bloodthirsty and deceitful men; but overcome their Cruelty with Thy Compassion and My Charity. And when Thou makest inquisition for my Bloud, O sprinkle their polluted yet penitent Souls with the Blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on Earth too little to entertain at once both them and Me; yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite Mercy at last receive both Me and my Enemies; when being reconciled to Thee in the Blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these Ambitious desires, which beget such mortal Enemies.

When their hands shall be heaviest and cruellest upon Me, O let Me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal Mercies; that what is cut off of my Life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed Eternity.

Lord, let Thy servant depart in Peace, for my eyes have seen thy Salvation.

V. The Commonwealth

After the execution of the king, the House of Commons proceeded to pass ordinances abolishing the kingship and the House of Lords, and then by the following statute declared England to be a republic, or "commonwealth and free state"; after which it appointed a Council of State, to take charge of executive affairs.

302. An act declaring England to be a commonwealth (May 19, 1649)

Be it declared and enacted by this present parliament, and by the authority of the same, that the people of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a commonwealth and free state; and shall from henceforth be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute as officers and ministers under them for the good of the people, and that without any king or House of Lords.

Four years after the foundation of the Commonwealth a written constitution was adopted, for the first time in English history. It was described as the Instrument of Government. It gave high powers to Cromwell, with the title of Protector. The government for the next four years is therefore known as the Protectorate.

303. Extracts from the Instrument of Government

The government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

I. That the supreme legislative authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging shall be and reside in one person and the people assembled in parliament; the style of which person shall be the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

II. That the exercise of the chief magistracy, and the administration of the government over the said countries and

dominions and the people thereof shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a council, the number whereof shall not exceed twenty-one nor be less than thirteen. . . .

V. That the Lord Protector, by the advice aforesaid, shall direct all things concerning the keeping and holding of a good correspondency with foreign kings, princes, and states; and also, with the consent of the major part of the council, have the power of war and peace. . . .

A parliament every three years

VII. That there shall be a parliament summoned to meet at Westminster upon the third day of September, 1654, and that successively a parliament shall be summoned once in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the present parliament.

VIII. That neither the parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive parliaments, shall, during the time of five months, to be accounted from the day of their first meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent. . . .

XXIV. That all bills agreed upon by the parliament shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his consent; and in case he shall not give his consent thereto within twenty days after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the parliament within the time limited, that then, upon declaration of the parliament that the Lord Protector hath not consented nor given satisfaction, such bills shall pass into and become laws, although he shall not give his consent thereunto; provided such bills contain nothing in them contrary to the matters contained in these presents. . . .

Cromwell to be Protector for life

XXXIII. That Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, shall be, and is hereby declared to be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, for his life. . . .

XXXVII. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but

shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practice licentiousness.

Freedom of religion to all Christians except Roman Catholics and Episcopalians

The encouragement of shipping by act of parliament was one of the few points of policy that remained the same under all forms of government, and survived all later changes for almost two hundred years. The first important act was the following, adopted by the House of Commons in the year 1651.

304. Extracts from the first Navigation Act (1651)

For the increase of the shipping and the encouragement of the navigation of this nation, which, under the good providence and protection of God, is so great a means of the welfare and safety of this commonwealth; be it enacted by this present parliament and the authority thereof, that from and after the first day of December, one thousand six hundred fifty one, and from thenceforwards, no goods or commodities whatsoever, of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, or of any part thereof; or of any islands belonging to them or any of them, or which are described or laid down in the usual maps or cards of those places, as well of the English plantations as others, shall be imported or brought into this commonwealth of England or into Ireland or any other lands, islands, plantations, or territories to this commonwealth belonging or in their possession, in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, but only in such as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of this commonwealth, or the plantations thereof, as the proprietors or right owners thereof; and whereof the master and mariners are also, for the most part of them, of the people of this commonwealth, under the penalty of the forfeiture and loss of all the goods that shall be imported contrary to this act; as also of the ship, with all her tackle, guns, and apparel, in which the said goods and commodities shall be so brought in and imported. . . .

A contemporary journal, kept by Robert Sidney, earl of Leicester, describes the forcible dissolution of the Long Parliament by Oliver Cromwell.

305. Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell (April 20, 1653)

Wednesday, 20th April. The parliament sitting as usual, and being on debate upon the bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes, with grey worsted stockings, and sat down as he used to do in an ordinary place. After a while he rose up, put off his hat, and spake; at the first and for a good while he spake to the commendation of the parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults. Then he said: "Perhaps you think this is not parliamentary language; I confess it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me." Then he put on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floor in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes and pointing particularly upon some persons, as Sir R. Whitlock, one of the commissioners for the Great Seal, and Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known that he meant them.

After this he said to Colonel Harrison (who was a member of the House): "Call them in." Then Harrison went out and presently brought in Lieutenant Colonel Wortley (who commanded the General's own regiment of foot), with five or six files of musqueteers, about 20 or 30, with their musquets. Then the General, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, said to Harrison: "Fetch him down." Then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gown and he came down. It happened that day that Algernon Sydney sat next to the Speaker on the right hand; the General said to Harrison, "Put him out." Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The General said again, "Put him out." Then Harrison and Wortley put their hands upon Sydney's

shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door.

Then the General went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the Speaker, and said, "Take away these baubles." So the soldiers took away the mace, and all the House went out; and at the going out, they say, the General said to young Sir Henry Vane, calling him by his name, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a juggler, and had not so much as common honesty. All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the key with the mace was carried away, as I heard, by Colonel Otley.

John Milton had been appointed Latin secretary to the government of the Commonwealth. He now addressed to the Protector this fine sonnet in favor of religious liberty, and in honor of Cromwell himself.

306. Milton to Cromwell (1652)

Cromwell, our chief of men, who, through a cloud
Not of war only, but detraction rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war; new foes arise
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

One of the most attractive men of the time, and the keeper of an interesting diary during this whole period, was John Evelyn. He sympathized with the king and was devoted to the Anglican church, but chose to go

and remain abroad during most of the time of troubles rather than join the king in the field. He returned for a while and was in London at the time of the execution of the king, then went again to the Continent, but returned shortly afterward and lived in retirement in England, following his favorite studies and keeping his opinions quiet till the downfall of the Commonwealth and the Restoration in 1660.

307. Extracts from Evelyn's diary (1641–1660)

On the 12th of May I beheld on Tower-hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the earl of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law or statute, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction. With what reluctancy the king signed the execution, he has sufficiently expressed; to which he imputes his own unjust suffering — to such exorbitancy were things arrived. . . .

November, 1641

23rd. I returned to London; and on the 25th saw his Majesty ride through the city after his coming out of Scotland and a peace proclaimed with great acclamations and joy of the giddy people. . . .

15th December. I was elected one of the comptrollers of the Middle Temple Revellers, as the fashion of the young gentlemen and students was, the Christmas being kept this year with great solemnity; but, being desirous to pass it in the country, I got leave to resign my staff of office, and went with my brother Richard to Wotton. . . .

January, 1642

19th. I went to London, where I stayed till 5th March, studying a little, but dancing and fooling more. . . .

3rd October. To Chichester, and hence the next day to see the siege of Portsmouth; for now was that bloody difference between the king and parliament broken out, which ended in the fatal tragedy so many years after. It was on the day of its being rendered to Sir William Waller; which gave me an opportunity of taking my leave of Colonel Goring, the governor, now embarking for France. This day was fought that signal battle at Edgehill. . . .

2nd May. I went from Wotton to London, where I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately cross in Cheapside. May, 1643

On the 4th I returned, with no little regret, for the confusion that threatened us. Resolving to possess myself of some quiet, if it might be, in a time of so great jealousy, I built by my brother's permission a study, made a fish pond, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements at Wotton; which gave the first occasion of improving them to those waterworks and gardens which afterwards succeeded them, and became at that time the most famous of England.

12th July. I sent my black menage horse and furniture with a friend to his Majesty, then at Oxford.

23rd. The Covenant being pressed, I absented myself, but finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, which had been a great cause of my perpetual motions hitherto between Wotton and London, October the 2nd, I obtained a license of his Majesty, dated at Oxford and signed by the king, to travel again. . . .

10th September. Being called into England, to settle my affairs after an absence of four years, I took leave of the prince and queen, leaving my wife, yet very young, under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother. . . . September, 1647

5th October. I came to Wotton, the place of my birth, to my brother, and on the 10th to Hampton Court, where I had the honor to kiss his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him. I lay at my cousin, Serjeant Hatton's, at Thomas Ditton, whence, on the 13th, I went to London. . . .

26th April. There was a great uproar in London, that the rebel army quartering at Whitehall would plunder the city, on which there was published a proclamation for all to stand on their guard. April, 1648

4th May. Came up the Essex petitioners for an agreement betwixt his Majesty and the rebels. The 16th, the Surrey men addressed the parliament for the same; of which some of them were slain and murdered by Cromwell's guards, in the New Palace Yard. . . .

18th December. I got privately into the council of the rebel army, at Whitehall, where I heard horrid villanies.

January, 1649 17th. To London. I heard the rebel, Peters, incite the rebel powers met in the Painted Chamber to destroy his Majesty; and saw that arch traitor, Bradshaw, who not long after condemned him.

21st. Was published my translation of *Liberty and Servitude*, for the preface of which I was severely threatened.

22nd. The villany of the rebels proceeding now so far as to try, condemn, and murder our excellent king on the 30th of this month, struck me with such horror that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness; receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visit me this afternoon and recounted all the circumstances.

December, 1653 4th December. Going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 Samuel xxiii. 20: "And Benaiah went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow": the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God called for shedding of blood, inferring that now the saints were called to destroy temporal governments, with such feculent stuff; so dangerous a crisis were things grown to. . . .

December, 1654 3rd December, Advent Sunday. There being no office at the church but extemporary prayers after the Presbyterian way, for now all forms were prohibited and most of the preachers were usurpers, I seldom went to church upon solemn feasts; but, either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestered divines did privately use the common prayer, administer sacraments, etc., or else I procured one to officiate in my house; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Richard Owen, the sequestered minister of Eltham, preached to my family in my library, and gave us the holy communion. . . .

April, 1655 April 9. I went to see the great ship newly built by the usurper Oliver, carrying 96 brass guns and 1000 tons burthen. In the prow was Oliver on horseback trampling 6 nations under foote, a Scott, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and

English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; the word, God with us.

March 25th. . . . The Protector Oliver, now affecting king- March, 1657
ship, is petition'd to take the title on him by all his new-made sycophant lords, etc., but dares not for feare of the fanatics, not thoroughly purg'd out of his rebel army. . . .

Oct. 22nd. Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He October, 1658
was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new lords; Oliver lying in effigy in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, etc., by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed cap-a-pie, and after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster; but it was the joyfulest funeral I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went. . . .

3rd February. Kept the fast. General Monk came now to February, 1660
London out of Scotland; but no man knew what he would do or declare, yet he was met on his way by the gentlemen of all the counties which he passed, with petitions that he would recall the old long-interrupted parliament and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion and under no government, everybody expecting what would be next and what he would do. . . .

10th. Now were the gates of the city broken down by General Monk; which exceedingly exasperated the city, the soldiers marching up and down as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the fanatics put out of their posts, and sent out of town.

11th. A signal day. Monk, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreme power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had done to the city, where he and his forces were quartered, marches to Whitehall, dissipates the nest of robbers, and convenes the old parliament;

the Rump Parliament (so called as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved; and for joy whereof were many thousands of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night, with ringing of bells and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen.

Recognition of Charles II

3rd May. Came the most happy tidings of his Majesty's gracious declaration and applications to the parliament, general, and people, and their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment, after a most bloody and unreasonable rebellion of near twenty years. Praised be for ever the Lord of heaven, who only doeth wondrous things, because his mercy endureth for ever. . . .

8th May. This day was his Majesty proclaimed in London.

CHAPTER XVI

RESTORATION AND REVOLUTION, 1660–1689

I. The Restoration Settlement

The conditions on which Charles II returned are shown by the declaration which he sent to England from Holland, where he was in exile.

308. The Declaration of Breda (1660)

Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the divine providence that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible. Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

Pardon for offenses against the late king

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration of king, peers, and people to

their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favor, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only to be excepted.

Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and theirs in a free parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

Freedom of religious worship

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other (which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

And because, in the continued distractions of so many years and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases

of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

Titles to land to be settled by parliament

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Payment of soldiers provided for

Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The spirit in which these offers were received by the change-wearied parliament is shown by the following extracts from the records of the two Houses.

309. Reception of the Declaration of Breda by parliament (May 1, 1660).

Whitehall, Tuesday. The House of Lords being informed that Sir John Grenville attended at the door with a letter from his Majesty, the earl of Manchester, speaker to the House of Lords, went down near the clock to receive it of him. The letter with a declaration inclosed was read in the House, and thanks ordered to be given to Sir John Grenville for bringing the gracious letter.

The House resolved that they do own and declare that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by king, Lords, and Commons. That the Lords having a deep sense of the miseries and distractions that the kingdom hath been involved in since the violent attempts to dissolve the established government, do desire that some way may be considered how to make up these breaches; and to obtain the king's return again to his people.

In the House of Commons

Resolved, unanimously, That a committee be appointed to prepare an answer to his Majesty's letter, expressing the great

and joyful sense of the House of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks to his Majesty for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his Majesty, and that this House will give a speedy answer to his Majesty's gracious proposals. A committee was appointed accordingly. Resolved, unanimously, That the sum of £50,000 be presented to his Majesty by the House.

Tuesday afternoon. Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Lords and do own and declare, that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by king, Lords, and Commons.

Samuel Pepys, writer of the diary from which a number of extracts will be made in this chapter, was a royalist at heart, and was in London at the time of the Restoration. He was in the service of the earl of Sandwich, whom he always refers to as "my lord," and was sent with him by parliament to Holland with a fleet to bring King Charles to England. His narrative here begins with the king embarking in this fleet.

310. Extracts from Pepys' diary (May, 1660)

May 23rd. . . . All day nothing but lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceedingly full. Dined in a great deal of state, the royall company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. I dined with Dr. Clerke, Dr. Quarterman, and Mr. Darcy in my cabin. This morning Mr. Lucy came on board, to whom and his company of the King's Guard in another ship my lord did give three dozen bottles of wine. He made friends between Mr. Pierce and me. After dinner the king and duke altered the names of some of the ships, viz. the *Nazeby* into *Charles;* the *Richard*, *James;* the *Speaker*, *Mary;* . . . That done, the queen, princess royal, and prince of Orange took leave of the king, and the duke of York went on board the *London*, and the duke of Gloucester, the *Swiftsure*. Which done, we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England.

The fleet with the king and his brother, the duke of York, sails for England

All the afternoon the king walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been), very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made him so sore all over his feet, that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company, that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen him in eight years, did know him, but kept it private; when at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester, could not know him, but made him drink the king's health, and said that the king was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know him not to be a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place at his inn, the master of the house, as the king was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fire-side, kneeled down and kissed his hand, privately, saying, that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was going. Then the difficulty of getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the four men and a boy (which was all his ship's company), and so got to Fécamp in France. At Rouen he looked so poorly that the people went into the rooms before he went away to see whether he had not stole something or other. . . .

Adventures of Charles after the battle of Worcester

24th. Up, and made myself as fine as I could, with the stockings on and wide canons [boots] that I bought the other day at Hague. Extraordinary press of noble company, and great mirth all the day. There dined with me in my cabin (that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle and Mr. Hollis, the king's chaplains. . . . I was called to write a pass for my lord Mandeville to take up horses to London, which I wrote in the king's name and carried it to him to sign, which was the first

and only one that he ever signed in the ship *Charles*. To bed, coming in sight of land a little before night.

25th. By the morning we were come close to the land and every body made ready to get on shore. The king and the two dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet before them, only to show them the manner of the ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. I had Mr. Darcy in my cabin and Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the king had given £50 to Mr. Sheply for my lord's servants, and £500 among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke with the duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the king's making some knights, but there was none.

Landing of Charles II at Dover

About noon (though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him) yet he would go in my lord's barge with the two dukes. Our captain steered, and my lord went along bare with him. I went, and Mr. Mansell, and one of the king's footmen, with a dog that the king loved, . . . in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the king did, who was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The mayor of the town came and gave him his white staff, the badge of his place, which the king did give him again. The mayor also presented him from the town a very rich bible, which he took and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the town towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. . . .

The following descriptions of Charles II, James, duke of York, and the earls of Clarendon and Shaftesbury, two of the most influential statesmen of the Restoration

period, were written by Gilbert Burnet, a learned Scotch clergyman who came to England at this time and obtained a clerkship under the government, which gave him good opportunities of observing, though no great influence or income. Later he was appointed bishop of Salisbury, and wrote a *History of the Reformation* and a *History of His Own Time*.

311. Character sketches of the king, etc.

The king is certainly the best bred man in the world, for the queen mother observed often the great defects of the late king's breeding, and the stiff roughness that was in him, by which he disobliged very many and did often prejudice his affairs very much; so she gave strict orders that the young princes should be bred to a wonderfull civility. The king is civil rather to an excess and has a softness and gentleness with him, both in his air and expressions, that has a charm in it. The duke would also pass for a extraordinary civil and sweet-tempered man, if the king were not much above him in hit, who is more naturally and universally civil than the duke. The king has a vast deal of wit, indeed no man has more, and a great deal of judgment, when he thinks fitt to employ it. He has strange command of himselfe; he can pass from business to pleasure and from pleasure to business in so easy a manner that all things seem alike to him. He has the greatest art of concealing himselfe of any man alive, so that those about him cannot tell when he is ill or well pleased, and in private discourse he will hear all sorts of things in such a manner that a man cannot know whether he hears them or not, or whether he is well or ill pleased with them. He is very affable not only in publick but in private, only he talks too much and runns out too long and too farr. He has a very ill opinion both of men and of women, and so is infinitely distrustfull; he thinks the world is governed wholly by interests, and indeed he has known so much of the baseness of mankind that no wonder if he has hard thoughts of them. . . .

He has knowledge in many things, chiefly in all navy affaires; even in the architecture of shipps he judges as critically

as any of the trade can do, and knows the smallest things belonging to it. He understands much natural philosophy and is a good chymist; he knows many mechanical things and the inferiour part of the mathematicks, but not the demonstrative. He is very little conversant in books, and young and old he could never apply himself to literature. . . .

His opinions on religion

He has many odd opinions about religion and morality. He thinks an implicitness in religion is necessary for the safety of government, and he looks upon all inquisitiveness into those things as mischievous to the state. He thinks all appetites are free, and that God will never damn a man for allowing himselfe a little pleasure; and on this has so fixed his thoughts that no disorders of any kind have ever been seen to give him any trouble when they are over; and in sickness, except his ague in '79, he seemed to have no concern on his mind; and yet I believe he is no atheist, but that rather he has formed an odd idea of the goodness of God in his mind; he thinks, to be wicked and to design mischief is the only thing that God hates, and has said to me often, that he was sure he was not guilty of that. I think I have gone pretty far, and scarce know how I should 'scape under the present chief justice, if this should happen to be seased on.

The duke of York, afterward James II

I go next to the duke; he has not the king's witt nor quickness, but that is made up by great application, in so much that he keeps a journal of all that passes, of which he shewed me once a great deal, and he has employed the late dutchesse to write it out in the style of a history, for she writes very correctly, and he intended to have made me prosecute what she has begun, — what he shewed me. He has naturally a candour and a justice in his temper very great, and is a firm friend, but a heavy enemy, and will keep things long in his mind and wait for a fitt opportunity. He has a strange notion of government, that everything is to be carried on in a high way and that no regard is to be had to the pleasing the people; he has an ill opinion of any that proposes soft methods and thinks that is popularity; but at the same time he always talks of law and justice. He is apt enough to receive an enemy upon an absolute submission, but he will strain hard to ruin an enemy that

stands out, and when I knew him he scorned at arts to take them off (as the phrase at court was of bringing over leading men in the House of Commons to their party), nor will he receive any upon half submissions, and he thinks that all who oppose the king in parliament are rebells. He understands business better than is generally believed, for tho' he is not a man of witt nor fancy, yet he generally judges well when things are laid before him, except when the violence of his spirit gives him a byas, which it does too often.

He is a prince of great courage and very serious in action and naturally hates a coward, unless it be to make use of him in the conduct of his amours; he abhorrs drunkenness, he never swears and talks irreligiously; he has pursued many secret pleasures, but never to an open avowing them, and he does condemn himself for it; but yet he is ever going from one intrigue to another, tho' it is generally thought that these have been very fatal to him and that the death of so many of his children is owing to that. He is a zealous and hearty papist, of which he gave me this account: when he was in Flanders, being in a nunnery, a nunn pressed him much about religion and begged him to use this prayer every day to God, that if he was not on the right way he would guide him to it, which he said sunk deep in his mind and raised scruples in him. . . .

Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon

The great man with the king was Chancellor Hyde, afterwards made earl of Clarendon. He had been in the beginning of the Long Parliament very high against the judges upon the account of the shipmoney and he became then a considerable man. He spoke well, his style had no flow in it, but had a juste mixture of witt and sense, only he spoke too copiously; he had a great pleasantness in his spirit, which carried him some times too farr into raillery, in which he sometimes shewed more witt than discretion. He went over to the court-party, when the war was like to breake out, and was very much in the late king's councills and confidence dureing the warr, tho' he was always of the party that pressed the king to treat, and so was not on good terms with the queen. The late king recommended him to this king as the person on whose advice he wished him to rely most, and he was about the king all the

while that he was beyond sea, except a little that he was ambassadour in Spain. He managed all the king's correspondence in England, both in the little designes that the cavaliers were sometimes engaged in, and chiefly in procuring money for the king's subsistance, in which Dr. Shelden was very active. He had nothing so much before his eyes as the king's service and doated on him beyond expression; he had been a sort of governour to him and had given him many lectures on the politicks. He was thought to assume and dictate too much.

The earl of Shaftesbury

He was a man of much witt, and as long as the conversation run in generall ramble, he was very entertaining company. He knew England well and all the interests in it, and had a competent skill in law; but as to all matter of knowledge the quickness of his thoughts was such that he never went to the bottom of any thing, but snatched at some hints, which he improved by his fancy, and so he committed vast errours when he talked of matters of learning. As to religion he was a deist and seemed to believe nothing of Christianity but only that it contained good moralls. He was against bringing in religion to the state or imposing it on any; he had odde notions of a future state and thought that our soules went into starrs and animated them. He would have talked pleasantly on those things, but without any strength of reason, for he never spoke closely to any thing but alwaies shifted that and got into a loose ramble. His morals were of a piece with his religion.

He was esteemed a very corrupt man and false to all degrees, and that he had no regard to any thing but his own interest, or rather his vanity, which was the most fulsome thing I ever saw. He turned the discourse allmost allwayes to the magnifying of himself, which he did in so gross and coarse a manner that it shewed his great want of judgment. He told so many incredible things of himself that it often put me out of patience. He was mightily overcome with flattery, and that and his private interests were the only thing that could hold or turn him. He had likewise a great dexterity of engaging plain and well-meaning men, that had no depth of understanding, to admire him and to depend on him, but even these were often

disgusted with his vanity and indiscretion. He had turned often, but done it with dexterity and success and was proud of that, so that he would often set out the art that he had shewed in it and never seemed to be ashamed of the meanness or levity of shifting sides so often.

II. Social Conditions under Charles II

The following extracts referring to the Quakers will serve to illustrate the position at this time of all those outside of the Anglican church, which was in 1660 reëstablished by law. The persecution to which Dissenters were subjected was partly due to the laws passed between 1661 and 1665, partly to still older laws, and partly to hostile public feeling, as is shown by the fact that some of the incidents here referred to occurred before the Restoration. The first of the following extracts is a letter from a country gentleman to a justice of the peace in 1661; the others are contemporary narratives of the sufferings of the Quakers.

312. Richard Alford to John Willoubie (July 24, 1661)

Honoured Sir:

I shal be reddie the next generall sessions to witnesse against Mr. Cole, who you latelie committed to prison, that I found him preaching, as he calleth it, unto a great number of people called Quakers, and mett together contrary to law in one Glanfeeld's house, where I hard him utter manie expressions that tend to sedition, all which I have sett downe in writing, and shal testefie to the bench against him. Sir, there is one James Glandfeeld and Julian Glandfeeld were at the meeting also, and have sence spoken very dangirous words; pray fayle not to send me a warrant for them both, according to the order given unto my servant. Sir, I render you thankes for all your favours, and subscribe my selfe

Your most humble servant,

Richard Alford.

313. Incidents from Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*

Kent, 1655

George Rose, after the priest had ended his sermon at Hithe, began to exhort the people to turn their minds from darkness to light, etc., but was haled away by the mayor's command, and by the rude multitude kickt and beaten in the mayor's presence, and thrown down an high place of stone stairs so violently that his life was endangered and one of his legs much bruised.

Henry Clarke suffered three months imprisonment in Maidstone gaol for asking the priest a question in the steeple-house at Cranbrook.

John Higgins, after the priest had ended both his sermon and prayer at Dover, spake to the people, directing them to the witness of God in their own consciences. He was violently dragged away to the mayor's house, and charged with interrupting the minister by speaking before he had done; for it seems they had a child to sprinkle afterward, of which he knew nothing. That circumstance was proved against him, and the mayor sent him to prison, where he continued about thirty weeks.

In this year was a grievous persecution of this people for their religious meetings at Colchester, where William Moore, then mayor, exerted the utmost of his authority to oppress them.

Colchester, 1662

On the 25th of October he came and forcibly broke up the meeting, sending Stephen Crisp and John Pike to prison. On the 28th of the same he came again, and having dispersed the meeting, he committed Thomas Brown and Thomas Gainford. And on the 1st of November he sent prisoners also to the Moothall, Thomas Bayles and George Wetherly. This method proving ineffectual, a party of the county troops were employed to go to the meeting, where they beat some and carried others to prison, having first broke the forms, seats, and windows of the meetinghouse. After this, being kept out of their meetinghouse, they assembled in the street, sometimes in the cold and rain, not daring to decline their duty for those inconveniences. Thus they continued constantly meeting twice a week, on the first and fourth days of the week, at their appointed hour, till the 6th of December, when a troop of

horse, who came to town the day before, armed with swords, pistols, and carbines, rode in furiously among them, crying out, "What a devil do you here?" Some with their swords drawn, and others with their carbines, laying on without mercy, both on old and young, men and women, beat and bruised many exceedingly, chasing them to and fro in the streets, after which they broke into several houses to the terror of the people.

The oath of allegiance, which magistrates were empowered by law to require from any one, was always refused by Quakers, not because they were disloyal to the king but because they did not think it right to take any oath at all. This unwillingness to swear was taken advantage of to put the Quakers in a false position.

Then the judge bid the clerk read the oath, which being done, he asked Thomas Curtis if he heard it? He answered, Yes. So they held the Bible to him. Then Thomas Curtis said, holding the Bible in his hand, "I could read you a better lesson in that book." Berkshire, 1664

They bid him say after the clerk, who read the oath, which he did, till he came to that clause, I do swear, etc. Then he said, "But I cannot swear, but what I have said I do believe, and question not but I shall prove as good a subject to the king as some of you."

Then George Lamholl was called. They asked him whether he would take the oath of allegiance. He answered; as to the oath of obedience he could promise very much, and should keep his promise. Then Sarah, his wife, was called. They asked her whether she would take the oath. She answered, at present she was not satisfied that she might safely do it; or to that purpose.

The other three, viz. Thomas Tudway, John Paine, and James Marloe, were asked the same question. T. Tudway queried, whether it were better to obey God or man? They said, that was not the question.

Then Anne Curtis was called to the bar. One of the justices said, "Come, Nan, I know you will take it." She replied, "Yes, if thou or any one could convince me that I might lawfully do it and not break Christ's command, who hath said, 'Swear not at all.'" One of the justices said, "But the apostle Paul said, that an oath for confirmation endeth strife." She answered, that Christ, the everlasting oath of God, who puts an end to strife, himself, I know, saith, "Swear not at all." William Armorer said, "This is the old tone."

Anne Curtis then said, "It was before thou wast, and will be when thou hast no being."

The justices bid her answer directly, whether she would take the oath or no. She replied, "I shall give no other answer than I have done." So the gaoler took her away.

Oxfordshire, 1666

Thomas Nichols was taken by the gaoler and an apparitor, and carried to prison. They pretended to have a writ against him, but would not let him see it. He was kept under close confinement for a long time after, the consequence of a prosecution in the ecclesiastical court for his conscientious absence from the publick worship.

A Quaker refuses to remove his hat in the presence of magistrates

Roger Brown, being chosen an assessor for the land tax, and coming before the commissioners with his hat on, they threatened to send him to prison; but having no legal matter against him, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, which they knew he would not take, and thereupon sent him to gaol, where he was detained sixteen days. Thus was the law made use of to avenge themselves, and to punish a man for not humouring their pride.

Such persecution and religious bigotry was very distasteful to Charles II, whether it was directed toward Protestant Dissenters or toward the Roman Catholics. In 1672, therefore, he tried again, though unsuccessfully, to introduce freedom of worship by the following royal proclamation.

Our care and endeavors for the preservation of the rites and interest of the church have been sufficiently manifested to the

314. The second Declaration of Indulgence (1672)

world by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return.

But it being evident, by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forcible methods, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in us but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes and acts of parliament.

And therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting the minds of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers at this time to come and live under us, and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades, from whence we hope (by the blessing of God) to have many good and happy advantages to our government.

And in the first place we declare our express resolution, meaning, and intention to be that the Church of England be preserved and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline, and government, as now it stands established by law, etc.

All laws against freedom of worship suspended

We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be that the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended; and all judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, etc., are to take notice of it and pay due obedience thereunto.

Separate church buildings to be allowed

And we do declare that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, to meet and assemble in, in order to their publick worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons.

[Catholics, however, were, according to later provisions of the proclamation, only to be allowed to worship in their private houses.]

The following journal of occurrences kept by a Dutch official at New Amsterdam, or New York, during the attack upon that colony, and its capture by the English in 1664, will serve to illustrate the constantly renewed hostility between England and Holland at this time.

315. A journal of the capture of New Amsterdam

14th of August. Received information that four frigates had arrived with men from England to occupy New Netherland.

15th. Placed ourselves in posture of defense.

16th. Received intelligence that one of the frigates had arrived in the bay.

17th. Received intelligence that the English general was on board, and that more men-of-war were about to follow; the English have detained one Claes Verkaeck's sloop.

18th. News arrived that three more frigates had arrived in the bay; sent to the surrounding villages for assistance, and are assured that a proclamation, without day or date, was sent to the villages all around, stating in substance what is set forth below.

Whereas his Majesty, by commission under the great seal, hath sent us to reduce under his Majesty's obedience all such foreigners as have, without his Majesty's consent, settled and planted themselves between or in any of his Majesty's domains in America, to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects and the diminution of his royal dignity, we do declare and promise that all those who will submit, of what nation soever they be, &c.

(Signed) R. Nicol.
George Carwricks.
James Mavryck.

19th. Received an answer from the villages, to which we had applied for help to defend ourselves, that they could not leave their villages, wives, and children a prey, whilst aiding to defend another place, not knowing what might happen to them from the English. Sent some commissioners to the commanders of the English frigates, requesting to know from them the object of their coming and remaining in the roadstead before Nyack,

without having as yet, to our great surprise, given any knowledge thereof to the government, as they were bound to do.

20th. The commissioners reported in substance that the English general had openly declared that he was come to reduce this province to the obedience of his Majesty of England, to that end exhibiting to them the commission given him by his Majesty. Moreover, that he would not lend himself to any argument as to his Majesty's right, and whether the Dutch had any title to this place; but said he left all such to be vindicated by the king himself, for, had his Majesty commissioned him to attack Amsterdam, in Holland, he should make no scruple about undertaking the business, leaving its justification to the king. He would send a written answer next morning to the letter transmitted to him by the commissioners.

The English disregard the Dutch claim to earlier settlement

Ditto. The English chased and overhauled a boat with negroes belonging to the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, in Holland, but the negroes had fled with a Dutchman into the woods; the English took the boat with some men. A burgher coming from without was taken prisoner by the English, who fired some grape at him. They commanded the farmers up and down the river and on Long Island not to furnish any provisions to the city.

21st. Received a letter from the English general in answer to ours, but unsigned.

22nd August. English deputies came with said letter signed, setting forth in abundance that his Majesty's right to this place was indisputable, without, however, wanting to enter into any debate thereupon, demanding its surrender, threatening if resisted, and promising to allow each to retain his property, if the place were voluntarily given up.

24th August. Inspected the fort and considered what was to be done.

25th August. The English force came nearer; it was joined by Captain Schott and his horse and foot, who had heretofore summoned Long Island. Whereupon again sent delegates with a letter to the English general. . . .

26th August. Resolved to treat for a surrender, and sign powers on both sides.

Negotiations for surrender

27th August. Arrange and conclude terms on both sides, whereupon the place is given up.

29th August. The capitulation and ratifications being exchanged on both sides, the English general exhibited copy of the king's patent, dated the twelfth of March, wherein the whole of New England was ceded in favor of the duke of York; also a copy of the duke of York's commission to Richard Nicols as general, and the execution of the king's patent, dated the second April, 1664. Likewise an order from the king of England, directing the governor of New England to reduce the New Netherland colony under his subjection, dated 23rd April, 1664.

30th August. And thereupon, without any other occurrence, was, as above stated, the place of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland, situate on the Manhattans, surrendered to the English, the garrison retiring with all their arms, flying colors, and beating drums; and thereby the English, without any contest or claim being before put forth by any person to it, took possession of a fort built and continually garrisoned about forty years at the expense of the West India Company.

One of the great permanent acquisitions to human liberty was obtained in 1679 by the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act. As will be seen, it did not introduce any new principle into the law, but provided practical means by which a prompt hearing before a judge could always be secured. A prisoner was in this way protected from arbitrary arrest and confinement.

316. Extracts from the Habeas Corpus Act

Whereas great delays have been used by sheriffs, gaolers, and other officers to whose custody any of the king's subjects have been committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, in making returns of writs of *habeas corpus* to them directed, by standing out an *alias* and *pluries habeas corpus*, and sometimes more, and by other shifts to avoid their yielding obedience to such writs, contrary to their duty and the known laws of the land, whereby many of the king's subjects have been and hereafter may be long detained in prison, in such cases where by law they are bailable, to their great charges and vexation.

Jailers must bring prisoners before the court when ordered by the writ

II. For the prevention whereof, and the more speedy relief of all persons imprisoned for any such criminal or supposed criminal matters, be it enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority thereof, that whensoever any person or persons shall bring any *habeas corpus* directed unto any sheriff or sheriffs, gaoler, minister, or other person whatsoever, for any person in his or their custody, and the said writ shall be served upon the said officer, or left at the gaol or prison with any of the under-officers, under-keepers, or deputy of the said officers or keepers, that the said officer or officers, his or their under-officers, under-keepers, or deputies, shall, within three days after the service thereof as aforesaid (unless the committment aforesaid were for treason or felony, plainly and specially expressed in the warrant of committment), . . . bring or cause to be brought the body of the party so committed or restrained, unto or before the lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal of England for the time being, or the judges or barons of the said court from whence the said writ shall issue, or unto and before such other person or persons before whom the said writ is made returnable, according to the command thereof, and shall then likewise certify the true causes of his detainer or imprisonment. . . .

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any officer or officers, his or their under-officer or under-officers, under-keeper or under-keepers, or deputy, shall neglect or refuse to make the returns aforesaid, or to bring the body or bodies of the prisoner or prisoners according to the command of the said writ, within the respective times aforesaid, or, upon demand made by the prisoner or person in his behalf, shall refuse to deliver, or within the space of six hours after demand shall not deliver, to the person so demanding, a true copy of the warrant or warrants of committment and detainer of such prisoner, which he and they are hereby required to deliver accordingly; all and every the head gaolers and keepers of such prisons, and such other person in whose custody the prisoner shall be detained, shall for

the first offence forfeit to the prisoner or party grieved the sum of one hundred pounds; and for the second offence the sum of two hundred pounds, and shall and is hereby made incapable to hold or execute his said office. . . .

Judges must grant the writ

X. Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful to and for any prisoner and prisoners as aforesaid, to move and obtain his or their *habeas corpus* as well out of the high court of chancery or court of exchequer as out of the courts of king's bench or common pleas, or either of them; and if the said lord chancellor or lord keeper, or any judge or judges, baron or barons for the time being, of the degree of the coif, of any of the courts aforesaid, in the vacation time, upon view of the copy or copies of the warrant or warrants of committment or detainer, or upon oath made that such copy or copies were denied as aforesaid, shall deny any writ of *habeas corpus* by this act required to be granted, being moved for as aforesaid, they shall severally forfeit to the prisoner or party grieved the sum of five hundred pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

The following extracts from Pepys' diary, from August, 1665, to September, 1666, illustrate two of the prominent events of that year, — the last serious attack of the plague in London and the great fire of London.

317. Extracts from Pepys' Diary

August 22, 1665

I went away and walked to Greenwich, in my way seeing a coffin with a dead body therein, dead of the plague, lying in an open close belonging to Coome farme, which was carried out last night, and the parish have not appointed anybody to bury it, but only set a watch there all day and night, that nobody should go hither or come thence, this disease making us more cruel to one another than we are to dogs. . . .

September 6

To London, to pack up more things; and there I saw fires burning in the street, as it is through the whole city, by the lord mayor's order. Thence by water to the duke of Albemarle's: all the way fires on each side of the Thames, and, strange to see in broad daylight, two or three burials upon the

Bankeside, one at the very heels of another; doubtless all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going along with every one of them. The duke mighty pleasant with me; telling me that he is certainly informed that the Dutch were not come home upon the 1st instant, and so he hopes our fleet may meet with them. . . .

October 16 I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are and melancholy, so many poor sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that, in Westminster, there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week; God send it! At the Tower found my lord duke and duchesse at dinner; so I sat down. And much good cheer, the lieutenant and his lady, and several officers with the duke. But, Lord! to hear the silly talk was there, would make one mad; the duke having none almost but fools about him. . . .

October 29 In the street did overtake and almost run upon two women crying and carrying a man's coffin between them. I suppose the husband of one of them, which, methinks, is a sad thing. . . .

November 16 As an infinite secret, my lord tells me, the factions are high between the king and the duke, and all the court are in an uproar with their loose amours, the duke of York being in love desperately with Mrs. Stewart. Nay, that the duchesse herself is fallen in love with her new Master of the Horse, one Harry Sidney, and another, Harry Savill. . . .

December 13 Away to the 'Change, and there hear the ill news, to my great and all our great trouble, that the plague is increased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the last close, warm weather, and if the frost continue the next week, may fall again; but the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us.

December 15 Met with Sir James Bunch, "This is the time for you," says he, "that were for Oliver heretofore; you are full of employment, and we poor Cavaliers sit still and can get nothing,"

which was a pretty reproach I thought, but answered nothing to it, for fear of making it worse. . . .

February 4, 1666

Lord's day; and my wife and I were the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home; but he made but a very poor and short excuse and a bad sermon. It was a frost, and had snowed last night, which covered the graves in the churchyard, so as I was the less afraid for going through. . . .

February 16

To the coffee-house, the first time I have been there, where very full, and company it seems hath been there all the plague time.

318. Pepys' Diary: the fire (September 2, 1666)

Lord's day. Some of our maydes sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the city. So I rose and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back-side of Market lane at the farthest; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off; and so went to bed again and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that about 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and it was now burning down all Fish street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robertson's little son going up there with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the Bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side and end of the Bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the Bridge.

So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the king's baker's house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned

St. Magnus' Church and most part of Fish street already. So I went to the water-side, and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while K. was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging them into the river or bringing them onto lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceived, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconies till some of them burned their wings and fell down.

Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the city; and everything, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things the poor steeple by which pretty Mrs. —— lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down: I to White Hall (with a gentleman with me who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); to White Hall, and there up to the king's closet in the chappel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and the word was carried in to the king.

So I was called for, and did tell the king and the duke of Yorke what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the king commanded me to go to my lord mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The duke of Yorke bid me tell him that if he would have any more soldiers he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and

there walked along Watling street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sicke people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs.

At last met my lord mayor in Canning street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the king's message he cried, like a fainting woman: "Lord! what can I do? I am spent; people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home, seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaake Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty, at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brother's things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time.

By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, which was Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closet and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be.

The two following extracts are taken from two pamphlets written in 1672, one opposing and the other favoring the new coffeehouses.

319. *The Character of a Coffee-House*

A coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned Puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade; whither people come, after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions; a rota-room, that, like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling criticks that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his penny-worth, draws out into petty parcels what the merchant receives in bullion. He that comes often saves two-pence a week in gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge, as at a three-penny ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other and the publick with bottomless stories and headless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloke takes upon him to transpose affairs both in church and state, to shew reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils. . . .

Newspapers

The room stinks of tobacco worse than hell of brimstone, and is as full of smoke as their heads that frequent it, whose humours are as various as those of Bedlam, and their discourses oftentimes as heathenish and dull as their liquor; that liquor, which, by its looks and taste, you may reasonably guess to be Pluto's diet-drink, that witches tipple out of dead men's skulls, when they ratify to Beelzebub their sacramental vows. . . .

Coffee

When he comes to fill you a dish, you may take him for Guy Faux with a dark lanthorn in his hand, for no sooner can you taste it, but it scalds your throat, as if you had swallowed the gunpowder-treason. Though he seem never so demure, you cannot properly call him a Pharisee, for he never washes either out or inside of his pots or dishes till they be as black as an usurer's conscience; and then, only scraping off the contracted soot, makes use of it, in the way of his trade, instead of coffee-powder; their taste and virtue being so near of kin, he dares defy the veriest coffee-critic to distinguish them.

The landlord

Though he be no great traveler, yet he is in continual motion, but it is only from the fire-side to the table; and his tongue goes infinitely faster than his feet, his grand study being readily to echo an answer to that threadbare question, "What news have you, Master?" Then with a grave whisper, yet such as the room may hear it, he discovers some mysterious intrigue of state, told him last night by one that is a barber to the taylor of a mighty great courtier's man: relating this with no less formality than a young preacher delivers his first sermon.

The opposite view is thus expressed.

320. *Coffee-Houses Vindicated*

Though the happy Arabia, Nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromaticks, and divers other rarities; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as obliged to it for the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub as for any other of its more specious productions. For, since there is nothing we here enjoy, next to life, valuable beyond health, certainly those things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucracy, and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of diseases, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights. As for this salutiferous berry (of so general use through all the regions of the East), it is sufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying, attenuating, and cleansing quality; whence reason infers that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities, comfort the brain, and dry up ill humours in the stomach: in brief, to prevent or redress, in those that frequently drink it, all cold, drowsy, rheumatic distempers whatsoever that proceed from excess of moisture, which are so numerous that but to name them would tire the tongue of a mountebank. . . .

Benefits of coffee drinking

It is the opinion of better heads than any on their shoulders, that this liquor is no other than that famous black broth of the Lacedemonians, so much celebrated by antiquity.

For its taste, it is a pitiful childish humour always to indulge our palates: diseases are removed by bitter pills, and the most

sanative potions are oftentimes very ungrateful to swallow; but the truth is, this drink has nothing in it of nauseousness, nor any taste but what, familiarised by a little use, will become pleasant and delightful.

Coffeehouses only known for the last fourteen years

The dull planet Saturn has not finished one revolution through his orb since coffee-houses were first known amongst us; yet it is worth our wonder to observe how numerous they are already grown, not only here in our metropolis, but in both universities, and most cities and eminent towns throughout the nation; nor, indeed, have we any places of entertainment of more use and general conveniency, in several respects, amongst us.

For economy

First, in regard of easy expense. Being to wait for or meet a friend, a tavern-reckoning soon breeds a purse-consumption: in an alehouse, you must gorge yourself with pot after pot, sit dully alone, or be drawn into a club for others' reckonings, or frowned on by your landlady, as one that cumbers the house and hinders better guests. But here, for a penny or two, you may spend two or three hours, have the shelter of a house, the warmth of a fire, the diversion of company, and conveniency, if you please, of taking a pipe of tobacco; and all this without any grumbling or repining.

For sobriety

Secondly, for sobriety. It is grown, by the ill influences of I know not what hydropick stars, almost a general custom amongst us, that no bargain can be drove, or business concluded between man and man, but it must be transacted at some publick-house. This, to persons much concerned in the world, must needs be very injurious, should they always run to taverns or ale-houses, where continual sippings, though never so warily, would be apt to fly up into their brains and render them drowsy and indisposed for business; whereas, having now the opportunity of a coffee-house, they repair thither, take each man a dish or two (so far from causing, that it cures any dizziness or disturbant fumes), and so, dispatching their business, go out more sprightly about their affairs than before. . . .

For cheerfulness

Lastly, for diversion. It is older than Aristotle, and will be true when Hobbes is forgot, that man is a sociable creature and delights in company. Now, whither shall a person, wearied

with hard study or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day, repair to refresh himself? Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening than at a coffee-house? Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative; where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to or answer another, as he thinks fit.

III. The Death of Charles II and Accession of James II

The following letter from the French ambassador in England gives a vivid account of the circumstances surrounding the death of Charles II, and of his deathbed reconciliation to the Catholic church.

321. Barillon to Louis XIV (February 18, 1685)

I was five hours in the king's ante-chamber. The duke of York made me come into the bed-chamber several times, and spoke to me of what was passing without doors, and of the assurances given him from every quarter that all was very quiet in the town, and that he should be proclaimed king the moment the king his brother was dead. I went out for some time to go to the duchess of Portsmouth's apartment. I found her overwhelmed with grief. . . . She said to me, "Monsieur the ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The king of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is surrounded with Protestant bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, or speaks to him of God: I cannot with decency enter the room, besides that the queen is almost constantly there: the duke of York thinks of his own affairs. . . . Go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the king's soul. He commands the room and can turn out whom he will.

I returned instantly to find the duke of York . . . and told him what the duchess of Portsmouth said to me. He recovered

himself as from a deep lethargy, and said, "You are in the right, there is no time to lose. I will hazard all rather than not to do my duty on this occasion." . . .

Plans to bring a priest to the king's deathbed

We thought of various expedients. The duke of York proposed that I should ask leave to speak to the king his brother, to tell him something in secret from your Majesty, and that everybody should go out. I offered to do so; but represented to him, that besides the great rumor it would make, there was no likelihood of my being permitted to remain in private with the king of England and himself long enough for what he had to do. At last . . . without any further precaution, the duke of York stooped down to the king his brother's ear, after having ordered that no one should approach. I was in the room, and more than twenty persons at the door, which was open. What the duke of York said was not heard, but the king of England said from time to time very loud, "Yes, with all my heart." He sometimes made the duke of York repeat what he said, because he did not easily hear him. This lasted near a quarter of an hour. The duke of York again went out as if he had gone to the queen, and said to me, "The king has consented that I should bring a priest to him, but I dare not bring any of the duchess'; they are too well known: send and find one quickly." . . .

The earl of Castlemethor went where the queen's priests were, and found amongst them one Hudelston, a Scotchman, who saved the king of England after the battle of Worcester, and who by act of parliament had been excepted from all the laws made against the Catholics and the priests. They put a wig and gown on him to disguise him, and the earl of Castlemethor conducted him to the door of the apartment that joined by a small step to the king's chamber. The duke of York . . . sent Chiffins to receive and bring in Mr. Hudelston. Soon after, he said aloud, "The king wills that everybody should retire, except the earls of Bath and Feversham": the first was lord of the bedchamber, and the other was in waiting. The physicians went into a closet, the door of which was immediately shut, and Chiffins brought Mr. Hudelston in.

The king confesses and receives absolution

The duke of York, in presenting him, said, "Sire, here is a man who saved your life, and is now come to save your soul." The king answered, "He is welcome." He afterwards confessed himself with great sentiments of devotion and repentance. . . . He then received absolution, the communion, and even the extreme unction. All this lasted about three quarters of an hour. In the ante-chamber every one looked at another; but nobody said anything but by their eyes and in whispers. The presence of Lord Bath and Lord Feversham, who are Protestants, has satisfied the bishops a little; but the queen's women, and the other priests, saw so much going and coming that I do not think the secret can be long kept. . . .

The following epitaph was written in joke early in Charles' reign by the earl of Rochester, a boon companion and minister of the king. It contains a large grain of truth. Charles is said to have laughed when he read it, but not to have been entirely pleased, and not to have treated Rochester so intimately afterwards.

322. A mock epitaph on Charles II

Here lies a great and mighty king,
Whose promise none rely'd on;
He never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one.

The actions of James II in the early days of his reign — his open favor to Roman Catholics and his disregard of the feelings and rights of parliament and the people — are shown in the following extracts from the memoirs of the Scotch ambassador Fountainhall.

323. Extracts from Fountainhall's Memoirs (1685)

. . . The king, the Sunday immediately following his brother's death, went openly to his queen's popish chappell, and heard masse, and declared that when he was a subject he had that respect for the laws of England that he would not break them, but now as king, being above the executive force of the law, he owned his religion, — which was judged ingenuity. . . .

Our king hearing how the French king had receaved Churchhill, he payes him in his oune coin, and receives Lorge sitting in his chair of state in the gallery with his hat on; which some French resented, tho it may be meer policy, to give out that there is a misunderstanding between the two kings, to please the English. The last king admitted embassadors without any pomp or ceremony, to speak him standing in his bedchamber with his hat off.

The change upon the face of the English court is very remarkable: in the last king's tyme mirth, playes, buffoonerie, etc., domineered, and was incouraged; now there is little to be seen but seriousnesse and businesse. . . .

On the 18th of April, being the vigil before Easter, the king washed fifty-two poor men's feet, according to the number of the years of his oune age, and he touches severall for the King's Evill. He emits a new severe proclamation against duels, and certifies, whoever intices another, or brings a second with him, he will pardon none of them. . . . The king delivered to both Houses his speach . . . wherein he differs much from his brother's style, and signifies his pleasure in peremptorie termes, that it will not be their best way to feed him from tyme to tyme with supplies, for that will not prevaill with him to gather them the oftener together; then he acquaints them with Argile's rebellion in Scotland and hopes they will give him a suitable supply against the same. And they having on the 23rd of May signified to his Majesty that by ane act they would settle all the revenue of tonnage and poundage on his Majesty for his life-time . . . and that they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes against Argile and all other conspirators, he (without giving them thanks, as his brother used to doe), with a very dry complement, tells them, they could doe no lesse in consulting ther oune security. And in his speach of the 30th of May, he craves a farder supply; and to flatter the genius of the nation, he tells them in a style vain enough, that he hopes to raise the reputation of England beyond what any of his predecessors had done. . . .

Harsh speeches of James to parliament

Some ascrybed this complyance of the House of Commons with the king more to fear than love, and that he took the

true way of treating Englishmen, in King Henry the 8th's minatory forme, that as he would invade no man's properties, so he would quit none of his oune rights and prerogatives; and that he began with them as he intended to end: for the old distich holds true, *Anglica gens, optima flens, pessima ridens;* with too much prosperity they turne unsupportably insolent, so that it is not safe to flatter or cajole them. For sundry of this House of Commons are disaffected, but are borne doune by the major part, who syde with the king, the elections in counties and burrows being so managed that by the limitations of the new charters given them, and excommunications and other methods used to debar such as they doubted, they got many of them to the king's oune mind; which was a point his late brother could never of late compasse, tho he had as much of his people's love as the present king has, only he was not so much feared by them. . . . If the king had ane army up, it 's like he would not disband it so easily as his brother did his. . . .

The English race grieves when things are at the best, laughs when they are at the worst

Increase of the army

The English parliament met again on the 9th of November, 1685, by his Majestie's special call: wher the king tells them that in this late invasion [Monmouth's] ther was a great discovery of the insufficiency of the militia to suppresse risings, which had moved him to double the standing forces there had been in his brother's tyme . . . and therfor he hoped they would grant him a suitable supply to defray it; and that he had made use of some to be officers in his army who were not qualified according to the laws (being popish), but to deal plainly with them he would nather expose nor desert them. . . .

Dispensations for disobedience to the Test Act

The following letters are concerned with the rebellion of the duke of Monmouth in 1685. The first two are a summons from Monmouth, signing himself as king, to one of the commanders in the field against him, and the reply to it; the next is a letter of appeal for mercy by Monmouth after his defeat and capture, and the last a rather cold-blooded statement from King James to the prince of Orange, concerning the behavior of his half-brother.

My lord:

324. The duke of Monmouth, claiming to be king, to the duke of Albemarle

Whereas we are credibly informed that there are some horse and foot in arms under your command for James, duke of York, which are purposely raised in opposition to us and our royal authority: we thought fit to signify to you our resentment thereof, and do promise ourself that what you have transacted therein is through inadvertency and mistake; and that your Grace will take other means, when you have received information of our being proclaimed king to succeed our royal father lately deceased. We have therefore sent this messenger on purpose to intimate the same unto you; and it is our royal will and pleasure, and we do hereby strictly charge and command you, upon notice and receipt hereof, to cease all hostility and force and arms against us and all our loving subjects, and that your Grace would immediately repair to our camp where you shall not fail of a very kind reception by us. Or in default of the premises, we shall be obliged to proclaim you and all those in arms under your command rebels and traitors; and shall proceed against them and you accordingly. Yet we assure ourself that your Grace will pay ready obedience to our command; whereof we bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.

325. The duke of Albemarle to the duke of Monmouth

I received your letter and do not doubt but you would use me very kindly if you had me; and since you have given yourself the trouble of invitation, this is to let you know that I never was nor never will be a rebel to my lawful king, who is James the Second, brother of my late dear master, King Charles the Second. If you think I am in the wrong, and you in the right, whenever we meet I do not doubt but the justness of my cause shall sufficiently convince you that you had better have let this rebellion alone, and not to have put the nation to so much trouble.

ALBEMARLE.

Sir:

I have received your Majesty's order this day that I am to dye to-morrow. I was in hopes, sir, by what your Majesty said to me yesterday, of taking care of my soul, that I should have

326. The duke of Monmouth to King James II

had some little more time; for truly sir, this is very short. I do beg of your Majesty, if it be possible, to let me have one day more, that I may go out of the world as a Christian ought.

I had desired several times to speak with my lord Arundel of Wardour, which I do desire still. I hope your Majesty will grant it me; and I do beg of your Majesty to let me know by him if there is nothing in this world that can recal your sentence, or at least reprieve me for some time. I was in hopes I should have lived to have served you, which I think I could have done to a great degree; but your Majesty does not think it fit. Therefore, sir, I shall end my days with being satisfied that I had all the good intentions imaginable for it, and should have done it, being that I am your Majesty's most dutiful

MONMOUTH.

I hope your Majesty will give Doctor Tennison leave to come to me or any other that your Majesty will be pleased to grant me.

327. King James to the prince of Orange (Whitehall, July 14, 1685)

I have had yours of the 17th and now the duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with Lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two first desired very earnestly to speak with me, as having things of importance to say to me, which they did, but did not answer my expectation in what they said to me. The duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected from one who had taken upon him to be king. I have signed the warrant for his execution to-morrow.

The old doctrine of the superiority of the king to the law still survived, as indicated by the following words written just before this time by Dr. Humphrey Gower, vice chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

328. An assertion of the divine right of kings (1681)

We still believe and maintain that our kings derive not their titles from the people, but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honor and obey, their sovereign,

who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture, can alter or diminish.

IV. The Revolution

James II held much the same views as those given by Dr. Gower. Relying on these powers, angered by the opposition to his efforts to give to his fellow-Catholics a better position in England, and impressed with a belief in freedom of worship, he issued in 1687 the following even more complete declaration of indulgence than that of Charles II. This declaration was repeated in 1688.

329. James' Declaration of Indulgence (April 4, 1687)

It having pleased Almighty God not only to bring us to the imperial crown of these kingdoms through the greatest difficulties, but to preserve us by a more than ordinary providence upon the throne of our royal ancestors, there is nothing now that we so earnestly desire as to establish our government on such a foundation as may make our subjects happy, and unite them to us by inclination as well as duty. We think this can be done by no means so effectually as by granting to them the free exercise of their religion for the time to come, and adding that to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been in any case invaded by us since our coming to the crown. These being the two things men value most, shall ever be preserved in these kingdoms, during our reign over them, as the truest methods of their peace and our glory.

Freedom of conscience in matters of religion

We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic church; yet we humbly thank Almighty God, it is and has of long time been our constant sense and opinion (which upon divers occasions we have declared) that the conscience ought not to be constrained nor people forced in matters of mere religion. It has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of the government, which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and

discouraging strangers, and finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed. And in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns. For after all the frequent and pressing endeavors that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible that the success has not answered the design, and that the difficulty is invincible.

The agreement of parliament anticipated

We therefore, out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects, that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit by virtue of our royal prerogative to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two houses of parliament when we shall think it convenient for them to meet.

In the first place, we do declare that we will protect and maintain our archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other our subjects of the Church of England in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever.

Suspension of all laws against freedom of worship

We do likewise declare that it is our royal will and pleasure that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacraments, or for any other nonconformity to the religion established, or for or by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended; and the further execution of the said penal laws and every of them is hereby suspended. . . .

And forasmuch as we are desirous to have the benefit of the service of all our loving subjects, which by the law of nature is inseparably annexed to and inherent in our royal person, and that none of our subjects may for the future be under any discouragement or disability (who are otherwise well inclined and fit to serve us) by reason of some oaths or tests that have been usually administered on such occasions, we do hereby further declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure that the oaths commonly called the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and

also the several tests and declarations mentioned in the acts of parliament made in the five-and-twentieth and thirtieth years of the reign of our late royal brother, King Charles II, shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed by any person or persons whatsoever, who is or shall be employed in any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or subscribed by any person or persons whatsoever, who is or shall be employed in any office or place of trust, either civil or military, under us or in our government.

Dispensations from the oaths to be granted

And we do hereby further declare it to be our pleasure and intention, from time to time hereafter, to grant our royal dispensations under our great seal to all our loving subjects so to be employed, who shall not take the said oaths, or subscribe or declare the said tests or declarations in the above-mentioned acts and every of them.

If the declaration of April, 1688, had simply been promulgated in the usual way, it would not have attracted so much attention, but the order of the king that it should be read in all the churches after sermon on two Sundays in May and June roused intense opposition, one form of which was the following respectful but firm petition from the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of St. Asaphs, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol.

330. Petition of the seven bishops

The humble petition of William, archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the suffragan bishops of that province, (now present with him), in behalf of themselves and others of their absent brethren, and of the clergy of their respective dioceses.

Humbly sheweth, That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, (our holy mother the Church of England, being both in her principles and in her constant practice unquestionably

loyal; and having, to her great honour, been more than once publickly acknowledg'd to be so by your gracious Majesty), nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation. But, among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as has been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased, not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said declaration.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Will. Cant.	Th. Bathon. & Wellen.
Will. Asaph	Th. Peterburgen.
Fr. Ely	Jonath. Bristol
Jo. Cicestr.	

The circumstances of the invasion of England by William of Orange are told by Bishop Burnet, who was on the expedition and had a good opportunity to know of the messages that came from England and of the difficulties that had to be overcome in bringing in a foreign army without raising the national antagonism.

The prince desired me to go along with him as his chaplain, to which I very readily agreed; for, being fully satisfied in my conscience that the undertaking was lawful and just, and

331. The invasion of William of Orange

having had a considerable hand in advising the whole progress of it, I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own person, when the prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. . . .

English plan for William's coming to England

As Sidney brought over letters from the persons formerly mentioned, both inviting the prince to come over to save and rescue the nation from ruin, and assuring him that they wrote that which was the universal sense of all the wise and good men in the nation; so they also sent over with him a scheme of advices. They advised his having a great fleet but a small army: they thought it should not exceed six or seven thousand men. They apprehended that an ill use might be made of it, if he brought over too great an army of foreigners, to infuse in people a jealousy that he designed a conquest: they advised his landing in the north, either in Burlington Bay or a little below Hull: Yorkshire abounded in horse; and the gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the design: the country was plentiful, and the roads were good till within fifty miles of London. . . .

When these things were laid before the prince, he said he could by no means resolve to come over with so small a force; he could not believe what they suggested concerning the king's army's being disposed to come over to him; nor did he reckon, so much as they did on the people of the country's coming in to him. He said he could trust to neither of these: he could not undertake so great a design, the miscarriage of which would be the ruin both of England and Holland, without such a force as he had reason to believe would be superior to the king's own, though his whole army should stick to him. . . .

The plan to land in one of the Channel ports

When these advices were proposed to Herbert and the other seamen, they opposed the landing in the north vehemently. They said, no seamen had been consulted in that. The north coast was not fit for a fleet to ride in, in an east wind, which it was to be expected in winter might blow so fresh that it would not be possible to preserve the fleet; and if the fleet were left there, the Channel was open for such forces as might be sent from France. The Channel was the safer sea

for the fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the assistance from France. . . .

In the beginning of October the troops marched from Nimeguen and were put on board in the Zuyder Sea, where they lay above ten days before they could get out of the Texel. Never was so great a design executed in so short a time. A transport fleet of five hundred vessels was hired in three days' time. All things, as soon as they were ordered, were got to be so quickly ready that we were amazed at the dispatch. It is true, some things were wanting, and some things had been forgot. But when the greatness of the equipage was considered, together with the secrecy with which it was to be conducted till the whole design was to be avowed, it seemed much more strange that so little was wanting, or that so few things had been forgot. . . .

On the first of November we sailed out with the evening tide, but made little way that night, that so our fleet might come out and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was possible to sail northward, but the wind was so strong and full in the east that we could not move that way. About noon the signal was given to steer westward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy course, but it kept the English fleet in the river, so that it was not possible for them to come out, though they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this means we had the sea open to us, with a fair wind and a safe navigation. On the third we passed between Dover and Calais, and before night came in sight of the Isle of Wight. . . .

Landing at Torbay in Devonshire

And a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole fleet in four hours' time into Torbay. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As soon as the prince and Marshal Schomberg got to shore they were furnished with such horses as the village of Broxholme could afford; and rode up to view the grounds, which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that season. It was not a cold night, otherwise the soldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have suffered much by it. As soon as I landed I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was, who took

me heartily by the hand and asked me if I would not now believe predestination. I told him I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally on this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary, yet he returned soon to his usual gravity.

A careful study of the following extracts from the Bill of Rights of 1689 will do much to explain the Revolution of 1688.

332. Extracts from the Bill of Rights

Whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and diverse principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and Cinque Ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year 1689, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said lords spiritual and temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:

1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

William and Mary declared to be king and queen

The said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly. . . .

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said lords and commons contained in the said declaration.

Religious freedom, of a partial nature, it is true, and yet sufficient to give great comfort to all Protestants who were not adherents of the established church, was now, as one of the results of the Revolution, granted by act of parliament. Thus the same liberty was obtained by legal methods as Charles II and James II had tried to introduce by the use of their prerogative. Parliament did not intend to grant the same freedom to Roman

Catholics as it had to Protestant Dissenters, and indeed a more severe act was passed by the two houses of parliament against them. But this was vetoed by the king, and as a matter of fact Catholics were allowed always afterward to hold their own services without disturbance. The following passages are from Burnet.

333. The adoption of the Toleration Act (1689)

The bill of toleration passed easily. It excused Dissenters from all penalties for their not coming to church, and for going to their separate meetings. There was an exception of Socinians; but a provision was put in in favor of Quakers; and though the rest were required to take the oaths to the government, they were excused, upon making in lieu thereof a solemn declaration. They were to take out warrants for the houses they met in, and the justices of peace were required to grant them. Some proposed that the act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the Dissenters, that they might demean themselves so as to merit the continuance of it when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected: there was now an universal inclination to pass the act, but it could not be expected that the nation would be in the same good disposition towards them at another time. . . .

Intolerance of the clergy

The clergy began now to show an implacable hatred to the Non-conformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them. But wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the nation by the toleration. It seemed to be suitable, both to the spirit of the Christian religion and to the interest of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable that while we were complaining of the cruelty of the church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves; chiefly while we were engaging in a war in the progress of which we would need the united strength of the whole nation.

This bill gave the king great content. He in his own opinion always thought that conscience was God's province, and that it ought not to be imposed on; and his experience in Holland

made him look on toleration as one of the wisest measures of government. He was much troubled to see so much ill humor spreading among the clergy, and, by their means, over a great part of the nation. He was so true to his principles herein, that he restrained the heat of some, who were proposing severe acts against Papists. He made them apprehend the advantage which they would give the French, to alienate all the Papists of Europe from us; who from thence might hope to set on foot a new Catholic League, and make the war a quarrel of religion; which might have very bad effects. Nor could he pretend to protect the Protestants in many places of Germany and in Hungary, unless he could cover the Papists in England from all severities on the account of their religion. This was so carefully infused into many, and so well understood by them, that the Papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the statute that enacted it. . . .

Liberal principles of King William, favoring even the Catholics

By the sixth clause of the Bill of Rights parliament had asserted its right to the control of the army in time of peace. In the first Mutiny Act, which has been the general type for the acts which have been passed yearly since, parliament laid down the conditions which were to control the army by the grant for six months at a time of a right to try soldiers by court-martial. It has thus kept the army under its own control ever since.

334. Extracts from the Mutiny Act (1689)

Whereas the raising or keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law; and whereas it is judged necessary by their Majesties and this present parliament that during this time of danger several of the forces which are now on foot should be continued, and others raised, for the safety of the kingdom, for the common defense of the Protestant religion, and for the reducing of Ireland.

And whereas no man may be forejudged of life or limb, or subjected to any kind of punishment, by martial law or in any

other manner than by the judgment of his peers and according to the known and established laws of this realm, yet nevertheless it being requisite for retaining such forces as are or shall be raised during this exigence of affairs in their duty, an exact discipline be observed, and that soldiers who shall mutiny or stir up sedition or shall desert their majesties' service be brought to more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of law will allow. . . .

Any enlisted persons joining in a mutiny to be punished by court-martial

II. Be it therefore enacted by the king's and queen's most excellent majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that, from and after the twelfth of April in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, every person being in their majesties' service in the army and being mustered and in pay as an officer or soldier, who shall at any time before the tenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-nine excite, cause, or join in any mutiny or sedition in the army, or shall desert their majesties' service in the army, shall suffer death or such other punishment as by a court marshal shall be inflicted. . . .

VII. Provided always, that this act or anything therein contained shall not extend or be anywise construed to extend to or concern any the militia forces of this kingdom.

VIII. Provided always, that this act shall continue and be in force until the said tenth of November in the said year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, and no longer. . . .

X. And no sentence of death shall be given against any offender in such case by any court unless nine of thirteen officers present shall concur therein, and if there be a greater number of officers present, then the judgment shall pass by the concurrence of the greater part of them so sworn, and not otherwise, and no proceedings, trial, or sentence of death shall be had or given against any offender but between the hours of eight in the morning and one in the afternoon.

CHAPTER XVII

FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1689–1763

I. The Reign of William and Mary

One more extract from Burnet's *History of His Own Time* may be taken to illustrate the struggle made by James II to regain his throne, through help given to him by his French allies and his Irish subjects.

335. King James' invasion of Ireland

Upon King James' landing in Ireland he marched his army from Kinsale to Ulster. And when it was all together it consisted of 30,000 foot and 8000 horse. It is true, the Irish were now as insolent as they were undisciplined; and they began to think that they must be masters of all the king's counsels. A jealousy arose between them and the French: they were soon on very bad terms, and scarce ever agreed in their advices. All King James' party, in the isle of Britain, pressed his settling the affairs of Ireland the best he could, and his bringing over the French and such of the Irish as he could best govern and depend on; and advised him to land in the north of England, or in the west of Scotland. . . .

An English army prepared for Ireland

All this while an army was preparing in England, to be sent over for the reduction of Ireland, commanded by Schomberg, who was made a duke in England, and to whom the parliament gave £100,000 for the services he had done. The levies were carried on in England with great zeal, and the bodies were quickly full. But though both officers and soldiers showed much courage and affection to the service, yet they were raw, without experience, and without skill. Schomberg had a quick and happy passage, with about 10,000 men. He landed at Belfast, and brought the forces that lay in Ulster together. His army, when strongest, was not above 14,000 men; and he had not above 2000 horse. He marched on to Dundalk,

and there posted himself. King James came to Ardee, within five or six miles of him, being above thrice his number. Schomberg had not the supplies from England that had been promised him; much treachery or ravenousness appeared in many who were employed; and he, finding his numbers so unequal to the Irish, resolved to lie on the defensive.

He lay there six weeks in a very rainy season. His men, for want of due care and good management, contracted such diseases that he lost almost the one half of his army.

King William arrives in Ulster with an army

[The danger in Ireland appeared so great that William himself determined to go over with reënforcements.] He had a quick passage to Ireland, where matters had been kept in the state where they were in all this winter. Charlemont was reduced, which was the only place in Ulster that was then left in King James' hands. The king had a great army; there were about 36,000 men, all in good plight, full of heart and zeal; he lost no time, but advanced in six days from Belfast, where he landed, to the river of Boyne, near Drogheda. King James had abandoned the passes between Newry and Dundalk, which are so strait for some miles that it had been easy to have disputed every inch of ground; King James and his court were so much lifted up with the news of the debates in parliament, and of the distractions of the city of London, that they flattered themselves with false hopes that the king durst not leave England, nor venture over to Ireland: he had been six days come before King James knew anything of it. Upon that he immediately passed the Boyne, and lay on the south side of it. His army consisted of 26,000 men, his horse were good, and he had 5000 French foot, for whom he had sent over, in exchange, 5000 Irish foot. . . .

The king sent a great body of cavalry to pass the river higher, while he resolved to pass it in the face of the enemy; and the duke of Schomberg was to pass it in a third place, a little below him. I will not enter into the particulars of that day's action, but leave that to military men.

Battle of the Boyne

It was a complete victory; and those who were the least disposed to flattery said it was almost wholly due to the king's courage and conduct. And though he was a little stiff by reason

of his wound, yet he was forced to quit his horse in the morass, and to go through it on foot. But he came up in time to ride almost into every body of his army; he charged in many different places; and nothing stood before him. The Irish horse made some resistance, but the foot threw down their arms and ran away. The most amazing circumstance was that King James stayed all the while with his guards, at a safe distance, and never came into the places of danger or of action. But when he saw his army was everywhere giving ground, he was the first that ran for it, and reached Dublin before the action was quite over; for it was dark before the king forsook the pursuit of the Irish. . . .

King James prepares to return to France

King James came to Dublin under a very indecent consternation; he said all was lost; he had an army in England that could have fought, but would not; and now he had an army that would have fought, but could not. This was not very gratefully or decently spoken by him, who was among the first that fled. Next morning he left Dublin; he said too much blood had been already shed: it seemed God was with their enemies; the prince of Orange was a merciful man; so he ordered those he left behind him to set the prisoners at liberty and to submit to the prince. He rode that day from Dublin to Duncannon fort; but though the place was considerably strong, he would not trust to that, but lay aboard a French ship that anchored there, and had been provided by his own special directions to Sir Patrick Trant. His courage sunk with his affairs, to a degree that amazed those who had known the former parts of his life. The Irish army was forsaken by its officers for two days: if there had been a hot pursuit, it would have put an end to the war of Ireland; but the king thought his first care ought to be to secure Dublin: and King James' officers, as they abandoned it, went back to the army, only in hopes of a good capitulation.

The massacre of Glencoe has been the subject of much dispute. The following is a contemporary account, published as a pamphlet, in the form of a letter to a friend from one who knew all the circumstances. There is no

reason to doubt its truth. It opens with the orders received by Captain Campbell from his military superior in the name of the Scottish commissioner who had his authority from King William.

336. Orders for the massacre of Mac Ian Macdonald of Glencoe and his clan (February 12, 1692)

Sir:

You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the MacDonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under 70. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do upon no account escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape: this you are to put in execution at five a clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I 'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry me, but to fall on. This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without feud or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king or government, nor a man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself. I subscribe these with my hand,

ROBERT DUNCANSON.

For their majesties' service, to Capt. Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.

The massacre

. . . The soldiers being disposed five or three in a house, according to the number of the family they were to assassinate, had their orders given them secretly. They had been received as friends by those poor people, who intended no evil themselves, and little suspected that their guests were design'd to be their murtherers. At 5 o'clock in the morning they began their bloody work, surpris'd and butcher'd 38 persons, who had kindly received them under their roofs. Mac Ian himself was murther'd, and is much bemoan'd; he was a stately, well-favoured man, and of good courage and sense: as also the Laird Archintrikin, a gentleman of more than ordinary judgment and understanding, who had submitted to the government,

and had Coll. Hill's protection in his pocket, which he had got three months before.

I cannot without horror represent how a boy about eight years of age was murthered; he seeing what was done to others in the house with him, in a terrible fright ran out of the house, and espying Capt. Campbell, grasp'd him about the legs, crying for mercy, and offering to be his servant all his life. I am informed Capt. Campbell inclined to spare him; but one Drummond, an officer, barbarously run his dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances of this tragical story makes it appear most doleful; as that Mac Ian was killed as he was drawing on his breeches, standing before his bed, giving orders to his servants for the good entertainment of those who murdered him. While he was speaking the words, he was shot through the head, and fell dead in his lady's arms, who, through the grief of this and other bad usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted that most of those poor people were killed when they were asleep, and none was allowed to pray to God for mercy.

Providence ordered it so, that that night was most boisterous; so as a party of 400 men, who should have come to the other end of the glen, and begun the like work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape,) could not march at length, until it was 9 o'clock, and this afforded to many an opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose houses Campbell and Glenlyon's men were quartered, otherwise all the males under 70 years of age, to the number of 200, had been cut off, for that was the order.

Some light is thrown on the condition of England after William had been on the throne for ten years by the following correspondence between Count Tallard, the French ambassador there, and his master, the French king.

The king of England is very far from being master here; he is generally hated by all the great men and the whole of

337. Tallard to Louis XIV, (London, May 9, 1698)

the nobility: I could not venture to say despised, for in truth that word cannot be applied to him, but it is the feeling which all those whom I have just mentioned entertain towards him. It is not the same with the people, who are very favorably inclined towards him, yet less so than at the beginning. The friendship which this prince shows to the Dutch, the intimacy in which he lives with them and with foreigners, the immense benefits which he confers on them, and the declared favor of the earl of Albemarle, who is a very young man, have produced the effect which I have mentioned.

Whigs and Tories

The nation is divided into two parties, under whose name all the others have rallied: one is called the Whigs, and the other the Tories. The first is composed of Presbyterians and of those who are opposed to arbitrary power and the royal authority. It is they who have placed the crown on the head of the present king. The second is composed of Episcopalians, of those who are in favor of monarchy, and who consider the king at present on the throne as king only *de facto*, and not king *de jure*. These two parties divide all England between them. The king has of late passed several times from one party to the other, according to his wants, and has always abandoned, in order to succeed in his object, those who were in office, and who were opposed to the prevailing party. Hence arises the difficulty he has in finding persons whom he can place in office; nobody desires it, and in this respect everything is in perpetual motion.

Nothing can equal the prodigality and disorder in the finances of England during the whole of the late war. Everything was done without regularity or system, and without economy; and I confess that nothing has given me so much surprise as the details which have come to my knowledge on this subject.

The earl of Albemarle

No Englishman has any real share in public affairs except the lord chancellor, a man of about thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of age, whom the king has placed in that office, — much attached to that prince, very honest, and much esteemed by all parties. He is, however, employed solely on the home affairs of the kingdom. The secretaries of state attend to

nothing whatever, except the affairs of the provinces. All the rest passes through the hands either of the king himself, who writes a great deal, or of the earl of Albemarle. I am persuaded that when the earl of Portland returns he will find a place, though in this country he is looked upon as ruined. The king is accused of being idle, at least of not being so laborious as he should be. He dines or sups three times a week with the earl of Albemarle, and a short time before setting out for Newmarket he one day sat five hours at table.

The Jacobites

King James has still friends in this country; and it is certain that if the expedition from La Hogue had succeeded, the greater part of England would have declared in his favor; and it is true that the present king has no solid foundation for the strengthening of his power in this country, except his army, of which he is the master, and the vicinity of the Dutch, who are also at his disposal. He has given the whole weight of parliament to the House of Commons; the House of Lords has no credit whatever.

Nothing is so different from the manners of former times as the present style of living among the noblemen. They have no intercourse, one with another, after they quit the House. Most of them go to dine at some tavern, and afterwards they repair to places called coffeehouses, where everybody goes without distinction: of these there is an infinite number in London, and there they remain till they return home.

The following letter from the king of France to his ambassador in England explains one of those schemes for dividing up the territory of the childless king of Spain, which led to the signature of the "partition treaties," and finally to the War of the Spanish Succession. The most remarkable thing about these arrangements is that the people of the various countries and their wishes were neither consulted nor considered in the negotiations between ambassadors and sovereigns. The nations were treated as if they existed for the monarchs, not the monarchs for the peoples.

338. Louis XIV to Tallard (Versailles, May 29, 1698)

The letter which you wrote me on the 22d of this month informs me of what passed at the private audience which you had with the king of England. . . . To reconcile my sentiments and his, I have made a new project. I have always followed the same principle of forming two alternatives, my only view being to propose what appears to me to be the best calculated to preserve the peace of Europe, and, at the same time, to indemnify, as far as possible, the legitimate heirs for the just claims which they sacrifice to this sole consideration. I even leave to the king of England the choice of these alternatives. He will decide in favor of that which he shall believe to be most conformable to the interests of the English and the Dutch, and, consequently, that which will most promote the conclusion of the treaty.

First plan of division

By the first of these alternatives one of my grandsons would have Spain, the Indies, the islands, countries, and places which belong at present to that monarchy, with the exception of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan, which the archduke would have for his share, on condition that they should never be united to the imperial crown; the Low Countries, in the state in which they now are, would be ceded to the electoral prince of Bavaria. Though England and Holland cannot pretend to have any claim to share in this partition, I would nevertheless consent, out of regard to the king of England, to leave to those two nations, by this first alternative, Ceuta and Oran, for the security of their commerce.

Lastly, whatever reasons there may be for preserving to the crown of Spain all that it now possesses in the Indies, without detaching from it the smallest portion, you may add to this alternative that I would consent that the Dutch should become masters of that part of the island of St. Domingo which belongs to Spain. Jamaica, which the English already possess, added to this part of the island of St. Domingo, would give them a very considerable establishment in the West Indies, would secure their commerce, and other nations would not so much fear to see theirs interrupted as they would do if the port of the Havannah were in the hands of the English and the Dutch. . . .

With respect to the second alternative, you have already shown to the king of England that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places on the coast of Tuscany, were too unequal a portion to indemnify my son for his legitimate right to the whole Spanish succession. I consider the cession of these kingdoms as a continued source of expense and embarrassment; it cost France but too dear to preserve them, and experience proves the indispensable necessity of always maintaining troops there, of continually sending men-of-war, and, also, how vain all these efforts proved. I therefore do not make a demand of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in this second part of the alternative. Second plan of division

On this basis you will propose that the electoral prince of Bavaria shall have the kingdom of Spain, and all that depends at present on that monarchy, with the reserve of what is contained in the following exceptions, namely, the kingdom of Navarre, the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and the duchy of Luxemburg, which should be given to the Dauphin; Milan and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to the archduke.

It appears to me that the rights of my son cannot be reduced to smaller demands. I was contented with stipulating for him the restitution of a kingdom which ought to belong to me, which the Spaniards have always unjustly retained, and which the kings, my predecessors, have never ceded. I require the duchy of Luxemburg only for the security of my frontiers. Lastly, at the same time that I thus limit the just claims of my son, I consent that the archduke shall enjoy the greater part of Italy, and may, perhaps, soon become master of it, from the situation of the states which he will possess in it.

But if the king of England should still make the same difficulties on the cession of the duchy of Luxemburg, I consent that you shall propose to him a new alternative. The electoral prince of Bavaria should have the monarchy of Spain, and what now depends upon it, with the exception of the kingdom of Navarre, which should be ceded to my son, with Milan, Final, and the places on the coast of Tuscany; the archduke should have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Still a third plan

By this last alternative I ask nothing which can cause the slightest jealousy to England and Holland. The power of the archduke would be an object of less suspicion to Italy, and yet a considerable share would be left to him. Of all these alternatives I should prefer that which shall be judged the best calculated to preserve the general tranquillity.

I shall expect the answer of the king of England to these proposals; and they must show the desire which I have to prevent all occurrences which might interrupt the general peace.

II. The Reign of Anne

The battle of Blenheim signalized the second year of the war which now broke out, and almost immediately raised the English commander, the duke of Marlborough, to the position of one of the most eminent men in Europe. He speaks of the battle and of the political complications of the time in the following letters to his wife.

339. Marlborough to his wife

August 13, 1704

I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following with the rest. The bearer, my aid-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large.

Marlborough.

August 14, 1704

Before the battle was quite done yesterday I writ to my dearest soul to let her know that I was well, and that God had blessed her Majesty's arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the Marshall de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8000 men, and near 1500 officers. In short, the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the Elector of Bavaria and the Marshall de Marsin, which Prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid has not had much loss, for I cannot find that he has many prisoners. As soon as

The French army scattered

the Elector knew that Monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her Majesty shall think for her honor and service.

My own opinion in this matter is that the Marshall de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her Majesty when I come to England; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expense, and I think the honor is in having the marshal and such other officers as her Majesty pleases. But I shall do in this, as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However, I am so pleased with this action that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war.

The religious organization of England by the time of Queen Anne had reached a somewhat settled condition. But the mingled feelings of hostility and contempt on the part of the established church and of most persons of the ruling classes toward the Dissenters was still an important element in the political and social organization. This feeling is reflected in the two following selections, the first from a well-known description of England that appeared in many successive editions, the second from a contemporary pamphlet.

The greatest blemish to religion amongst us is the deplorable number of Dissenters from the established church, some

340. Extracts from Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitiae* (1704)

prejudiced by education, some by sensuality, some by interest, and some few by a misguided zeal; who, having repented of their former ill courses, whilst they called themselves members of the Church of England, they think they cannot thoroughly change their lives without changing their religion too, becoming like stray sheep, an easie prey to the next seducer [and learning to hold various strange doctrines].

All Protestant Dissenters from the church (except Antitrinitarians) are tolerated, so long as they live peaceably and conformably in the state; and every man in England doth now enjoy a free liberty of conscience, and use of what religion best pleases him. The Dissenters from the Church of England are of these five sorts, principally Libertines, Papists, Anabaptists, Independents, and Presbyterians. . . .

Papists

Papists we have many; yet not so many but that in a late government, when they all appear'd publickly, it was, and it is, a wonder how the designs of that handful of men could put the whole nation into such convulsions. . . .

Anabaptists are of two sorts; first, those who go vulgarly by that name; and, secondly, those who are distinguished by the name of Quakers.

Baptists

The Anabaptists which go by that name are a more reasonable sort here in England than those of Flanders and Germany; very few of ours are so wild, extravagant, and enthusiastical as those abroad: these submit themselves to civil government, and the chief article of their dissent in religion is concerning pædobaptism, which they hold unreasonable. Yet there is in many other things some of the Flemish leaven still amongst them, as accounting themselves the only pure church; are envious at the establish'd church; abhor paying of tithes; and affect parity: but that which is worst of all, some of them have strange notions concerning our Blessed Saviour and his incarnation, the Holy Trinity, the soul of man, etc. Some of these, as well as Quakers, are great admirers of Jacob Behmen and his sort of cant; and many of them are closely wrapt up in Rosicrucian divinity; they look upon all liturgy and ceremonies as popish, allow that laymen may administer sacraments, expect an universal monarchy of Christ here on earth.

Some of them are called Brownists, from Robert Brown of Northamptonshire, but there are some Brownists who allow of pædobaptism. Familists, or the Family of Love, we have scarce any remaining: Adamites none: but here are some Antinomians, who hold that no transgression is sin in the children of God: Traskites, now called Seventh-day men, who keep the Jewish Sabbath: Antisabbatarians, who keep none at all; and the Muggletonians are scarce extinct, who say that God the Father, leaving the government of heaven to Elias, came down on earth and suffered in human form; these deny the Holy Trinity, the creation of heaven and earth and water, the immortality of the soul, religious ministry, and, some of them, the authority of the civil magistrate.

The other sort of Anabaptists are called Quakers, or Shakers, from the trembling and quaking caused in them by vapours in the ecstatick fits, especially after long fasting, and exercise, very much practised by the first disciples of this sect here in England, but of late almost wholly disused. Quakers

They reject ministerial ordinances, and place religion wholly in the inward light of every man's private spirit, and how different soever the impulses of one man's spirit from another, and how different notions soever they create, they account it all the same light infused by the spirit of God in different measures and degrees. They agree with other Anabaptists against infant baptism, and go far beyond them, even to the neglecting all baptism, and the other sacrament of the eucharist, all human learning, appropriate places and times of worship, and abhor paying of tithes. . . .

Independents are a sect lately sprung up from the Brownists. These have no general church government, but each particular congregation is ruled by their own laws and methods without dependence on one another; are against all set form of prayer, even to the Lord's prayer. They give power to private men to erect and gather churches, elect, ordain, depose, excommunicate, and determine finally in all church causes. The laity sometimes administer the sacraments, and magistrates administer the office of matrimony. They are most of them Millenaries and commence the last thousand years of Christ's kingdom from Independents

the beginning of independency. All those of the laity whom they account gifted men are permitted to preach and pray and to catechize the preacher concerning the doctrine he hath preached. They communicate frequently, sitting at a table, or without a table.

Presbyterians

Presbyterians maintain that there is only a nominal difference between bishop, presbyter, and pastor; and that "priest" is not a gospel word, but belongs only to sacrifices. They will not allow deacons to preach, but only collect for and administer to the poor. In every church they appoint lay elders and rulers, who are to inspect men's manners, and to bear a part in the government of the church; they acknowledge a priority of orders ought to be amongst church governours, but not a priority of jurisdiction. They deny the civil magistrate any authority in church government, making the king a mere layman, and subject to the censures of parochial church governours. They have two church judiciaries, the Classical Assembly and the General Assembly, to which latter there lies an appeal from the Classical.

When we speak of any of these sectaries indiscriminately, we call them Dissenters and Nonconformists; and they that speak more freely term them fanaticks and enthusiasts. It must be confessed that in all these sects there are some good moral men, nay, some of them zealous towards God, but in such a zeal as is not according to knowledge.

The pamphlet from which the following passages are taken was written by the celebrated satirist and essayist Daniel Defoe. It is believed by some that he wrote this as his serious belief, by others that he intended it as a satire. Whichever way it was intended, it illustrates equally well the belief of the high church or Tory party of the time, that the Dissenters had already been too much favored and that the time had now come under Queen Anne when they should be completely excluded from all political influence. Fortunately the toleration already granted to them was never taken away.

341. Daniel Defoe, *The Shortest Way with Dissenters* (1702)

Sir Roger L'Estrange tells us a story in his collection of fables, of the cock and the horses. The cock was gotten to roost in the stable among the horses, and there being no racks or other conveniences for him, it seems he was forced to roost upon the ground. The horses jostling about for room, and putting the cock in danger of his life, he gives them this grave advice, "Pray, gentlefolks, let us stand still, for fear we should tread upon one another."

There are some people in the world, who now they are unperched, and reduced to an equality with other people, and under strong and very just apprehensions of being further treated as they deserve, begin, with Æsop's cock, to preach up peace and union, and the Christian duties of moderation, forgetting that, when they had the power in their hands, these graces were strangers in their gates.

Fourteen years since toleration has been granted to the Dissenters, by the act of 1689

It is now near fourteen years that the glory and peace of the purest and most flourishing church in the world has been eclipsed, buffeted, and disturbed by a sort of men whom God in his providence has suffered to insult over her and bring her down. These have been the days of her humiliation and tribulation. She has borne with invincible patience the reproach of the wicked, and God has at last heard her prayers and delivered her from the oppression of the stranger.

And now they find their day is over, their power is gone, and the throne of this nation possessed by a royal, English, true, and ever-constant member of and friend to the Church of England; now they find that they are in danger of the Church of England's just resentments; now they cry out peace, union, forbearance, and charity, as if the church had not too long harbored her enemies under her wing, and nourished the viperous brood till they hiss and fly in the face of the mother that cherished them.

No, gentlemen, the time of mercy is past: your day of grace is over; you should have practiced peace, and moderation, and charity, if you expected any yourselves.

We have heard none of this lesson for fourteen years past. We have been huffed and bullied with your Act of Toleration; you have told us that you are the church established by law,

as well as others; have set up your canting synagogues at our church doors, and the church and members have been loaded with reproaches, with oaths, associations, abjurations, and what not. Where has been the mercy, the forbearance, the charity, you have shown to tender consciences of the Church of England, that could not take oaths as fast as you made them; that, having sworn allegiance to their lawful and rightful king, could not dispense with that oath, their king being still alive, and swear to your new hodgepodge of a Dutch government? These have been turned out of their livings, and they and their families left to starve; their estates double taxed to carry on a war they had no hand in, and you got nothing by. What account can you give of the multitudes you have forced to comply, against their consciences, with your new sophistical politics, who, like new converts in France, sin because they cannot starve? And now the tables are turned upon you; you must not be persecuted; it is not a Christian spirit.

Jacobite clergy

You have butchered one king, deposed another king, and made a mock king of a third, and yet you could have the face to expect to be employed and trusted by the fourth. Anybody that did not know the temper of your party would stand amazed at the impudence, as well as folly, to think of it. . . .

Charles I, James II, and William III

The union with Scotland was the most permanent change dating from the reign of Anne. There was long opposition to it in Scotland and but little popular interest in England, but it was finally carried through by acts of the two parliaments, the following being the most important sections of the English act.

342. Extracts from the Act of Union (1707)

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland shall, upon the first day of May which shall be in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven, and forever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain; and that the ensigns armorial of the said United Kingdom be such as her Majesty shall appoint, and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew be conjoined in such manner as her Majesty shall

think fit, and used in all flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both at sea and land.

II. That the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and of the dominions thereto belonging, after her most sacred Majesty and in default of issue of her Majesty, be, remain, and continue to the most excellent princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, upon whom the crown of England is settled by an act of parliament made in England in the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Third. . . . Succession to the crown

III. That the United Kingdom of Great Britain be represented by one and the same parliament to be styled the parliament of Great Britain. The united parliament

IV. That all the subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain shall from and after the union have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any port or place within the said United Kingdom and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles. Freedom of trade between England and Scotland

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, of the peers of Scotland at the time of the union sixteen shall be the number to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and forty-five the number of the representatives of Scotland in the House of Commons of the parliament of Great Britain. . . . Sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to sit in the united parliament

Some of the keenest and bitterest observations on Ireland in the early eighteenth century, which was one of its most unhappy periods, were made by Jonathan Swift, who was born in Dublin and held a position in the established church in Ireland. The two following passages are taken from two pamphlets written by him in the year 1727.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of

343. Swift, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1727)

exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to. . . . Thus we are in the condition of patients who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease; and thus we are forced to pay five hundred per cent to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honor to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind. . . .

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four fifths of his time.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels, where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior offices in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom,—all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver; every petty prince, vassal to the emperor, can coin what money he pleases. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world. . . .

Another class of burdens is referred to in the next extract.

344. Swift, *The Present Miserable State of Ireland* (1727)

The first and greatest shock our trade received was from an act passed in the reign of King William, in the parliament of England, prohibiting the exportation of wool manufactured in Ireland; an act (as the event plainly shews) fuller of greediness than good policy; an act as beneficial to France and Spain as it has been destructive to England and Ireland. At the passing of this fatal act the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, though no way interfering with the English. . . . Coarse druggets, bays, and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half works, and gaudy stuffs were the only product of our looms: these were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the northern nations, from which we had in exchange timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and hard dollars. . . . This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, etc., for our own wear, for rents, for coals, for hardware, and all other English manufactures, and, in a great measure, supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation.

The repeated clamors of the English weavers produced this act, so destructive to themselves and us. They looked with envious eyes upon our prosperity, and complained of being undersold by us in those commodities which they themselves did not deal in. At their instances the act was passed, and we lost our profitable northern trade. . . .

Linen alone allowed to be exported anywhere

The only manufactured wares we are allowed to export are linen cloth and linen yarn, which are marketable only in England; the rest of our commodities are wool, restrained to England, and raw hides, skins, tallow, beef, and butter. Now these are things for which the northern nations have no occasion; we are therefore obliged, instead of carrying woolen goods to their markets, and bringing home money, to purchase their commodities.

In France, Spain, and Portugal our wares are more valuable, though it must be owned our fraudulent trade in wool is the best branch of our commerce; from hence we get wines, brandy, and fruit very cheap, and in great perfection; so that though England has constrained us to be poor, they have given us leave to be merry. . . .

To England we are allowed to send nothing but linen cloth, yarn, raw hides, skins, tallow, and wool. From thence we have coals, for which we always pay ready money, India goods, English woolen and silks, tobacco, hardware, earthenware, salt, and several other commodities. Our exportations to England are very much overbalanced by our importations; so that the course of exchange is generally too high, and people choose rather to make their remittances to England in specie than by a bill, and our nation is perpetually drained of its little running cash.

Absenteeism of the gentry

Another cause of the decay of trade, scarcity of money, and swelling of exchange is the unnatural affectation of our gentry to reside in and about London. Their rents are remitted to them, and spent there. The countryman lacks employment from them; the country shopkeeper lacks their custom. For this reason he can't pay his Dublin correspondent readily, nor take off a great quantity of his wares. Therefore the Dublin merchant can't employ the artisan, nor keep up his credit in foreign markets. . . .

Rack rents

Another great calamity is the exorbitant raising of the rents of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack rent, leases granted but for a small term of years, tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised, on the expiration of their lease, proportionately to the improvements they shall make. Thus is honest industry restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; 't is well if he can cover his family with a coarse homespun frieze. The artisan has little dealing with him; yet he is obliged to take his provisions from him at an extravagant price, otherwise the farmer cannot pay his rent.

Sheep farms

The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog kennel and an acre of ground for

a potato plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty!

We are apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed; but then we don't consider they have nothing to do. Sir William Temple, in his excellent remarks on the United Provinces, inquires why Holland, which has the fewest and worst ports and commodities of any nation in Europe, should abound in trade, and Ireland, which has the most and best of both, should have none? This great man attributes this surprising accident to the natural aversion man has for labor; who will not be persuaded to toil and fatigue himself for the superfluities of life throughout the week, when he may provide himself with all necessary subsistence by the labor of a day or two. But, with due submission to Sir William's profound judgment, the want of trade with us is rather owing to the cruel restraints we lie under than to any disqualification whatsoever in our inhabitants.

III. George I, George II, and Sir Robert Walpole

The characters of the first two kings of the house of Hanover, who reigned from 1714 to 1727 and from 1727 to 1760 respectively, are well, though by no means favorably, sketched by Lord Chesterfield, who knew them both and was long attached to the court of George II. With all their interests restricted to their German dominions, and accepted as rulers in England only as a means of excluding the Catholic Stuarts, they exercised but little real power in the government Their low personal character, moreover, exerted a bad influence on society.

George the First was an honest, dull, German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a king, which is to shine and to oppress. Lazy and inactive, even in his pleasures,

345. A contemporary estimate of the first two Georges

which were therefore lowly sensual, he was coolly intrepid and indolently benevolent. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favourite, hours the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the duchess of Kendal, with whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot.

George I

Importunity alone could make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views and affections were singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate; England was too big for him. If he had nothing great as a king, he had nothing bad as a man; and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain, the annals of this country. In private life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbor. Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater kings in it!

George II

. . . He had not better parts than his father, but much stronger animal spirits, which made him produce and communicate himself more. Everything in his composition was little; and he had all the weaknesses of a little mind, without any of the virtues, or even the vices, of a great one. He loved to act the king, but mistook the part; and the royal dignity shrunk into the electoral pride. He was educated upon that scale, and never enlarged its dimensions with his dominions. As elector of Hanover he thought himself great; as king of Great Britain only rich. Avarice, the meanest of all passions, was his ruling one; and I never knew him deviate into any generous action. . . .

In council he was excessively timorous, and thought by many to be so in person; but of this I can say nothing on my own knowledge. In his dress and in his conversation he affected the hero so much, that from thence only many called his courage in question, though, by the way, that is no certain rule to judge by, since the bravest men with weak understandings constantly fall into that error.

Little things, as he has often told me himself, affected him more than great ones; and this was so true that I have often

seen him put so much out of humor at his private levée, by a mistake or blunder of a *valet de chambre*, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levée have, from his looks and silence, concluded that he had just received some dreadful news. Tacitus would always have been deceived by him. . . .

He well knew that he was governed by the queen while she lived, and that she was governed by Sir Robert Walpole; but he kept that secret inviolably, and flattered himself that nobody had discovered it. . . . He was very well-bred; but it was in a stiff and formal manner, and produced in others that restraint which they saw he was under himself. . . .

Upon the whole he was rather a weak than a bad man or king. His government was mild as to prerogative, but burdensome as to taxes. . . . I have dwelt the longer upon this character because I was so long and so well acquainted with it; for above thirty years I was always near his person, and had constant opportunities of observing him, both in his regal robes and in his undress. I have accompanied him in his pleasures and been employed in his business. I have, by turns, been as well and as ill with him as any man in England. Impartial and unprejudiced, I have drawn this character from the life, and after a forty years' sitting.

The devotion of George II to Hanover and his disapproval of English customs are brought out still more clearly in the *Memoirs* of Lord Hervey, another courtier of the period.

346. George II and Hanover

After this last journey Hanover had so completed the conquest of his affections that there was nothing English ever commended in his presence that he did not always show, or pretend to show, was surpassed by something of the same kind in Germany. No English or even French cook could dress a dinner; no English confectioner set out a dessert; no English player could act; no English coachman could drive, or English jockey ride; nor were any English horses fit to be drove or fit to be ridden; no Englishman knew how to come into a room, nor any Englishwoman how to dress herself . . .

whereas at Hanover all these things were in the utmost perfection. . . .

In truth he hated the English, looked upon them all as king killers and republicans, grudged them their riches as well as their liberty, thought them all overpaid, and said to Lady Sundon one day as she was waiting at dinner, just after he had returned from Germany, that he was forced to distribute his favors here very differently from the manner in which he bestowed them at Hanover; that there he rewarded people for doing their duty and serving him well, but that here he was obliged to enrich people for being rascals, and buy them not to cut his throat.

The rise of Sir Robert Walpole, on the settlement of the South Sea panic, the large part he took in the government between 1720 and 1742, his interest in the secret service or bribery fund, the opposition to him, and his final fall from office, lightened as this was by his appointment to a peerage, will appear from the following group of contemporary letters, extending over the whole twenty years of his ministry.

347. William Pultney to Daniel Pultney (London, November 20, 1720)

Dear Cousin:

I am perfectly ashamed to write to you, having received so many letters from you without answering one of them; but I hope you will forgive me when I assure you that I have done nothing, nor thought of nothing, for these last two months, but South Sea stock, and yet I am not myself any great sufferer by it; but so many of my acquaintances are ruined and undone that I am under as much anxiety and uneasiness of mind as if I was so myself. 'T is ridiculous to tell you what a summe I might once have been master of; but since I had not discretion enough to secure that, 't is still some comfort to me to have putt my affairs in such a way that lett what will happen I can be no loser by it. The king's coming, which everybody thought would have in some measure revived the stock, has from abundance of simple stories that have been

artfully dispersed rather depressed it, and within this week the stock has been sold at 120£.

It has been reported that Mr. Walpole, who has the greatest influence of any one over the directors of the bank, has all this while prevented their complying with the bargain they made with the South Sea Company, and that he has it now in his power to ruin the South Sea scheme and the authors of it at once, in revenge for the trick they formerly served him. To tell you the plain truth, I do not think there is any very cordial affection between the ministers and him; but it is so much the interest of both of them to relieve mankind from this generall calamity, that I am persuaded they must co-operate in all measures for doing of it, and upon their meeting yesterday, when Mr. Walpole proposed some things for the South Sea, which was agreed to by the ministers, the stock gott up to 200£.

348. Sir Robert Walpole to Lord Townshend, Secretary of State (London, September 7, 1725)

My Lord:

I have nothing to trouble your lordship with this post, having no particulars from Scotland since my last, but general accounts that every thing is like to go on very well, and 't is now hoped that the malt tax will be levied and collected without any further dispute. The occasion of my troubling you now is to transmit to your lordship the three enclosed warrants and receipts for money to be issued out of the secret service, which will be wanted at Michaelmas, or at least no more of it shall be issued than shall be absolutely necessary. The unexpected sums that have been paid since his Majesty's departure, which your lordship is acquainted with, make it necessary to send over these warrants, that it may be in my power to answer some payments that become due at Michaelmas, and to be able to answer any unforeseen services; but I hope the whole will not be wanted before the king's return. Be pleased, my lord, to present them to his Majesty to be signed; the dates are left blank, to be filled up at the times that the money shall be wanted. His Majesty will remember that the receipts are to be signed at the top, with G. R. at bottom. You will observe that I am preparing to get my

The secret service fund

business dispatched with an eye to some October hunting, or you had not heard of me so soon on this account. I am very truly and affectionately, my dear lord, your lordship's most faithful, humble servant,

ROBERT WALPOLE.

349. Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham (July 25, 1740)

I agree that if any private job was to be done, or connived att, against the national interest, and in favour of some other to which the prince on the throne might be supposed affectionate, Sir Robert would not fail to make his court. This we have seen. But how can it be supposed, in the present case, that the prince on the throne should think it his interest to favour Spain att the expense of Great Britain, unless Sir Robert has persuaded him that it is so? But then the question returns, how has he persuaded him? He may think that Philip II is on the throne of Spain; that an invincible armada will invade his kingdom; that the pretender is actually in it; and that a formidable party, composed of all Sir Robert's enemys, is ready to take arms against the establishment. But his minister knows, I believe, that Philip V is on the throne of Spain; he must have heard something, even from Wager, of the weakness of the maritime forces of Spain; his brother may have informed him that the pretender is att Rome; and as he is well enough apprized of the state of things att home, he must know that the Jacobite party in Britain is an unorganized lump of inert matter, without a principle of life or action in it; capable of mobility, perhaps, but more capable of divisibility, and utterly void of all power of spontaneous motion. . . .

Walpole's influence to prevent a war with Spain

350. Sir Robert Walpole to the duke of Devonshire (London, February 2, 1742)

I was unwilling to miss this opportunity of the messenger that carries back the Irish bills, to give your grace an account by a safe conveyance of what will immediately happen within the space of three or four days. It is determined that the king shall tomorrow, when he passes the malt act, direct the two houses to adjourn themselves for a fortnight to give time for settling a new administration. I shall go up immediately to the House of Peers with the title of earl of Orford. Lord Wilmington will be put at the head of the treasury; but what further steps will be taken are yet by no means settled among themselves.

To give your grace a short view of this great revolution, I must inform you that the panick was so great among what I should call my own friends that they all declared my retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the publick businesse, and this to be attended with honour and security, &c. This was fixed with the d. of N——, Lord Ch–r, Lord Ca–tt, and Mr. Pultney, but the king has declared Lord Wil–n my successor. . . . I will conclude with acquainting you that the king has behaved towards me with more grace and steadinesse than can ever be enough acknowledged, and never yielded at all to the change till I made it my desire.

Announces his fall from office

Dear Sir:

I was with Sir Robert Walpole this morning. He has desired me to write to you, to beg of you not to determine yourself in any way till he has spoke to you. He seems to bear his change of fortune with great spirit. I own for my part I never saw a more melancholy scene than his levee was this morning. It was the fullest that ever was, I believe, and the greatest concern in everybody's looks. I hope you will let me hear from you as soon as possible. Our situation will be, I am afraid, a very confused one; and I shall be desirous of acting as I thought would be most agreeable to you, and I flatter myself that I shall have your approbation, when I told Sir Robert today, upon his saying that he hoped I would stand by the government, which he himself would endeavour to support, that he might depend upon it that I would do everything that I could do to support him and the measures that he should advise. But I hope now he will be above the reach of all his enemys, tho' the Jac–tes and people of that complexion were very warm yesterday in the House of Commons, and declar'd that they did not yet despair of having his life; but Sir Robert told me that he had wrote you a full account when the bills went, that it will be unnecessary for me to say anything more on this subject. They say, and I had it from his son, that when he took leave of the king, and kneeled down, the king burst into a flood of tears, and express'd great concern at parting with him. . . .

351. The marquis of Hartington to the duke of Devonshire (London, February 4, 1742)

Lord Chesterfield has devoted one of his keen character sketches to Walpole, whom he describes as follows:

352. A contemporary description of Walpole

I much question whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity; for he governed this kingdom so long that the various passions of mankind mingled, and in a manner incorporated themselves, with everything that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered nor more abused; and his long power was probably the chief cause of both. I was much acquainted with him both in his public and his private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character; and therefore my picture of him will, perhaps, be more like him than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

His private life

In private life he was good-natured, cheerful, social; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse, strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind necessary for great good or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune. He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit; and never thought of doing great ones for glory.

His parliamentary skill

He was both the best parliament-man and the ablest manager of parliament that I believe ever lived. An artful rather than an eloquent speaker, he saw as by intuition the disposition of the House, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that, whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration; and he employed it with a success which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II, but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion he brought it to that perfection which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which

(if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed impudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found any body proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art: for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue, and the love of one's country, calling them "the chimerical schoolboy flights of classical learning," declaring himself, at the same time, "no saint, no Spartan, no reformer." He would frequently ask young fellows, at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted, "Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? You will soon come off of that, and grow wiser." And thus he was more dangerous to the morals than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded he meant no ill in his heart. . . .

The poet Pope draws a more attractive picture of Walpole in the following stanza:

353. A poetic reference to Walpole

> Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
> Of social pleasure, ill exchanged for power;
> Seen him, uncumbered with the venal tribe,
> Smile without art, and win without a bribe.

IV. The Rebellion of the Young Pretender and the Wesleyan Movement

The following passages are extracts from the letters of Horace Walpole, son of Sir Robert Walpole, a famous letter writer, and connected by family with many of the leading statesmen and noblemen of the time, but not himself in office. The letters are addressed to Sir

Horace Mann, ambassador of England in Florence, and are all written from Walpole's house in Arlington Street, London. It can be seen how through the fall and winter of 1745 and 1746 the invasion of Scotland and England by Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, was watched and feared.

354. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann (London, September 6, 1745)

It would have been inexcusable in me, in our present circumstances, and after all I have promised you, not to have written to you for this last month, if I had been in London; but I have been at Mount Edgecumbe, and so constantly upon the road that I neither received your letters, had time to write, or knew what to write. I came back last night, and found three packets from you, which I have no time to answer and but just time to read. The confusion I have found, and the danger we are in, prevent my talking of anything else. The Young Pretender, at the head of three thousand men, has got a march on General Cope, who is not eighteen hundred strong; and when the last accounts came away, was fifty miles nearer Edinburgh than Cope, and by this time is there. The clans will not rise for the government: the dukes of Argyll and Athol are come post to town, not having been able to raise a man. . . .

September 13, 1745

The rebellion goes on; but hitherto there is no rising in England, nor landing of troops from abroad: indeed not even of ours or the Dutch. The best account I can give you is, that if the boy has apparently no enemies in Scotland, at least he has openly very few friends. Nobody of note has joined him, but a brother of the duke of Athol (the marquis of Tullibardine), and another of Lord Dunmore. For cannon they have nothing but one-pounders: their greatest resource is money; they have force Louis-d'ors. The last accounts left them at Perth, making shoes and stockings. It is certain that a serjeant of Cope's, with twelve men, put to flight two hundred, on killing only six or seven. Two hundred of the Monroe clan have joined our forces. Spirit seems to rise in London, though not in the proportion it ought; and then the person most concerned (the king) does everything to check its progress: when the

ministers propose anything with regard to the rebellion, he cries, "Pho! don't talk to me of that stuff." Lord Granville has persuaded him that it is of no consequence. . . .

The deputy governor of Edinburgh Castle has threatened the magistrates to beat their town about their ears, if they admit the rebels. Perth is twenty-four miles from Edinburgh, so we must soon know whether they will go thither or leave it and come into England. We have great hopes that the Highlanders will not follow him so far. Very few of them could be persuaded the last time to go to Preston; and several refused to attend King Charles II when he marched to Worcester. The *Caledonian Mercury* never calls them "the rebels," but "the Highlanders." . . .

September 20, 1745

One really does n't know what to write to you: the accounts from Scotland vary perpetually, and at best are never very certain. I was just going to tell you that the rebels are in England; but my uncle (old Horace) is this moment come in, and says that an express came last night with an account of their being in Edinburgh to the number of five thousand. This sounds great, to have walked through a kingdom and taken possession of the capital! But this capital is an open town, and the castle impregnable and in our possession. There never was so extraordinary a rebellion! One can't tell what assurances of support they may have from the Jacobites in England, or from the French; but nothing of either sort has yet appeared — and if there does not, never was so desperate an enterprise. . . .

September 27, 1745

Cope lay in face of the rebels all Friday; he scarce two thousand strong, they vastly superior, though we don't know their numbers. The military people say that he should have attacked them. However, we are sadly convinced that they are not such raw ragamuffins as they were represented. The rotation that has been established in that country, to give all the Highlanders the benefit of serving in the independent companies, has trained and disciplined them. MacDonald (I suppose he from Naples), who is reckoned a very experienced, able officer, is said to have commanded them and to be dangerously wounded. One does not hear the boy's personal valour

Jacobite victory at Prestonpans (September 21)

cried up; by which I conclude he was not in the action. Our dragoons most shamefully fled without striking a blow, and are with Cope, who escaped in a boat to Berwick. . . .

The rebels holding Scotland

We have lost all our artillery, five hundred men taken, and three killed, and several officers, as you will see in the papers. This defeat has frightened everybody but those it rejoices and those it should frighten most; but my lord Granville still buoys up the king's spirits, and persuades him it is nothing. He uses his ministers as ill as possible, and discourages everybody that would risk their lives and fortunes with him. Marshall Wade is marching against the rebels, but the king will not let him take above eight thousand men; so that if they come into England, another battle, with no advantage on our side, may determine our fate. Indeed, they don't seem so unwise as to risk their cause upon so precarious an event; but rather to design to establish themselves in Scotland, till they can be supported from France, and be set up with taking Edinburgh Castle, where there is to the value of a million, and which they would make a stronghold. It is scarcely victualled for a month, and must surely fall into their hands. Our coasts are greatly guarded, and London kept in awe by the arrival of the guards. I don't believe what I have been told this morning, that more troops are sent for from Flanders, and aid asked of Denmark. . . .

I have so trained myself to expect this ruin, that I see it approach without any emotion. I shall suffer with fools, without having any malice to our enemies, who act sensibly from principle and from interest. Ruling parties seldom have caution or common sense. I don't doubt but Whigs and Protestants will be alert enough in trying to recover what they lose so supinely. . . .

October 21, 1745

The parliament met on Thursday. I don't think, considering the crisis, that the House was very full. Indeed, many of the Scotch members cannot come if they would. The Young Pretender had published a declaration, threatening to confiscate the estates of the Scotch that should come to parliament, and making it treason for the English. The only points that have been before the House, the address and suspension of

the Habeas Corpus, met with obstructions from the Jacobites. By this we may expect that spirit they will show hereafter.

All my hopes are in Wade, who was so sensible of the ignorance of our governors that he refused to accept the command, till they consented that he should be subject to no kind of orders from hence. The rebels are reckoned up to thirteen thousand: Wade marches with about twelve; but if they come southward, the other army will probably be to fight them; the duke is to command it, and sets out next week with another brigade of Guards and Ligonier under him. There are many apprehensions for Chester from the Flintshire-men, who are ready to rise. A quartermaster, first sent to Carlisle, was seized and carried to Wade; he behaved most insolently; and being asked by the general, how many the rebels were, replied, "Enough to beat any army you have in England." . . . November 22, 1745

Yesterday they had another baiting from Pitt, who is ravenous for the place of secretary of war: they would give it him, but, as a preliminary, he insists on a declaration of our having nothing to do with the continent. He mustered his forces, but did not notify his intention; only at two o'clock Lyttleton said at the Treasury that there would be business at the House. The motion was, to augment our naval force, which Pitt said was the only method of putting an end to the rebellion. Ships built a year hence to suppress an army of Highlanders now marching through England! My uncle (old Horace) attacked him, and congratulated his country on the wisdom of the modern young men; and said he had a son of two-and-twenty, who, he did not doubt, would come over wiser than any of them. Pitt was provoked, and retorted on his "negotiations and gray-headed experience." At those words my uncle, as if he had been at Bartholomew Fair, snatched off his wig and showed his gray hairs, which made the august senate laugh, and put Pitt out, who after laughing himself diverted his venom upon Mr. Pelham. Upon the question Pitt's party amounted to but thirty-six: in short, he has nothing left but his words and his haughtiness and his Lyttletons and his Grenvilles. Adieu. [Numerous letters through the next four months describe the progress and decline of the invasion.] An early appearance of William Pitt on the scene

April 25, 1746

On the 16th, the duke, by forced marches, came up with the rebels, a little on this side Inverness, — by the way, the battle is not christened yet; I only know that neither Prestonpans nor Falkirk are to be godfathers. The rebels, who had fled from him after their victory and durst not attack him, when so much exposed to them at his passage of the Spey, now stood him, they seven thousand, he ten. They broke through Barril's regiment, and killed Lord Robert Kerr, a handsome young gentleman, who was cut to pieces with above thirty wounds; but they were soon repulsed, and fled, the whole engagement not lasting above a quarter of an hour. The Young Pretender escaped; Mr. Conway says he hears, wounded: he certainly was in the rear. They have lost above a thousand men in the engagement and pursuit; and six hundred were already taken, among which latter are their French ambassador and Earl Kilmarnock. The duke of Perth and Lord Ogilvie are said to be slain; Lord Elcho was in a salivation, and not there. Except Lord Robert Kerr, we lost nobody of note: Sir Robert Rich's eldest son has lost his hand, and about a hundred and thirty private men fell. The defeat is reckoned total, and the dispersion general; and all their artillery is taken. It is a brave young duke! The town is all blazing round me, as I write, with fireworks and illuminations.

Battle of Culloden and failure of the rebellion

The following extracts from Wesley's diary, during the years 1738–1760, are illustrative of his character and work.

355. Extracts from the diary of John Wesley

May, 1738

Sun. 7. I preached at St. Lawrence's in the morning and afterwards at St. Katherine Cree's Church. I was enabled to speak strong words at both; and was therefore the less surprised at being informed, I was not to preach any more in either of those churches.

September, 1738

Sun. 14. I preached in the morning at St. Ann's, Aldersgate; and in the afternoon at the Savoy Chapel, free salvation by faith in the blood of Christ. I was quickly apprised that at St. Ann's, likewise, I am to preach no more.

Sun., September 17. I began again to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation, preaching three times, and afterwards expounding the holy scripture, to a large company in the Minories. On Monday I rejoiced to meet with our little society, which now consisted of thirty-two persons.

The next day I went to the condemned felons, in Newgate, and offered them free salvation. In the evening I went to a society in Bear Yard, and preached repentance and remission of sins. The next evening I spoke the truth in love at a society in Aldersgate Street: some contradicted at first, but not long; so that nothing but love appeared at our parting.

Thur. 29. I left London, and in the evening expounded to a small company at Basingstoke. Saturday, 31. In the evening I reached Bristol and met Mr. Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday; having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church. March, 1739 Field preaching

Sun. 13. My ordinary employment, in public, was now as follows: Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening I expounded a portion of scripture at one or more of the societies. On Monday, in the afternoon, I preached abroad, near Bristol; on Tuesday, at Bath and Two Mile Hill alternately; on Wednesday, at Baptist Mills; every other Thursday, near Pensford; every other Friday, in another part of Kingswood; on Saturday in the afternoon, and Sunday morning, in the Bowling-green (which lies near the middle of the city); on Sundays at eleven, near Hannam-mount; at two, at Clifton; and at five, on Rose-green. And hitherto, as my days, so my strength hath been. May 13 Preaching in and about Bristol

Sun. 20. Seeing many of the rich at Clifton Church, my heart was much pained for them, and I was earnestly desirous that some even of them might "enter into the kingdom of heaven." But full as I was, I knew not where to begin in warning them to flee from the wrath to come till my Testament opened on these words: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance"; in applying which my soul

was so enlarged that methought I could have cried out (in another sense than poor vain Archimedes), "Give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth." God's sending forth lightning with the rain did not hinder about fifteen hundred from staying at Rose-green. Our scripture was: "It is the glorious God that maketh the thunder. The voice of the Lord is mighty in operation; the voice of the Lord is a glorious voice." In the evening he spoke to three whose souls were all storm and tempest, and immediately there was a great calm.

September 9, 1739

Sun. 9. I declared to about ten thousand, in Moorfields, what they must do to be saved. My mother went with us, about five, to Kennington, where were supposed to be twenty thousand people. I again insisted on that foundation of all our hope, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved." From Kennington I went to a society at Lambeth. The house being filled, the rest stood in the garden. The deep attention they showed gave me a hope that they will not all be forgetful hearers.

"Methodism"

Sun. 16. I preached at Moorfields to about ten thousand, and at Kennington Common to, I believe, near twenty thousand, on those words of the calmer Jews to St. Paul, "We desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against." At both places I described the real difference between what is generally called Christianity and the true old Christianity, which, under the new name of Methodism, is now also everywhere spoken against.

Sun. 28. I preached once more at Bradford, at one in the afternoon. The violent rains did not hinder more, I believe, than ten thousand from earnestly attending to what I spoke on those solemn words: "I take you to record this day that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."

Hysterical attacks

Returning in the evening, I called at Mrs. J–s', in Kingswood. S–h J–s and L–y C–r were there. It was scarce a quarter of an hour before L–y C–r fell into a strange agony; and presently after, S–h J–s. The violent convulsions all over their bodies were such as words cannot describe. Their cries and groans were too horrid to be borne, till one of them, in a tone

not to be expressed, said, "Where is your faith now? Come, go to prayers. I will pray with you. 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'" We took the advice, from whomsoever it came, and poured out our souls before God, till L–y C–r's agonies so increased that it seemed she was in the pangs of death. But in a moment God spoke: she knew his voice; and both her body and soul were healed.

We continued in prayer till near one, when S–h J–s' voice was also changed, and she began strongly to call upon God. This she did for the greatest part of the night. In the morning we renewed our prayers, while she was crying continually, "I burn! I burn! O what shall I do? I have a fire within me. I cannot bear it. Lord Jesus! Help!" Amen, Lord Jesus! when thy time is come.

Sun., Sept. 14. As I returned home in the evening, I had no sooner stepped out of the coach than the mob, who were gathered in great numbers about my door, quite closed me in. I rejoiced and blessed God, knowing this was the time I had long been looking for; and immediately spake to those that were next me of "righteousness, and judgment to come." At first not many heard, the noise round about us being exceeding great. But the silence spread farther and farther, till I had a quiet, attentive congregation; and when I left them, they showed much love, and dismissed me with many blessings. September 14, 1740

Sun. 28. I began expounding the Sermon on the Mount, at London. In the afternoon I described to a numerous congregation at Kennington the life of God in the soul. One person who stood on the mount made a little noise at first; but a gentleman, whom I knew not, walked up to him, and without saying one word, mildly took him by the hand and led him down. From that time he was quiet till he went away.

When I came home I found an innumerable mob round the door, who opened all their throats the moment they saw me. I desired my friends to go into the house; and then walking into the midst of the people, proclaimed, "the name of the Lord, gracious and merciful, and repenting him of the evil." They stood staring one at another. I told them they could not flee from the face of this great God: and therefore

besought them, that we might all join together in crying to him for mercy. To this they readily agreed: I then commended them to his grace, and went undisturbed to the little company within.

August 28, 1748

Sun. 28. I was invited by Mr. U., the minister of Goodshaw, to preach in his church. I began reading prayers at seven; but perceiving the church would scarce contain half of the congregation, after prayers I went out, and standing on the churchyard wall, in a place shaded from the sun, explained and enforced those words in the second lesson, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

I wonder at those who still talk so loud of the indecency of field preaching. The highest indecency is in St. Paul's Church, when a considerable part of the congregation are asleep, or talking, or looking about, not minding a word the preacher says. On the other hand, there is the highest decency in a churchyard or field, when the whole congregation behave and look as if they saw the Judge of all, and heard him speaking from heaven.

In Ireland, June 10, 1760

Tues., June 10. I rode to Drumersnave, a village delightfully situated. At noon William Ley, James Glasbrook, and I rode to Carrick-upon-Shannon. In less than an hour, an esquire and justice of the peace came down with a drum and what mob he could gather. I went into the garden with the congregation, while he was making a speech to his followers in the street. He then attacked William Ley (who stood at the door), being armed with an halbert and long sword; and ran at him with the halbert, but missing his thrust he then struck at him, and broke it short upon his wrist. Having made his way through the house to the other door, he was at a full stop. James Glasbrook held it fast on the other side. While he was endeavoring to force it open, one told him I was preaching in the garden. On this he quitted the door in haste, ran round the house, and, with part of his retinue, climbed over the wall into the garden; and with a whole volley of oaths and curses declared, "You shall not preach here to-day." I told him, "Sir, I do not intend it, for I have preached already." This made him ready to tear the ground. Finding he was not to be

reasoned with, I went into the house. Soon after he revenged himself on James Glasbrook, by breaking the truncheon of his halbert on his arm, and on my hat, which he beat and kicked most valiantly; but a gentleman rescued it out of his hands, and we rode quietly out of the town.

A somewhat unsympathetic view of Wesley is expressed in the following letter from Horace Walpole to a friend, recounting his observations at a service and sermon by Wesley in the Methodist chapel in Bath.

356. Horace Walpole to John Chute (Bath, October 10, 1766)

I am impatient to hear that your charity to me has not ended in the gout to yourself — all my comfort is, if you have it, that you have good Lady Brown to nurse you.

My health advances faster than my amusement. However, I have been at one opera, Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls with charming voices, that sing hymns, in parts, to Scotch ballad tunes, but indeed so long that one would think they were already in eternity and knew how much time they had before them. The chapel is very neat, with true Gothic windows (yet I am not converted); but I was glad to see that luxury is creeping in upon them before persecution: they have very neat mahogany stands for branches, and brackets of the same in taste. At the upper end is a broad *hautpas* of four steps, advancing in the middle: at each end of the broadest part are two of my eagles, with red cushions for the parson and clerk. Behind them rise three more steps, in the midst of which is a third eagle for pulpit — scarlet-armed chairs to all three. On either hand, a balcony for elect ladies. The rest of the congregation sit on forms. Behind the pit, in a dark niche, is a plain table within rails; so you see the throne is for the apostle. Wesley is a lean, elderly man, fresh-colored, his hair smoothly combed, but with a *soupçon* of curl at the ends. Wondrous clean, but as evidently an actor as Garrick. He spoke his sermon, but so fast, and with so little accent, that I am sure he has often uttered it, for it was like a lesson. There were parts and eloquence in it; but towards the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm; decried

learning, and told stories, like Latimer, of the fool of his college, who said, "I thanks God for everything." Except a few from curiosity, and "some honorable women," the congregation was very mean. There was a Scotch countess of Buchan, who is carrying a pure, rosy, vulgar face to heaven, and who asked Miss Rich, if that was the "author of the poets." I believe she meant me and the "Noble Authors."

The Bedfords came last night. Lord Chatham was with me yesterday two hours; looks and walks well, and is in excellent political spirits.

V. The Growth of Imperial Interests

The broadening of the interests of England till she became the mistress and center of a world-wide empire was in progress through the whole of the period covered by this chapter, but it became still more clearly marked just at the end of the period. The following extracts will serve to illustrate some steps in England's relations with the most distant portions of her growing dominion, India and America. The first passage is taken from a contemporary narrative of English experiences in India.

357. The "Black Hole" of Calcutta

The principal officer [of the Nabob] commanded the [English] prisoners to go into one of the rooms which stood behind them along the veranda. It was the common dungeon of the garrison, who used to call it the "Black Hole." Many of the prisoners, knowing the place, began to expostulate: upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated; on which the prisoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was so thronged that the last entered with difficulty. The guard immediately closed and locked the door, confining 146 persons in a room not 20 feet square, with only two small windows, and these obstructed by the veranda.

It was the hottest season of the year; and the night uncommonly sultry even at this season. The excessive pressure of their bodies against one another, and the intolerable heat

which prevailed as soon as the door was shut, convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night with this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door, but without effect, for it opened inward: on which many began to give a loose to rage. . . .

Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the windows, were in a lethargic stupefaction or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered, in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miseries by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some were blaspheming their creator with the frantic execrations of torment in despair, heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhausted by these agitations, at length lay down quietly and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. Those who still survived in the inward part of the dungeon, finding that the water had afforded them no relief, made a last effort to obtain air, by endeavouring to scramble over the heads of those who stood between them and the windows; where the utmost strength of every one was employed for two hours, either in maintaining his own ground or in endeavouring to get that of which others were in possession. All regards of compassion and affection were lost, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintness sometimes gave short pauses of quiet, but the first motion of any one renewed the struggle through all, under which ever and anon some one sunk to rise no more. At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the saving air, the contest for which and life continued until the morn, long implored, began to break, and, with the hope of relief, gave the few survivors a view of the dead. . . .

The release in the morning

An officer, sent by the Nabob, came and enquired if the English chief survived; and soon after the same man returned with an order to open the prison. The dead were so thronged, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door, before they could clear a passage to get out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-six who

went in, no more than twenty-three were seen alive. The Nabob's troops beheld them and the havock of death from which they had escaped with indifference; but did not prevent them from removing to a distance, and were immediately obliged by the intolerable stench to clear the dungeon, whilst others dug a ditch on the outside of the fort into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown.

The small English force that arrived soon afterward to rescue their fellow-countrymen and restore the settlement found it necessary, in order to reach these ends, to enter into a secret treaty with Meer Jaffier, a dissatisfied general of the Nabob. The English were to assist him to obtain his master's throne and in return were to receive from him recompense for their losses, an extension of their privileges, and the expulsion of their French rivals from the country. The treaty is here given and will serve to show one of the ways in which a few hundred or thousand Englishmen gradually gained control over millions of native Indians.

358. Treaty between Meer Jaffier and Colonel Clive, Admiral Watson, and other Englishmen (1756)

Article I. Whatever articles were agreed to in the time of peace with the Nabob Surajah Dowlah, I agree to comply with. II. The enemies of the English shall be my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans. III. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, the paradise of nations, and Behar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow the French any more to settle in the three provinces. IV. In consideration of the losses which the English company has sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees. V. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lacs of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted to the English, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta shall be left to Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Roger

The French expelled from Bengal, Behar, and Orissa and their possessions handed over to the English East India Company

Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becker, esquires, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper. . . . VIII. Within the ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars: besides these, I will grant to the English company 600 yards without the ditch. IX. All the land lying south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English company; and all the officers of these parts shall be under their jurisdiction, the revenues to be paid by the company in the same manner as other Zemindars. X. Whenever I demand the assistance of the English, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops. XI. I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, below Hughley. XII. As soon as I am established in the three provinces the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid. Dated the 15th of the month of Ramadan in the fourth year of the present reign.

The English Company made Zemindar, or tax collector, of a large district

I swear by God and the Prophet of God to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.

At almost the same time as the occurrences just described in India the dispute between England and France for the country west of the Allegheny Mountains was becoming acute. The following passage consists of some notes made in the French council of ministers in the year 1752, in which the unquestioned right of France to the country drained by the Mississippi and its great branches, especially the Ohio, was clearly asserted.

359. Minutes of a council of the ministers of the French government (1752)

It appears from a letter of the Marquis de la Jonquière, that the efforts the English are making, and the expenses they incur to gain over the Indians, are not without success among several nations.

Information has been received last year of the progress they had already made among the Indians in the environs of the river Ohio, where they have undertaken, since the peace, to form some establishments.

The Marquis de la Jonquière had rendered an account of a plan he had prepared both to drive the English from that river and to chastise the Indians who allowed themselves to be gained over. . . . But all the consequent operations reduce themselves to the seizure of some English traders with their goods, and to the murder of two Indians of the Miami nation.

The seizure of the English traders whose effects have been confiscated and even plundered by our Indians cannot but produce a good effect by disgusting the other traders of that nation. . . .

The English may pretend that we are bound by the Treaty of Utrecht to permit the Indians to trade with them. But it is certain that nothing can oblige us to suffer this trade on our territory.

Accordingly in all the alliances of quasi treaties or propositions we have had with the Fair Indians, we have never obliged them expressly to renounce going to the English to trade; we have merely exhorted them to that effect, and never did we oppose that treaty by force.

French claim to the country along the Ohio based on discovery, occupation, and possession

The river Ohio, otherwise called the Beautiful River, and its tributaries belong indisputably to France, by virtue of its discovery by Sieur de la Salle, of the trading posts the French have had there since, and of possession, which is so much the more unquestionable as it constitutes the most frequent communication from Canada to Louisiana. It is only within a few years that the English have undertaken to trade there and now they pretend to exclude us from it.

They have not, up to the present time, however, maintained that these rivers belong to them; they pretend only that the Iroquois are masters of them, and, being the sovereigns of these Indians, that they can exercise their rights. But 't is certain that these Indians have none, and that, besides, the pretended sovereignty of the English over them is a chimera.

Dangers from the English

Meanwhile it is of the greatest importance to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter. Should they succeed there, they would cut off the communication between the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and would be in a position to trouble them and to

ruin both the one and the other, independent of the advantages they would at once experience in their trade to the prejudice of ours.

The English claim was just as determined, as is shown in the following extract from orders sent by the English government in the year 1753 to the governors of the American colonies, commanding them to be on their guard against the intrusion of the French upon lands claimed to be under England, and to repel any such intrusion.

360. Instructions from the English ministry to American governors (1753)

His Majesty having received information of the march of a considerable number of Indians not in alliance with the king, supported by some regular European troops, intending, as it is apprehended, to commit some hostilities on parts of his Majesty's dominions in America, I have the king's commands to send you this intelligence, and to direct you to use your utmost diligence to learn how far the same may be well grounded, and to put you upon your guard, that you may, at all events, be in a condition to resist any hostile attempts that may be made upon any parts of his Majesty's dominions within your government; and to direct you in the king's name, that in case the subjects of any foreign prince or state should presume to make any encroachment on the limits of his Majesty's dominions, or to erect forts on his Majesty's land, or commit any other act of hostility, you are immediately to represent the injustice of such proceeding, and to require them forthwith to desist from any such unlawful undertaking; but if notwithstanding your requisition they should still persist, you are then to draw forth the armed force of the province, and to use your best endeavors to repel them by force.

Braddock's defeat, which soon followed, is described from the French side in the following passage:

M. de Contrecœur, captain of infantry, commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the

361. A contemporary French account of Braddock's defeat

English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He dispatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 17th instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues of this fort. That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the ninth detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by M. Dumas and M. de Lignery, all three captains, together with 4 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 20 cadets, 100 soldiers, 100 Canadians, and 600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitered the previous evening.

The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort. M. de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape, having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also, frightened by the report of the cannon rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed. M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officers in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy in the flank, whilst he, M. de Lignery, and the other officers who led the French, were attacking them in front. This order was executed so promptly that the enemy, who were already shouting their "Long live the King," thought now only of defending themselves. The fight was obstinate on both sides and success long doubtful, but the enemy at last gave way. . . .

The following letter from General Wolfe to Mr. Pitt, written from before Quebec but eleven days before the battle which resulted in the capture of that city and the death of the general, will show how near to failure the expedition had come, how desperate the chances

taken in the attack, and how doubtful to all appearance was the outcome of the struggle between England and France in America.

362. Wolfe to Pitt from before Quebec (September 2, 1759)

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men-of-war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the upper to the lower town are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them, and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service, but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country the enemy have added, for the defense of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers, many of whom are of rank, you may perceive, sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event. However, you may be assured, sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed, as far as I am able, for the honor of his Majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral and by the generals. Happy if

our efforts here can contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other parts of America! I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. Wolfe.

The following account is taken from the *Historical Journal* of Captain John Knox, who took part in the battle he describes. His *Journal* was published in London in 1769.

363. A contemporary narrative of the capture of Quebec (Thursday, September 13, 1759)

Before daybreak this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery, and the light troops were fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond; we had, in this debarkation, thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who, from the natural strength of the place, did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries, which they had posted along the summit of the heights, galled us a little, and picked off several men, and some officers, before our light infantry got up to dislodge them.

This grand enterprise was conducted and executed with great good order and discretion; as fast as we landed, the boats put off for reënforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity: the general, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe; it was by this time clear daylight. Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes. The general then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched

towards the town by files, till we came to the Plains of Abraham: an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery; about six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle.

Battle on the Plains of Abraham

About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns; about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there; but, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist, and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats.

Defeat of the French

About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty, until they came within forty, yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their officers. This uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grapeshot from our fieldpieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose. Hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many officers and men prisoners. . . .

Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of, — General James Wolfe, who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisbourg.

Death of Montcalm

. . . The Sieur de Montcalm died late last night: when his wound was dressed, and he settled in bed, the surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him, and being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied that he was glad of it. His excellency then demanded whether he could survive it long, and how long. He was told, "about a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less." "So much the better," rejoined this eminent warrior; "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." . . .

Death of Wolfe

After our late worthy general, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down; being asked if he would have a surgeon he replied, "It is needless; it is all over with me." One of them cried out, "They run, see how they run!" "Who runs?" demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person aroused from sleep. The officer answered, "The enemy, sir; egad, they give way everywhere." Thereupon the general rejoined, "Go one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Then, turning on his side, he added, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace"; and thus expired. . . .

The following extracts from the journal of Captain Cook must serve to represent a wide series of explorations that were taking place during this period. The special interest of these passages is that they describe the portion of the coast of Australia, or New Holland as it was then called, which was soon afterward chosen as a suitable place on which to establish a penal colony, and which later became the center of the great commonwealth

of Australia. Captain Cook, of course, saw only the coast, and his descriptions do not apply to the inland regions.

364. Extracts from the journal of Captain James Cook

As I was now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude 38° to this place, and which I am confident no European had ever seen before, I once more hoisted the English colors, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast, from latitude 38° to this place, latitude 10½° south, in right of his Majesty King George III, by the name of New South Wales, with all the bays, harbors, rivers, and islands situated upon it: we then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. Having performed this ceremony upon the island, we called it Possession Island. . . .

New South Wales

New Holland, or, as I have now called the eastern coast, New South Wales, is of a larger extent than any other country in the known world that does not bear the name of a continent; the length of coast along which we sailed, reduced to a straight line, is no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting to near 2000 miles, so that its square surface must be much more than equal to all Europe. To the southward of 33° or 34° the land in general is low and level; farther northward it is hilly, but in no part can be called mountainous; and the hills and mountains, taken together, make but a small part of the surface, in comparison with the valleys and plains. It is, upon the whole, rather barren than fertile, yet the rising ground is chequered by woods and lawns, and the plains and valleys are, in many places, covered with herbage: the soil, however, is frequently sandy, and many of the lawns, or savannahs, are rocky and barren, especially to the northward, where, in the best spots, vegetation was less vigorous than in the southern part of the country; the trees were not so tall, nor was the herbage so rich. The grass in general is high, but thin, and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than fifty feet asunder; nor is the country inland, as far as we could examine it, better clothed than the sea coast. The banks of the bays are covered with mangroves to a distance of a mile

within the beach, under which the soil is a rank mud that is always overflowed by a spring-tide; farther in the country we sometimes met with a bog, upon which the grass was very thick and luxuriant, and sometimes with a valley that was clothed with underwood: the soil in some parts seemed to be capable of improvement, but the far greater part is such as can admit of no cultivation. The coast, at least that part of it which lies to the northward of 25° south, abounds with fine bays and harbors, where vessels may lie in perfect security from all winds.

If we may judge by the appearance of the country while we were there, which was in the very heighth of the dry season, it is well watered: we found innumerable small brooks and springs, but no great rivers; these brooks, however, probably become large in the rainy season. Thirsty Sound was the only place where fresh water was not to be procured for the ship, and even there one or two small pools were found in the woods, though the face of the country was everywhere intersected by salt creeks and mangrove land. . . .

The native Australians

The only tribe with which we had any intercourse we found where the ship was careened: it consisted of one and twenty persons — twelve men, seven women, one boy, and one girl: the women we never saw but at a distance, for when the men came over the river they were always left behind. The men, here and in other places, were of middle size, and in general well made, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous, active, and nimble; their countenances were not altogether without expression, and their voices were remarkably soft and effeminate.

Their skins were so uniformly covered with dirt that it was very difficult to ascertain their true color: we made several attempts, by wetting our fingers and rubbing it, to remove the incrustations, but with very little effect. With the dirt they appear nearly as black as a negro, and according to our best discoveries, the skin itself is the color of wood soot, or what is commonly called a chocolate color. Their features are far from being disagreeable; their noses are not flat, nor are their lips thick; their teeth are white and even, and their hair naturally long and black; it is, however, universally cropped short; in general it is straight, but sometimes it has a slight curl; we saw

none that was not matted and filthy, though without oil or grease, and to our great astonishment free from lice. Their beards were of the same color with their hair, and bushy and thick; they are not, however, suffered to grow long. A man whom we had seen one day with his beard somewhat longer than his companions, we saw the next with it somewhat shorter, and upon examination found the ends of the hairs burnt. From this incident, and our having never seen any sharp instrument among them, we concluded that both the hair and the beard were kept short by singeing them.

Native houses

They appeared to have no fixed habitations, for we saw nothing like a town or village in the whole country. Their houses, if houses they may be called, seemed to be formed with less art and industry than any we had seen, except the wretched hovels at Tierra del Fuego, and in some respects they are inferior even to them. At Botany Bay, where they were best, they were just high enough for a man to sit upright in, but not large enough for him to extend himself in his whole length in any direction. They are built with pliable rods about as thick as a man's finger, in the form of an oven, by sticking the two ends into the ground, and then covering them with palm leaves and broad pieces of bark. The door is nothing but a large hole at one end, opposite to which the fire is made, as we perceived by the ashes. Under these houses, or sheds, they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, and in this position one of them will hold three or four persons.

CHAPTER XVIII

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, AMERICAN REVOLUTION, FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1763–1815

I. George III and the New Ministry

The following account of George III was written in 1758, two years before he became king. It is by Lord Waldegrave, an official at the court, who had abundant opportunity for observation.

365. A personal description of George III in 1758

The Prince of Wales is entering into his twenty-first year, and it would be unfair to decide upon his character in the early stages of life, when there is so much time for improvement.

His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised. He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behavior which makes honesty appear amiable. When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favorite maxims that men should be just before they are generous: his income is now very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in equal proportion. His religion is free from hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbor.

He has spirit, but not of the active kind; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy. He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent and has strong prejudices.

His want of application and aversion to business would be far less dangerous, was he eager in the pursuit of pleasure;

for the transition from pleasure to business is both shorter and easier than from a state of total inaction.

He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper which, if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence, but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet; not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill humor. Even when the fit is ended, unfavorable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his royal highness has too correct a memory.

Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery and without aggravation, allowances should still be made, on account of his youth and his bad education. . . . The mother and the nursery always prevailed.

During the course of the last year there has, indeed, been some alteration; the authority of the nursery has gradually declined, and the earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence. But whether this change will be greatly to his royal highness's advantage is a nice question, which cannot hitherto be determined with any certainty.

Two more of the letters of Horace Walpole may be used to describe the circumstances of the accession of the young king, George III, and the resignation of William Pitt that followed close upon it.

366. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann (November 1, 1760)

As I suppose your curiosity about the new reign is not lessened by being at such a distance, I am, you see, prompt in satisfying it, and I can do it in a few words. It set out with great show of alteration; it soon settled into the old channel. The favorite appeared sole minister for a day or two. The old ministers agreed to continue as they were; and though the duke of Newcastle attempted to pretend to have a mind of retiring, he soon recollected that he had no such inclination. Mr. Pitt on Thursday acquainted the king that he was content to manage the war, and wished to act in other things as he

Bute added to the old ministry

had done under the duke of Newcastle in the late reign; the city have expressed the same advice; the duke signified his acquiescence yesterday; and thus only the superficies of the drawing-room is altered, not the government. The household will probably not be settled till after the burial.

The young king, you may trust me, who am not apt to be enamoured with royalty, gives all the indication imaginable of being amiable. His person is tall and full of dignity; his countenance florid and good-natured; his manner graceful and obliging; he expresses no warmth nor resentment against anybody; at most, coldness. To the duke of Cumberland he has shown even a delicacy of attention. He told him he intended to introduce a new custom into his family, that of living well with all his family; and he would not permit anybody but the princess to be named in the prayers, because the duke of Cumberland must have been put back for the duke of York. This is a nature that your own is suited to represent; you will now act in character.

367. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann (October 6, 1761)

I wrote to you but last week. You will conclude I have a victory to tell you, by following that letter with another so soon. Oh, no! you may bid adieu to victories. It is not that Spain or we have declared war, but Mr. Pitt has resigned. The cabinet council were for temporizing. That is not his style.

Without entering into discussions of which side is in the right, you will easily see how fatal this event must be, even from its creating two sides. What saved us, and then what lifted us so high, but union? What could France, what could your old friend the Empress Queen, desire so ardently as divisions amongst us? They will have their wish to satiety. I foresee nothing but confusion. Nor shall we have a war the less: if Spain bullied while Mr. Pitt was minister, I don't believe she will tremble more at his successors. Who they will be I cannot imagine. It required all his daring to retrieve our affairs. Who will dare for him, nay, and against him? Next to pitying our country and ourselves, I feel for the young king. It is hard to have so bright a dawn so soon overcast! I fear he is going to taste as bitter a cup as ever his grandfather

swallowed! This happened but yesterday. It is not an event to lie dormant long without consequences.

Adieu! my dear child; this is an unpleasant letter, and I don't care how soon I finish it. Squabbles of ministers are entertaining in time of peace; they are a little too serious now. Adieu!

One of the last of Lord Chesterfield's characterizations of his contemporaries, written in 1762, is devoted to William Pitt, who had just then resigned from office, after reaching his highest point of glory and success.

368. A contemporary characterization of Mr. Pitt

Mr. Pitt owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter in others too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year. His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbade him the idle dissipations of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either produced or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. . . . His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned with great success, make what the world calls "a great man." He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and over-bearing: qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones. . . .

He came young into parliament, and upon that great theater soon equaled the oldest and ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs. . . .

The weight of his popularity and his universally acknowledged abilities obtruded him upon King George the Second, to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made secretary of state; in this difficult and delicate situation . . . he managed with such ability that, while he served the king more effectively . . . he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public; whom he assured and convinced that the protection and defense of Hanover, with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America. So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

Another characterization of Pitt appears in the *Annual Register* for 1761. As Edmund Burke had founded that publication in the year 1758, it has been inferred that he was the author of this eloquent description. If so, this was one of the earliest pieces of political writing of that great statesman. It is of interest to note that the *Register* still appears annually, giving an important and interesting summary of current events.

369. The character and services of Pitt

Without presuming to take part in a controversy which (however unequally) divided the royal council, or without entering into the sentiments of any faction, which we have always shunned, we may affirm with truth and impartiality that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt to be the minister in a great and powerful nation, or better qualified to carry that power and greatness to their utmost limits. There was in all his designs a magnitude, and even a vastness, which was not easily comprehended by every mind, and which nothing but success could have made to appear reasonable. . . .

Pitt's popular support

His power, as it was not acquired, so neither was it exercised, in an ordinary manner. With very little parliamentary and with less court influence, he swayed both at court and in parliament with an authority unknown before to the best supported ministers. He was called to the ministry by the voice of the people; and what is more rare, he held it with that

approbation; and under him, for the first time, administration and popularity were seen united. Under him Great Britain carried on the most important war in which she ever was engaged, alone and unassisted, with greater splendour and with more success than she had ever enjoyed at the head of the most powerful alliances. Alone, this island seemed to balance the rest of Europe.

His energy

In the conduct of the war he never suffered the enemy to breathe, but overwhelmed them with reiterated blows, and kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one of his expeditions was not so well calculated or so successfully executed, amends were made by another, and by a third. The spirit of the nation once roused was not suffered for a moment to subside; and the French, dazzled as it were by the multitude and celerity of his enterprises, seemed to have lost all power of resistance. In short, he revived the military genius of our people; he supported our allies; he extended our trade; he raised our reputation; he augmented our dominions; and, on his departure from administration, left the nation in no other danger than that which ever must attend exorbitant power, and the temptation which may be to the invidious exertion of it.

His inability to act with other men

Happy it had been for him, for his sovereign and his country, if a temper less austere and a disposition more practicable, more compliant and conciliating, had been joined to his other great virtues. The want of these qualities disabled him from acting any otherwise than alone: it prevented our enjoying the joint fruit of the wisdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered and mutually forwarded each other; and finally, which was not the meanest loss, it deprived us of his own immediate services.

Those who censured his political conduct the most severely could raise but few exceptions to it; none of them singly, and perhaps the whole united, of no great weight against a person long engaged in so great a scene of action. . . . The conduct of Mr. Pitt when the parliament met, in which he made his own justification, without impeaching the conduct of any of his colleagues or taking one measure that might seem to arise from disgust or opposition, has set a seal upon his character.

II. The Industrial Revolution

The great revolution that took place in manufacturing, agriculture, transportation, and other forms of industry, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, deep, permanent, and all-important as were its effects, left less impression on contemporary literature than many far less important matters. It consisted of a great number of practical changes in many fields of human occupation and interest, not in the adoption of any one great law or other recorded event. Some striking suggestions of the changes in progress can, however, be obtained from the writings of Arthur Young, a traveler and observer who was particularly interested in matters of agriculture, but who noted also other things that he saw. On a trip which he took in 1768 in the southern part of England, he described the improved agriculture and the large-sized farms, but found the old domestic form of industry carried on by small weavers in their separate houses still in existence, and the roads still unimproved.

370. Observations of Arthur Young in 1768

All the country from Holkam to Houghton was a wild sheep-walk before the spirit of improvement seized the inhabitants; and this glorious spirit has wrought amazing effects; for instead of boundless wilds and uncultivated wastes, inhabited by scarce anything but sheep, the country is cut into inclosures, cultivated in a most husband-like manner, richly manured, well-peopled, and yielding an hundred times the produce that it did in its former state. What has wrought these vast improvements is the marling; for under the whole country run veins of a very rich soapy kind, which they dig up and spread upon the old sheep-walks, and then by means of inclosing they throw their farms into a regular course of crops, and gain immensely by the improvement. . . .

Large farms

The principal farms (at least those that are most commonly mentioned) are Mr. Curtis' of Summerfield, 2500 acres; Mr. Mallet's of Dunton, as much; Mr. Barton's of Rougham, 3000; Messrs. Glover's of Creek and Barwic; Messrs. Savary's of Sydderstone, each 1100 acres. Cultivation in all its branches is carried on by these men, and many others, in a very complete manner. But marling is the great foundation of their wealth. . . .

The general economy of their farms will appear from the following sketch of one of 1100 acres.

The farmer generally has 100 acres of winter corn, 250 acres of barley and oats, 50 acres of pease, 200 acres of turnips, 400 acres of grasses, and 100 acres of sheep-walk.

He keeps 6 servants, 6 laborers, 30 horses, 20 cows, 900 sheep, and 5 ploughs; and in harvest time has in all about 40 people in the field. . . .

The domestic weaving industry

Witney is very famous for its woolen manufactory; which consists of what they call kersey pieces, coarse bear-skins, and blankets. The two first they make for the North American market; vast quantities being sent up the river St. Lawrence, and likewise to New York. Their finest blankets, which rise in price to £3 a pair, are exported to Spain and Portugal; but all are sent to London first in broad-wheeled waggons, of which four or five go every week. The finest wools they work come from 8*d.* to 10*d.* a pound. The coarsest from Lincolnshire; they call it dag-locks; they sell for 4½*d.* per lb. and are used for making the coarse bear-skins. There are about 500 weavers in this town, who work up 7000 packs of wool annually.

Journeymen in general, on an average, earn from 10*s.* to 12*s.* a week, all the year round, both summer and winter; but they work from four to eight, and in winter by candle-light. The work is of that nature that a boy of fourteen earns as much as a man. One of seven or eight earns by quilling and cornering, 1*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* a week, and girls the same. Old women of 60 and 70 earn 6*d.* a day in picking and sorting the wool; a good stout woman can earn from 10*d.* to 1*s.* a day by spinning; and a girl of 14, 4*d.* or 5*d.* They weave according to the season; in winter kerseys and bear-skins

ready for shipping in the summer up the St. Lawrence; and in summer blankets for home consumption, and Spain and Portugal. . . .

Unimproved roads

Of all the cursed roads that ever disgraced this kingdom, in the very ages of barbarism, none ever equalled that from Billericay to the King's Head at Tilbury. It is for near twelve miles so narrow that a mouse cannot pass by any carriage; I saw a fellow creep under his waggon to assist men to lift, if possible, my chaise over a hedge. The ruts are of an incredible depth, and a pavement of diamonds might as well be sought for as a quarter. The trees everywhere overgrow the road, so that it is totally impervious to the sun, except at a few places; and to add to all the infamous circumstances which concur to plague a traveller, I must not forget the eternally meeting with chalk-waggons; themselves frequently stuck fast, till a collection of them are in the same situation, and twenty or thirty horses may be tacked to each, to draw them out one by one.

On a trip which the same author took to the north of England some years later, in 1791, he finds the new system of canals already much developed, and the activity of the manufacturing city of Birmingham conspicuous.

371. The new canals in the north, about Birmingham (1791)

The capital improvement wrought since I was here before is the canal to Oxford, Coventry, Wolverhampton, etc.; the port, as it may be called, or double canal head in the town, crowded with coal barges, is a noble spectacle, with that prodigious animation which the immense trade of this place could alone give. I looked around me with amazement at the change effected in twelve years; so great that this place may now probably be reckoned with justice the first manufacturing town in the world. From this port and these quays you may now go by water to Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, Oxford (130 miles), and London. The cut was opened through the coal mines to Wolverhampton in 1769; in 1783, into the new mines of Wednesbury, and to the junction with the Coventry canal, at

Faseley, near Tamworth. From Birmingham to the Staffordshire canal is 22 miles, and to Faseley 15. In the 22 miles from hence to Wolverhampton only three locks; but down to Faseley there are 44 locks.

A glimpse of the rapidly growing machine manufacture in the northern counties, and of at least one of the evils connected with it, can be obtained from the following letter written in the same year as the last extract, 1791.

372. A letter from Gloucester (September 12, 1791)

A gentleman from York passed through this city a few days ago, who gave us a new confirmation of the flourishing state of the woolen trade in that county. He says that although so many machines have been erected, yet the trade has thereby been increased to that degree that at this time no less than seventy additional machines are now setting up in the neighborhood of Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield. One manufacturer assured this gentleman that he was in such want of hands as to be driven to the expedient of procuring from the workhouses of London 500 poor children to be employed in his workshops.

The following notice of the death of Sir Richard Arkwright, inventor of the most important machine for spinning by power, is taken from a contemporary newspaper. Although it gives a mistaken statement of the origin of his machine, yet it shows the prominence to which he had risen, and the influence of the new manufactures, even as early as 1792.

373. Notice of the death of the inventor of machine spinning (1792)

At his seat at Cromford, in Derbyshire, Sir Richard Arkwright, knt.; who, by uncommon genius and persevering industry, invented and perfected a system of machinery for spinning, that had been in vain attempted by many of the first mechanicks of the last and present centuries; which, by giving perpetual employment to many thousand families, has increased

the population, and been productive of great commercial advantages to this country. He has died immensely rich, and has left manufactories the income of which is greater than that of most German principalities, though derived from very opposite circumstances, those that promote the prosperity of a country. His real and personal property is estimated at little short of half a million. From the humble station of a barber at a village near Manchester, he gradually rose in the acquisition of this vast wealth by the accidental purchase of a single piece of mechanism, called the Spinning Jenny, the invention of an ingenious carpenter, who, as report says, offered it for sale from mere necessity.

A mistaken account

The following estimate of the importance of the invention of the steam engine was written in 1819, after that power had been applied to various kinds of manufacturing, but before it had been used for locomotives, and the many other uses to which it was afterward applied. This extract is taken from an article by Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*.

374. The work of James Watt

We have said that Mr. Watt was the great improver of the steam engine; but, in truth, as to all that is admirable in its structure, or vast in its utility, he should rather be described as its inventor. It was by his inventions that its action was so regulated as to make it capable of being applied to the finest and most delicate manufactures, and its power so increased as to set weight and solidity at defiance. By his admirable contrivance it has become a thing stupendous alike for its force and its flexibility, — for the prodigious power which it can exert and the ease and precision and ductility with which it can be varied, distributed, and applied. The trunk of an elephant, that can pick up a pin or rend an oak, is as nothing to it. It can engrave a seal and crush masses of obdurate metal before it; draw out, without breaking, a thread as fine as a gossamer, and lift a ship of war like a bauble in the air. It can embroider muslin and forge anchors, cut steel into ribbons, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.

It would be impossible to estimate the value of the benefits which these inventions have conferred upon this country. There is no branch of industry that has not been indebted to them; and, in all the most material, they have not only widened most magnificently the field of its exertions, but multiplied a thousandfold the amount of its productions. It is our improved steam-engine that has fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sustained, through the late tremendous contest, the political greatness of our land. It is the same great power which enables us now to pay the interest of our debt, and to maintain the arduous struggle in which we are still engaged with the skill and capital of countries less oppressed with taxation.

The wealth created by steam power has enabled the government to raise great taxes and support great armies

But these are poor and narrow views of its importance. It has increased indefinitely the mass of human comforts and enjoyments, and rendered cheap and accessible, all over the world, the materials of wealth and prosperity. It has armed the feeble hand of man, in short, with a power to which no limits can be assigned; completed the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter; and laid a sure foundation for all those future miracles of mechanic power which are to aid and reward the labors of after generations.

It is to the genius of one man, too, that all this is mainly owing; and certainly no man ever bestowed such a gift on his kind. The blessing is not only universal, but unbounded; and the fabled inventors of the plough and loom, who were deified by the erring gratitude of their rude contemporaries, conferred less important benefits on mankind than the inventor of our present steam-engines. This will be the fame of Watt with future generations; and it is sufficient for his race and his country.

III. The Opposition to the Government

The weekly journal, *The North Briton*, whose forty-fifth issue was so outspoken in its opposition to the ministers, and through them to George III, as to give such deep offense, seems to us in more modern times a very moderate and respectful document. This will be seen

from the following extracts, which contain its strongest expressions. It angered the king because it represented an opposition entirely outside of the government, and because it appeared just when he was adopting a policy of greater royal authority, and most deeply resented attacks on ministers who were satisfactory to him, and whom he therefore felt should be free from attack.

375. *The North Briton*, No. 45 (April 23, 1763)

The king's speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the speech of the minister. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter than to the expression of speeches which they have advised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the opening of each session. They well know that an honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence committed by any minister. The speech at the close of the session has ever been considered as the most secure method of promulgating the favorite court-creed among the vulgar; because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The minister's speech of last Tuesday is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the

most odious measures and to the most unjustifiable public declarations from a throne ever renowned for truth, honor, and unsullied virtue. . . .

The misrepresentations of the prime minister

A despotic minister will always endeavor to dazzle his prince with high-flown ideas of the prerogative and honor of the crown, which the minister will make a parade of firmly maintaining. I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see the honour of the crown maintained in a manner truly becoming royalty. I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, contrary to the opinion of royalty itself, and sacrificed to the prejudices and to the ignorance of a set of people the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of the house of Hanover. . . .

A warning to the king

The king of England is only the first magistrate of this country, but is invested by the law with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due execution of the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, etc.; equal with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty. The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands; but the favorite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way not of blind favor and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people, too, have their prerogative, and I hope the fine words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts, "Freedom is the English subject's prerogative."

The occurrences in parliament and in the city of London connected with the Wilkes matter, from 1763 to 1768, are reflected in the following three vivacious letters of Horace Walpole, now becoming an old man. The fact that a man of such contemptible personal life and character as Wilkes should become a popular

hero, simply because he opposed the government vigorously, shows how deep was the chasm which at that time separated the people on the one side from both parliament and king on the other side.

376. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann (November 17, 1763)

The parliament met on Tuesday. We — for you know I have the honor of being a senator — sat till two in the morning; and had it not been that there is always more oratory, more good sense, more knowledge, and more sound reasoning in the House of Commons than in the rest of the universe put together, the House of Lords only excepted, I should have thought it as tedious, dull, and unentertaining a debate as ever I heard in my days. The business was a complaint made by one King George of a certain paper called *The North Briton*, No. 45, which the said king asserted was written by a much more famous man called Mr. Wilkes. Well! and so you imagine that Mr. Wilkes and King George went from the House of Commons and fought out their quarrel in Hyde Park? And which do you guess was killed?

Parliament votes for the condemnation of *The North Briton*

Again you are mistaken. Mr. Wilkes, with all the impartiality in the world, and with the phlegm of an Areopagite, sat and heard the whole matter discussed, and now and then put in a word, as if the affair did not concern him. The House of Commons, who would be wisdom itself if they could but all agree on which side of a question wisdom lies, and who are sometimes forced to divide in order to find out, did divide twice on this affair. The first time, one hundred and eleven, of which I had the misfortune to be one, had more curiosity to hear Mr. Wilkes's story than King George's; but three hundred being of the contrary opinion, it was plain they were in the right, especially as they had no private motives to guide them. Again, the individual one-hundred-and-eleven could not see that *The North Briton* tended to foment treasonable insurrections, though we had it argumentatively demonstrated to us for seven hours together; but the moment we heard two hundred and seventy-five gentlemen counted, it grew as plain to us as a pike-staff, for a syllogism carries less conviction than a superior number, though that number does not use the least

force upon earth, but only walks peaceably out of the house and into it again.

Expulsion of Wilkes from parliament

The next day we were to be in the same numerical way convinced that we ought to be but one-hundred-and-ten, for that we ought to expel Mr. Wilkes out of the house, and the majority were to prove to us (for we are slow of comprehension, and imbibe instruction very deliberately) that in order to have all London acquainted with the person and features of Mr. Wilkes, it would be necessary to set him on a high place called the pillory, where everybody might see him at leisure. Some were even almost ready to think that, being a very ugly man, he would look better without his ears, and poor Sir William Stanhope, who endeavored all day by the help of a trumpet to listen to these wise debates and found it to no purpose, said, "If they want a pair of ears they may take mine, for I am sure they are of no use to me." The regularity, however, of these systematic proceedings has been a little interrupted. One Mr. Martin, who has much the same quarrel with Mr. Wilkes as King George, and who chose to suspend his resentment like his Majesty, till with proper dignity he could notify his wrath to parliament, did express his indignation with rather less temper than the king had done, calling Mr. Wilkes to his face cowardly scoundrel, which you, who represent monarchs, know, is not royal language.

Duel between Wilkes and Martin

Mr. Wilkes, who, it seems, whatever may have been thought, had rather die compendiously than piece-meal, inquired of Mr. Martin by letter next morning, if he, Mr. Wilkes, was meant by him, Mr. Martin, under the periphrasis "cowardly scoundrel." Mr. Martin replied in the affirmative, and accompanied his answer with a challenge. They immediately went into Hyde Park; and, at the second fire, Mr. Wilkes received a bullet in his body. Don't be frightened, the wound was not mortal; at least it was not yesterday. Being corporally delirious to-day, as he has been mentally some time, I cannot tell what to say to it. However, the breed will not be lost, if he should die. . . .

Well! but we have had a prodigious riot: are you not impatient to know the particulars? It was so prodigious a tumult

377. Horace Walpole to the earl of Hertford (December 9, 1763)

that I verily thought half the administration would have run away to Harrowgate. *The North Briton* was ordered to be burned by the hangman at Cheapside, on Saturday last. The mob rose; the greatest mob, says Mr. Sheriff Blunt, that he has known in forty years. They were armed with that most bloody instrument, the mud out of the kennels; they hissed in the most murderous manner; broke Mr. Sheriff Harley's coach-glass in the most frangent manner; scratched his forehead, so that he is forced to wear a little patch in the most becoming manner; and obliged the hangman to burn the paper with a link, though fagots were prepared to execute it in a more solemn manner. Numbers of gentlemen, from windows and balconies, encouraged the mob, who, in about an hour and a half, were so undutiful to the ministry as to retire without doing any mischief, or giving Mr. Carteret Webb the opportunity of a single information, except against an ignorant lad who had been in town but ten days. . . .

378. Horace Walpole to the earl of Hertford (February 14, 1765)

Williams, the reprinter of *The North Briton*, stood in the pillory to-day in Palace Yard. He went in a hackney-coach the number of which was 45. The mob erected a gallows opposite to him, on which they hung a boot with a bonnet of straw. Then a collection was made for Williams, which amounted to near £200. In short, every public event informs the administration how thoroughly they are detested, and that they have not a friend whom they do not buy. Who can wonder, when every man of virtue is proscribed, and they have neither parts nor character to impose even upon the mob! Think to what a government is sunk when a secretary of state is called in parliament to his face "the most profligate sad dog in the kingdom," and not a man can open his lips in his defense. Sure power must have some strange unknown charm when it can compensate for such contempt! I see many who triumph in these bitter pills which the ministry are so often forced to swallow; I own I do not; it is more mortifying to me to reflect how great and respectable we were three years ago, than satisfactory to see those insulted who have brought such shame upon us. . . .

379. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann (May 12, 1768)

The day before yesterday the parliament met. There have been constant crowds and mobbing at the prison, but on Tuesday they insisted on taking Wilkes out of prison and carrying him to parliament. The tumult increased so fast that the riot act was read, the soldiers fired, and a young man was shot. The mob bore the body about the streets to excite more rage, and at night it went so far that four or five more persons were killed and the uproar quashed, though they fired on the soldiers from the windows of houses. The partisans of Wilkes say the young man was running away, was pursued and killed; and the jury have brought it in wilful murder against the officer and men: so they must take their trials; and it makes their case very hard and lays the government under great difficulties. On the other side, the young man is said to have been riotous, and marked as such by the guards. But this is not all. We have independent mobs that have nothing to do with Wilkes, and who only take advantage of so favorable a season. The dearness of provision incites, the hope of increase of wages allures, and drink puts them in motion. The coal-heavers began, and it is well it is not a hard frost, for they have stopped all coals coming to town. The sawyers rose too, and at last the sailors, who have committed great outrages in merchant ships and prevented them from sailing. . . .

I wish with all my heart that I may have no more to tell you of riots; not that I ever think them very serious things, but just to the persons on whom the storm bursts. But I pity poor creatures who are deluded to their fate and fall by gin or faction, when they have not a real grievance to complain of but what depends on the elements or causes past remedy. I cannot bear to have the name of liberty profaned to the destruction of the cause; for frantic tumults only lead to that terrible corrective, arbitrary power, — which cowards call out for as protection, and knaves are so ready to grant.

The intense interest taken in the *Junius Letters* in their own time is hard to realize now. Their importance is to be found in the spirit of opposition they embody. The following is a typical letter, attacking the ministry,

and through them the king, for their dilatory policy in regard to the American colonies.

380. One of the *Junius Letters* to the printer of the *Public Advertiser* (July 30, 1768)

Sir:

It is not many months since you gave me an opportunity of demonstrating to the nation, as far as rational inference and probability could extend, that the hopes which some men seem to entertain, or to profess at least, with regard to America, were without a shadow of foundation. They seemed to flatter themselves that the contest with the colonies, like a disagreeable question in the House of Commons, might be put off to a long day, and provided they could get rid of it for the present, they thought it beneath them to consult either their own reputation, or the true interests of their country. But whatever were their views or expectations, whether it was the mere enmity of party, or the real persuasion that they had but a little time to live in office, every circumstance which I then foretold is confirmed by experience.

The conduct of the king's servants in relation to America, since the alteration in 1765, never had a reasonable argument to defend it, and the chapter of accidents which they implicitly relied on has not produced a single casualty in their favor. At a crisis like this, sir, I shall not be very solicitous about those idle forms of respect, which men in office think due to their characters and station; neither will I descend to a language beneath the importance of the subject I write on. When the fate of Great Britain is thrown upon the hazard of a die, by a weak, distracted, worthless ministry, an honest man will always express all the indignation he feels. This is not a moment for preserving forms, and the ministry must know that the language of reproach and contempt is now the universal language of the nation.

The struggle to retain the American colonies

We find ourselves at last reduced to the dreadful alternative of either making war upon our colonies, or of suffering them to erect themselves into independent states. It is not that I hesitate now upon the choice we are to make. Everything must be hazarded. But what infamy, what punishment do those men deserve whose folly or whose treachery hath

reduced us to this state, in which we can neither give up the cause without a certainty of ruin, nor maintain it without such a struggle as must shake the empire? . . .

If we look for their motives, we shall find them such as weak and interested men usually act upon. They were weak enough to hope that the crisis of Great Britain and America would be reserved for their successors in office, and they were determined to hazard even the ruin of their country rather than furnish the man whom they feared and hated with the melancholy triumph of having truly foretold the consequences of their own misconduct. But this, such as it is, the triumph of a heart that bleeds at every vein, they cannot deprive him of. They dreaded the acknowledgment of his superiority over them, and the loss of their own authority and credit, more than the rebellion of near half the empire against the supreme legislature. On this patriotic principle they exerted their utmost efforts to defer the decision of this great national cause till the last possible moment. The timidity, weakness, and distraction of government at home gave spirits, strength, and union to the colonies. . . . An attack on the ministry

IV. The Struggle with the American Colonies

When the troubles with the American colonies over the enforcement of the Stamp Act arose, William Pitt, who had been in retirement since 1761, returned to parliament and made the following address in the House of Commons. He advocated practical reconciliation, while asserting a general abstract right possessed by parliament to exercise control over the colonies.

381. A speech of William Pitt (January 14, 1766)

Gentlemen:

Sir, I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage

me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dog's-ears, to defend the cause of liberty; if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them to have shown that, even under former arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. . . .

An answer to George Grenville, prime minister

I am no courtier of America. I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the parliament has the right to bind, — to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. . . .

The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies that I cannot help repeating them:

"Be to her faults a little blind:
Be to her virtues very kind."

Pitt's advice

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed

absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

After considerable delay parliament took the very action that Chatham had advised. They repealed the act taxing the colonies, but at the same time passed the following "declaratory act," asserting that they had the right and power to pass laws controlling the American colonies if they wished to do so.

382. The declaratory act of March 18, 1766

An act for the better securing the dependency of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain.

Whereas several of the houses of representatives in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America have of late, against law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in the said colonies and plantations; and have, in pursuance of such claim, passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders, derogatory to the legislative authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency of the said colonies and plantations upon the crown of Great Britain: . . . be it declared . . . , That the said colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the king's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.

And be it further declared . . . that all resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings in any of the said colonies or plantations, whereby the power and authority of the parliament of Great Britain to make laws and statutes as aforesaid is denied or drawn into question, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

The growing anger of the ministry and parliament, roused by the opposition of the colonies, can be gathered from the following contemporary account of the speech of Townshend in introducing the new taxes in 1767.

383. Speech of Townshend in the House of Commons (May 13, 1767)

On the 13th of May came on at last the great American questions. Charles Townshend had already hinted, when he opened the budget, at new taxes which he proposed to lay on the colonies. He now opened them; and very inadequate indeed did they prove, even in calculation, to the loss of a shilling in the pound on land, part of which deficiency they were intended to supply. Being so inconsiderable, and estimated by himself as likely to produce but from £35,000 to £40,000 a year, the House too lightly adopted his plan before it had been well weighed, and the fatal consequences of which did not break out till six years after.

A concurrent cause weighed with many, and added weight to the arguments of more, for inflicting a kind of punishment on the refractory colonies, some of which had stubbornly refused to comply with the late act enjoining them to make provision for the army, with other parliamentary injunctions.

Massachusetts

Massachusetts Bay had, as I have said, taken upon themselves to execute the act in their own names, and on their own sole authority. This deed Townshend said the Privy Council had advised his Majesty to annul. That colony contained a set of men disposed to inflame all the rest. He stated fully, clearly, and with both authority and moderation those several topics; and concluded, he said, that many would think he proposed too little, others too much. The Mutiny Bill had been opposed

Pennsylvania

almost everywhere, but Pennsylvania and some few colonies had executed all our orders. He wished he could name any

more instances. New Jersey had avoided the act by appointing commissioners, with injunctions to act according to the custom of the provinces. New Jersey

New York was so opulent that he thought they ought to be kept in dependence. General Gage, accordingly, was sending troops thither. Yet did the New Yorkists commend themselves and boast that they could not remember the time when they had refused aid to Britain. They had resolved that if they should grant the present demand it might exceed all their abilities. This was an extraordinary excuse. More contemptuously still, they promised aid on the requisition of the crown, but said nothing of parliament. Were these, he asked, the descendants of those men who had fled from prerogative to America? Yet even this gracious compliance they held themselves at liberty to refuse, if not in proportion to the other provinces, if unreasonable, — nay, if inconvenient. They would insist, too, on his Majesty's repaying what they should furnish to his troops, when he should think proper. He would not read, he said, the letters to their governor, Sir Henry More, as too inflammatory. To comply, they alleged, would be very serious; yet desired Sir Henry to represent their obedience favourably. New York

The Massachusetts termed our acts our ordinances, and asserted their own rights of taxation. Many they had discountenanced and frightened from their assembly. Governor Bernard, he believed, was a little heated against them; yet the facts which he charged on them were true. In general, it did not become parliament to engage in controversy with its colonies, but by one act to assert its sovereignty. He warned the House to beware lest the provinces engaged in a common cause. Our right of taxation was indubitable; yet himself had been for repealing the Stamp Act to prevent mischief. Should their disobedience return, the authority of parliament had been weakened, and, unless supported with spirit and dignity, must be destroyed. The salaries of governors and judges in that part of the world must be made independent of their assemblies; but he advised the House to confine their resolutions to the offending provinces. Pennsylvania was an answer Parliament must assert its sovereignty over the colonies

to New York. New Jersey had limited the sum, but had not said it would not comply. He thought it would be prudent to inflict censure on New York alone; that some burthen ought to be lightened at home and imposed on America.

He had hinted at taxes; he would name some, though not as chancellor of the exchequer. They were duties on wine, oil, and fruits from Spain and Portugal as they come back; on china; and to take off the drawback on glass, paper, lead, and colours. A commissioner of the customs, too, would be necessary in America. Parliament ought to exercise its authority, but not contrary to the constitution of the provinces. He then moved a resolution that New York had disobeyed the act, and that, till they should comply, the governor should be restrained from passing any act of their assembly. This, he owned, some had said would be confounding the innocent and the guilty, and would dissolve their assembly. On the contrary, others had advised to block up harbours and quarter soldiers, but himself could bear to hear of nothing military. Some were for a local tax; but that would be to accept penalty in lieu of obedience.

Few finer examples can be found of the brilliant eloquence of Edmund Burke than his *Speech on Conciliation with America*, from which the following extracts are taken.

384. Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with America* (1775)

The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord fomented from principle in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in its natural course and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and (far from a scheme of

ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act and by the bond of the very same interest which reconciles them to British government.

His plan of simple, friendly removal of all causes of conflict

My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so, as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is an healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendor of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon. It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace at every instant to keep the peace amongst them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of algebra to equalize and settle. . . .

Colonial agricultural production

I pass, therefore, to the colonies in another point of view, — their agriculture. This they have prosecuted with such a spirit that, besides feeding plentifully their own growing multitude, their annual export of grain, comprehending rice, has some years ago exceeded a million in value. Of their last harvest, I am persuaded, they will export much more. At the beginning of the century some of these colonies imported corn from the mother country. For some time past the Old World has been fed from the New. The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent.

Their whale fisheries

As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at

your bar. You surely thought those acquisitions of value, for they seemed even to excite your envy; and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and admiration. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson Bay and Davis Strait, whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes and engaged under the frozen Serpent of the south. Falkland Island . . . is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry.

Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland nor the activity of France nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people — a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.

The colonies owe little to the mother country

When I contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that through a wise and salutary neglect a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all the presumption in the wisdom of human contrivance melt and die away within me. My rigor relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty. . . .

The following extracts from the diary of a refugee, Samuel Curwen, a gentleman of means and position, who had left Salem, Massachusetts, for England at the beginning of the Revolution, may be taken as a type of the widespread distress of the Loyalists. It is interesting to observe that, Tory as he was, Englishmen to him were "aliens," and America "my country"; and that he acknowledges that he was proud of his fellow-countrymen when the Americans showed lenity to a captured English general.

385. Extracts from the diary of a Tory refugee

London, my favorite place of abode, is, as the peasant said, "a sad lickpenny," and truly one cannot breathe the vital air without great expense. The numerous applications to the treasury by Americans whose pretensions are so much beyond mine, exclude the most distant hope of relief for me, should inadvertence or more unjustifiable principles of conduct reduce me to the necessity of asking a favor which I am determined at all events to defer to the longest period, if it please the great disposer of events to prolong my uneasy abode in this country of aliens for many days yet to come. . . .

June 6, 1776

I find my finances so visibly lessening that I wish I could remove from this expensive country, (being heartily tired of it,) and, old as I am, would gladly enter into a business connection anywhere consistently with decency and integrity, which I would fain preserve. The use of the property I left behind me I fear I shall never be the better for; little did I expect from affluence to be reduced to such rigid economy as prudence now exacts. To beg is a meanness I wish never to be reduced to, and to starve is stupid; one comfort, as I am fast declining into the vale of life, my miseries cannot probably be of long continuance. . . .

June 10, 1776

By a letter from Mr. Danforth I was informed some of my countrymen were about to apply to the administration for relief. As my residence has been much longer than the most, and the suddenness of my departure from home rendering it morally impossible for me to become possessed of much money, and

October 31, 1776

my pretensions, for aught I know, being as good as any and better than many, I presume I shall not be the only exile left in a forlorn condition if any provision be made; and if never made, forlorn I shall truly be, my finances every day very sensibly lessening. Had I received Mr. Deberdt's letter in time I should have returned to London, but it was otherwise; and if my presence now can be dispensed with, it will be more agreeable, as I live pleasantly enough among a few acquaintances, at the rate of twenty guineas a year, in a state of rigid economy that I never before was reduced to the necessity of putting in practice. . . .

December 31, 1776 My little bark is in imminent hazard of being stranded, unless the wind shifts quickly or some friendly boat appears for its relief. In plain English, my purse is nearly empty; which circumstance has of late frequently reminded me of an emblematical device in the beginning of Fuller's *History of the Holy Wars*, wherein on the right is a purse distended with gold and standing upright, on the left the same turned upside down, in a lank condition, emptied wholly of its contents, with these words under the former, "We went out full," and under the latter, "We returned empty." I do not know but I am departed from my country, family, and friends on as foolish and fantastic grounds as the misguided devotees of that time did to rescue the Holy Land from infidels, though on opposite principles I confess, — they to fight, I to avoid fighting. I now begin to tremble lest the same fate awaits me that befell them. I dislike the motives of the chief agents in America, and their whole system from its first small beginnings to its full monstrous growth of independency; and I trust from a very just motive, love of my country, which this place, I am convinced, has no tendency to promote the welfare of. But what of that? It is my duty, and sure the state is not to reward the loyalty of every subject; the court in this case would have more than enough to do to satisfy the demands of all claimants. I cannot foresee what I may hereafter do, but easily that I must suffer hunger and nakedness in the comfortless mansions of the wretched. These ideas I have not been accustomed to associate. . . .

I received a letter from London informing me of my wife's health and welfare in November last, and that she had been obliged to pay ten pounds sterling to find a man for the American army in my stead. . . . Exeter, March 7, 1777

Walked out to Judge Sewall's, he having the day before engaged to accompany me to the treasury, where, after a compliment, I received information of a hundred pounds down and a hundred per annum during the troubles in America, which I esteem as a providential provision procured by the friendship of my respected friend Judge Sewall. I received an order on the Bank; accompanied by him and Mr. Thomas Danforth, I took a note at the cashier's office for seventy pounds payable to myself on demand, and thirty pounds in cash, departing very joyous, and, I hope, grateful to that Being who has, by friends, been pleased in the midst of gloomy prospects to set my feet on firm ground and establish my goings: may I wisely improve this gracious indulgence. . . . March 10, 1777

The lenity shown to General Burgoyne and his army is allowed on all hands to do more honor to America than the laurels reaped by the Howes can bring to this distracted country. God knows what is for the best, but I fear our perpetual banishment from America is written in the book of fate; nothing but the hopes of once more revisiting my native soil, enjoying my own friends within my own little domain, has hitherto supported my drooping courage; but that prop taken away leaves me in a condition too distressing to think of; however, amidst the increasing evils of old age, I have this consolation, that, mortifying as my lot is, severe as my sufferings may be, their continuance cannot be lasting. . . . December 31, 1777

The following passages from the correspondence of George III with the prime minister, Lord North, will show how closely he watched current events, especially the contest with America, how long he resisted any thought of concession, and the pressure he brought on Lord North to retain his position and continue the policy of coercion of the colonies. The close dating of some of

the letters, to the very minute, is characteristic of the painstaking but petty habits of mind of the king.

386. Extracts from the letters of George III to Lord North (1768–1783)

Lord North:

Though entirely confiding in your attachment to my person, as well as in your hatred of every lawless proceeding, yet I think it highly proper to apprize you that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes appears to be very essential, and must be effected; and that I make no doubt, when you lay this affair with your usual precision before the meeting of the gentlemen of the House of Commons this evening, it will meet with the required unanimity and vigour. . . .

April 25, 1768

If there is any man capable of forgetting his criminal writings, I think his speech in the Court of King's Bench, on Wednesday last, reason enough for to go as far as possible to expel him; for he declared "Number 45" a paper that the author ought to glory in.

Six years after the Wilkes affair we find the king engaged in the rising conflict with the American colonies.

Lord North:

November 18, 1774, 48 min. p't M.

I am not sorry that the line of conduct seems now chalked out, which the enclosed dispatches thoroughly justify; the New England governments are in a state of rebellion; blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent.

Lord North:

February 8, 1775, 50 min. p't 11 A.M.

The proposed answer to the address is highly proper, as it conveys the sentiments that must be harboured by every candid and rational mind. This language ought to open the eyes of the deluded Americans; but, if it does not, it must set every delicate man at liberty to avow the propriety of the most coercive measures.

November 4, 1776

I trust the rebel army will soon be dispersed.

February 24, 1777

The accounts from America are most comfortable. The surprise and want of spirit of the Hessian officers as well as

soldiers at Trenton is not much to their credit, and will undoubtedly elate the rebels who, till then, were in a state of the greatest despondency. I wish Sir W. Howe had placed none but British troops in the outposts ; but I am certain, by a letter I have seen from Lord Cornwallis, that the rebels will soon have sufficient reason to fall into the former dejection.

The intelligence from Mr. Thornton of the discontents among the leaders in America, if authentick, will not only greatly facilitate the bringing back that deluded country to some reasonable ideas, but will make France reconsider whether she ought to enter into a war when America may leave her in the lurch. March 6, 1778

You cannot be surprised that the degree to which you have pressed to resign during the space of the last three months has given me much uneasiness, but it has never made me harbour any thought to the disadvantage of your worth. March 26, 1778

I am not surprised Lord North feels disgusted at the fatigue he undergoes: he may be certain I feel my task as unpleasant as he can possibly find his, but both of us are in trammels, and it is our duty to continue. March 8, 178

On one material point I shall ever coincide with Lord G. Germain, that is, against a separation from America, and that I shall never lose an opportunity of declaring that no consideration shall ever make me in the smallest degree an instrument in a measure that I am confident would annihilate the rank in which this British Empire stands among the European states, and would render my situation in this country below continuing an object to me. January 21, 1782

Lord North cannot be disappointed at my being much hurt at the success of Mr. Conway's motion, though in some degree prepared by what he said yesterday. February 28 1782

Lord North may easily conceive that I am much hurt at the appearance of yesterday in the House of Commons, and at his opinion that it is totally impossible for the present ministry to continue to conduct public business any longer. March 9, 1782

Lord North:

March 19, 1782

After having yesterday in the most solemn manner assured you that my sentiments of honour will not permit me to send for any of the leaders of opposition and personally treat with them, I could not but be hurt at your letter of last night. Every man must be the sole judge of his feelings; therefore whatever you or any man can say on that subject has no avail with me.

Lord North:

March 20, 1782

At last the fatal day has come which the misfortunes of the time and the sudden change of sentiments of the House of Commons have drove me to, of changing the ministry. . . . I ever did and ever shall look on you as a friend as well as a faithful servant. . . .

G. R.

General Conway's motion, referred to by the king in his letter of February 28 to Lord North, was a resolution passed by the House of Commons, after receiving news of the defeat at Yorktown, protesting against any further effort on the part of the English government to put down the revolt of the American colonies. The king, under pressure of military defeat in America and parliamentary defeat in England, was thus forced to an acknowledgment of American independence, the policy which he had so long resisted, but which he thereafter carried out loyally, as he declared in the following speech to parliament at its opening session in December, 1782.

387. The king's speech to parliament (December 5, 1782)

My Lords and Gentlemen:

Since the close of the last session I have employed my whole time in that care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of affairs required of me.

I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead

me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people, I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

Acknowledgment of independence

Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition on my part shall be wanting. . . .

The first minister from the new independent government in America presented himself two years later, in June, 1785. The circumstances are told in the following letter from John Adams, the American minister, to John Jay, the American secretary of state.

388. Presentation of the first American minister to the king of England (May 30, 1785)

At one on Wednesday the master of ceremonies called at my house, and went with me to the secretary of state's office, in Cleveland Row, where the marquis of Carmarthen received me and introduced me to his undersecretary, Mr. Fraser, who has been, as his lordship told me, uninterruptedly in that office, through all the changes in administration, for thirty years, having first been appointed by the earl of Holderness. After a short conversation upon the subject of importing my effects

from Holland and France free of duty, which Mr. Fraser himself introduced, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the antechamber, the *œil de bœuf* of St. James', the master of ceremonies met me and attended me, while the secretary of state went to take the commands of the king.

While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand on such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room very full of ministers of state, lords, and bishops, and all sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the king's bedchamber, you may well suppose I was the focus of all eyes. I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who came to me and entertained me in a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen whom I had seen before came to make their compliments, too, until the marquis of Carmarthen returned and desired me to go with him to his Majesty.

I went with his lordship through the levée room into the king's closet. The door was shut, and I was left with his Majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences, — one at the door, another about halfway, and a third before the presence, — according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and then addressed myself to his Majesty in the following words:

"Sir:

Address of the minister to the king

"The United States of America have appointed me their minister plenipotentiary to your Majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness and for that of your royal family. The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England

and of America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, the old good nature and the old good humor between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood.

"I beg your Majesty's permission to add that, although I have some time before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner more agreeable to myself."

The king listened to every word I said with dignity but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I did or could express, that touched him, I cannot say. But he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said:

"Sir:

The king's gentle reply

"The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly dispositions of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people.

"I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition

to give to this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood have their natural and full effect."

I dare not say that these were the king's precise words, and it is even possible that I may have in some particular mistaken his meaning; for although his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated some time between his periods, and between the members of the same period. He was indeed much affected, and I confess I was not less so, and therefore I cannot be certain that I was so cool and attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words or sense; and I think that all which he said to me should at present be kept secret in America, unless his Majesty or his secretary of state, who alone was present, should judge proper to report it. This I do say, that the foregoing is his Majesty's meaning, as I then understood it, and his own words, as nearly as I can recollect them.

V. Dissatisfaction with the Government

The loss of the American colonies reacted strongly on the political conditions in England. One of the first indications of this was the passage in the House of Commons in 1780 of the resolutions referred to in the following description. Although apparently not immediately applicable, they were directed against the whole fabric of the government of George III and the ministers whom he had chosen. They were adopted by a vote of 233 to 215.

389. A discussion in the House of Commons (April 6, 1780)

On the 6th of April the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, in order to take the petitions of the people into consideration; and on this occasion a very important debate took place concerning the influence of the crown. The titles of the petitions were previously read, and they amounted to forty in number.

The debate was opened by Mr. Dunning, who observed that there were two great objects which the petitions recommended to the care and attention of parliament: these were a reduction of the dangerous, alarming, and increasing influence of the crown, and an economical expenditure of the public money. Little had yet been done in compliance with the requisitions of the people. . . .

As so little had hitherto been done towards complying with the petitions of the people, he thought it absolutely necessary that parliament should come to a clear and explicit conclusion on the subject; and that in the present session it should be plainly demonstrated to the people that their petitions would either be granted or rejected. He hoped that he should be able to effectuate this, and with this view he had framed such propositions as would produce, either directly or by clear implication, that information. . . .

390. Mr. Dunning's resolutions

I. "That it is the opinion of this committee that it is necessary to declare that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

II. "That it is competent to this House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do."

The Gordon riots, as described in the following passages, are not so much an instance of opposition to the policy of the ministry as they are, like the Wilkes affair, an indication of the breach between the masses of the people and all branches of the government.

391. Extracts from Wraxall's *Memoirs*

Lord North, who had presided during ten years at the head of the administration, continued, in the spring of 1780, to struggle with the utmost difficulty through the sixth session of parliament, against a numerous and augmenting opposition in both houses. His resignation, anxiously anticipated, seemed to be inevitable, and even imminent; but the ministerial disgraces, as well as the triumphs of the adverse party, were

equally obliterated in a calamity which for the time of its duration absorbed all attention. I mean the riots of June, 1780. No event in our annals bears any analogy with the scene then exhibited in the capital, except the fire of London under Charles the Second. . . .

Attack on the house of Lord Mansfield

I was personally present at many of the most tremendous effects of the popular fury, on the memorable 7th of June, the night on which it attained its highest point. About nine o'clock on that evening, accompanied by three other gentlemen, who, as well as myself, were alarmed at the accounts brought in every moment of the outrages committed and of the still greater acts of violence meditated as soon as darkness should favor and facilitate their further progress, we set out from Portland Place in order to view the scene. Having got into a hackney coach, we drove to Bloomsbury Square, attracted to that spot by a rumour, generally spread, that Lord Mansfield's residence, situate at the northeast corner, was either already burnt or destined for destruction. Hart Street and Great Russell Street presented each to the view as we passed large fires composed of furniture taken from the houses of magistrates or other obnoxious individuals. Quitting the coach, we crossed the square, and had scarcely got under the wall of Bedford House when we heard the door of Lord Mansfield's house burst open with violence. In a few minutes all the contents of the apartments, being precipitated from the windows, were piled up and wrapt in flames. A file of foot soldiers arriving, drew up near the blazing pile, but without either attempting to quench the fire or to impede the mob, who were indeed far too numerous to admit of their being dispersed or even intimidated by a small detachment of infantry. The populace remained masters, while we, after surveying the spectacle for a short time, moved on into Holborn, where Mr. Langdale's dwelling house and warehouses afforded a more appalling picture of devastation. . . . In front had assembled an immense multitude of both sexes, many of whom were females, and not a few held infants in their arms. All appeared to be, like ourselves, attracted as spectators solely by curiosity, without taking any part in the acts of violence. . . .

Rioting in the city

I would in vain attempt adequately to describe the spectacle which presented itself when we reached the declivity of the hill, close to St. Andrews Church. The other house and magazines of Mr. Langdale, who, as a Catholic, had been selected for the blind vengeance of the mob, situated in the hollow near the north end of Fleet Market, threw up into the air a pinnacle of flame resembling a volcano. Such was the beautiful and brilliant effect of the illumination that St. Andrews Church appeared to be almost scorched by the heat of so prodigious a body of fire; and the figures on the clock were as distinctly discernible as at noonday.

Finding it altogether impracticable to force our way further down Holborn Hill, and hearing that the Fleet prison had been set on fire, we penetrated through a number of narrow lanes behind St. Andrews Church, and presently found ourselves in the middle of Fleet Market. Here the same destruction raged, but in a different stage of its progress. Mr. Langdale's houses were already at the height of their demolition: the Fleet prison, on the contrary, was only beginning to blaze, and the sparks or flaming particles that filled the air fell so thick upon us on every side as to render unsafe its immediate vicinity. Meanwhile we began to hear the platoons discharged on the other side of the river, towards St. George's Fields, and were informed that a considerable number of the rioters had been killed on Blackfriars Bridge, which was occupied by the troops. On approaching it we beheld the King's Bench prison completely wrapt in flames. It exhibited a sublime sight.

Sir Samuel Romilly was one of the most high-minded, patriotic, and useful public men of his time. What he tells in his journal of his difficulty in obtaining and keeping a seat in the House of Commons, and what appears in the two letters from Francis Horner to him and to Sydney Smith, throws a strong light on the bad methods of election of members of parliament, on its failure to represent the people of the country, and on the opportunities for corruption it offered. These extracts refer

to a period somewhat later than 1784, when Pitt strove to introduce the reform of parliament, but the conditions were just the same at that time, and in fact had long been so, and remained unchanged well into the nineteenth century.

392. Extracts from the memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly

I shall procure myself a seat in the new parliament, unless I find that it will cost so large a sum, as, in the state of my family, it would be very imprudent for me to devote to such an object, which I find is very likely to be the case. Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seats to be disposed of.

June 27, 1807

After a parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, however, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney tells me that he has offered £10,000 for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors, and has met with a refusal. £6000 and £5500 have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the king's death or by any change of administration.

The king interested in the purchase of seats for members favorable to the ministry

The truth is, that the new ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H.——, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the king, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, the favorite objects of his choice, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse.

This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be an independent man, can get into parliament. To come in by a popular election, in the present state of the representation, is quite impossible; to be placed there by some great lord, and to vote as he shall direct, is to be in a state of complete

dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune.

Existing corruption

It is true that many men who buy seats do it as a matter of pecuniary speculation, as a profitable way of employing their money: they carry on a political trade; they buy their seats and sell their votes. For myself, I can truly say that, by giving money for a seat, I shall make a sacrifice of my private property, merely that I may be enabled to serve the public. I know what danger there is of men's disguising from themselves the real motives of their actions; but it really does appear to me that it is from this motive alone that I act.

May 9, 1808

After almost despairing of being able to get any seat in parliament, my friend Piggott has at last procured me one; and the duke of Norfolk has consented to bring me in for Horsham. It is, however, but a precarious seat. I shall be returned, as I shall have a majority of votes, which the late committee of the House of Commons decided to be good ones; but there will be a petition against the return, by the candidates who will stand on Lady Irwin's interest, and it is extremely doubtful what will be the event of the petition. . . .

May 12, 1808

The terms upon which I have my seat at Horsham will be best explained by a letter I wrote to Piggott to-day after the election was over, and which I am glad to keep a copy of. It is (at least so much of it as relates to this subject) in these words: "Though there is no danger that I should have misunderstood you, yet it may be as well to say, while it is fresh in both our recollections, what I understand to be the extent of my engagement. If I keep the seat, either by the decision of a committee upon a petition, or by a compromise (the duke and Lady Irwin returning one member each, in which case it is understood that I am to be the member who continues), I am to pay £2000; if, upon a petition, I lose the seat, I am not to be at any expense."

The two letters which follow tell the same story, one of the loss of a pocket borough, by the writer, Francis Horner; the other, the failure of Romilly to be elected in Bristol, a borough of a very limited franchise. His

friend Horner urges him to secure membership through a close borough, which, as has been seen, he had done in a previous session of parliament.

393. Francis Horner to Sydney Smith (October 11, 1812)

My dear Sydney:

I received your letter at Taunton the other day, where I was attending the sessions. . . .

As to parliament, I have no seat, because Lord Carrington, to whom I owed my last, has to provide for a nephew who has come of age since the last election, as well as for his son-in-law, who, being abroad, loses his seat for Hull; and because I have not money or popularity of my own to obtain a seat in the regular and desirable way. I need not own to you, for you would guess as much, that it is some mortification to me to be thrown out of the course, and that I shall indulge myself with regretting that I shall no longer have the opportunity of trying to be useful in the immediate concerns of the public. . . .

FRA. HORNER.

394. Francis Horner to Sir Samuel Romilly (October 15, 1812)

My dear Sir:

I feel very painfully our disappointment at Bristol. What annoys me most at present is my uncertainty about your coming into parliament at all. I hope you will not decline a seat, if any of those who have boroughs should (as I cannot doubt they will) put it in your power. I know your objection to that mode of holding a seat in the House; but as long as the representation continues on its actual footing, I cannot agree that a man who knows that he can serve the public ought to refuse that opportunity of serving them. While I take so great a freedom as to express this to you, from my earnest anxiety to see you again in the House of Commons, I can at the same time assure you that I should not hold this opinion if I entertained the least doubt that such a step could in any degree affect your public or parliamentary reputation. I shall regard it as one of the greatest public losses, if you are not in the House this parliament; I trust you will not, by refusing a close borough, compel us to impute that misfortune to yourself. Believe me, my dear sir, with much attachment,

Very sincerely yours,

FRA. HORNER.

VI. The French Revolution and the Wars of Napoleon

The well-known essay by Burke, in the form of a letter to a French gentleman, from which the following extracts are taken, represents the feeling of a great number of thoughtful men in England concerning the French Revolution. It should be said that Burke misunderstood and misjudged much of what was best in that great movement.

395. Extracts from Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*

Abstractedly speaking, government, as well as liberty, is good; yet could I, in common sense, ten years ago, have felicitated France on her enjoyment of a government (for she then had a government), without inquiry what the nature of the government was, or how it was administered? Can I now congratulate the same nation upon its freedom? Is it because liberty in the abstract may be classed amongst the blessings of mankind, that I am seriously to felicitate a madman, who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell, on his restoration to the enjoyment of light and liberty? Am I to congratulate a highwayman and murderer who has broken prison upon the recovery of his natural rights? . . .

Liberty is not always a blessing

When I see the spirit of liberty in action, I see a strong principle at work; and this, for a while, is all I can possibly know of it. The wild gas, the fixed air, is plainly broke loose; but we ought to suspend our judgment until the first effervescence is a little subsided, till the liquor is cleared, and until we see something deeper than the agitation of a troubled, frothy surface. I must be tolerably sure, before I venture publicly to congratulate men upon a blessing, that they have really received one. Flattery corrupts both the receiver and the giver; and adulation is not of more service to the people than to kings.

The accompaniments of liberty

I should therefore suspend my congratulations on the new liberty of France until I was informed how it was combined with government, with public force, with the discipline and obedience of armies, with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue, with morality and religion, with solidity and property, with peace and order, with civil and social

manners. All these, in their way, are good things, too; and without them liberty is not a benefit while it lasts, and is not likely to continue long. The effect of liberty to individuals is that they may do what they please: we ought to see what it will please them to do, before we risk congratulations, which may soon be turned into complaints.

Prudence would dictate this in the case of separate, insulated, private men. But liberty, when men act in bodies, is power. Considerate people, before they declare themselves, will observe the use which is made of power, and particularly of so trying a thing as new power in new persons, of whose principles, tempers, and dispositions they have little or no experience, and in situations where those who appear the most stirring in the scene may not possibly be the real movers.

Hereditary character of English liberty

You will observe that, from Magna Charta to the Declaration of Rights, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity, as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves an unity in so great a diversity of its parts. We have an inheritable crown, an inheritable peerage, and a House of Commons, and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties from a long line of ancestors.

This policy appears to me to be the result of profound reflection, — or rather the happy effect of following Nature, which is wisdom without reflection and above it. A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. . . .

The French should have looked back to their earlier liberties

Would it not, my worthy friend, have been wiser to have you thought, what I for one always thought you, a generous and gallant nation, long misled to your disadvantage by your high and romantic sentiments of fidelity, honor, and loyalty; that events had been unfavorable to you, but that you were not enslaved through any illiberal or servile disposition; that, in your most devoted submission, you were actuated by a principle

of public spirit; and that it was your country you worshiped, in the person of your king? Had you made it to be understood that, in the delusion of this amiable error, you had gone further than your wise ancestors, — that you were resolved to resume your ancient privileges, whilst you preserved the spirit of your ancient and your recent loyalty and honor; or, if diffident of yourselves, and not clearly discerning the almost obliterated constitution of your ancestors, you had looked to your neighbors in this land, who had kept alive the ancient principles and models of the old common law of Europe, meliorated and adapted to its present state, — by following wise examples you would have given new examples of wisdom to the world.

Or copied those of England

You would have rendered the cause of liberty venerable in the eyes of every worthy mind in every nation. You would have shamed despotism from the earth by showing that freedom was not only reconcilable but, as when well disciplined it is, auxiliary to law. You would have had an unoppressive but a productive revenue. You would have had a flourishing commerce to feed it. You would have had a free constitution, a potent monarchy, a disciplined army, a reformed and venerated clergy, a mitigated but spirited nobility, to lead your virtue, not to overlay it; you would have had a liberal order of commons to emulate and recruit that nobility; you would have had a protected, satisfied, laborious, and obedient people, taught to seek and to recognize the happiness that is to be found by virtue in all conditions, in which consists the true moral equality of mankind, and not in that monstrous fiction which, by inspiring false ideas and vain expectations into men destined to travel in the obscure walk of laborious life, serves only to aggravate and embitter that real inequality which it never can remove, and which the order of civil life establishes as much for the benefit of those whom it must leave in an humble state as those whom it is able to exalt to a condition more splendid but not more happy. . . .

The possibilities of reform that the French have disregarded

It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more

A poetic picture of the queen of France

delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she had just begun to move in, — glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendor and joy. Oh! what a revolution! And what an heart I must have, to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream, when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom! Little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honor and of cavaliers! I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult.

A lament for chivalry

But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever. Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom! The unbought grace of life, the cheap defense of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness!

The acts which were passed in 1800 in the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, providing for a legislative union of the two countries, were quite similar to the acts which had united England and Scotland about a hundred years before. The following are the most important sections of the British act.

Article I. That it be the first article of the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight

hundred and one, and forever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal title and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty, by his royal proclamations under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

396. Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland (July 21, 1800)

Article II. That it be the second article of union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

Article III. That it be the third article of union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

One parliament

Article IV. That it be the fourth article of union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Thirty-two Irish lords and one hundred Irish commoners to sit in the united parliament

The English government had encouraged the slave trade for more than two hundred years. It was therefore only after a long agitation that the following law for its abolition was carried.

Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and

397. Act abolishing the slave trade (1806)

temporal and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of May one thousand eight hundred and seven, the African slave trade, and all and all manner of dealing and trading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves, or of persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as slaves, practiced or carried on, in, at, to, or from any part of the coast or countries of Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and also that all and all manner of dealing, either by way of purchase, sale, barter, or transfer, or by means of any other contract or agreement whatever, relating to any slaves, or to any persons intended to be used or dealt with as slaves, for the purpose of such slaves or persons being removed or transported either immediately or by transshipment at sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any island, country, territory or any place whatever, in the West Indies, or in any other part of America, not being in the dominion, possession, or occupation of his Majesty, to any other island, country, territory, or place whatever, is hereby in like manner utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful. . . .

Miss Burney, who was engaged at the court of George III, describes in her diary the first attack of insanity from which the king suffered.

398. The insanity of George III

The king at dinner had broken forth into positive delirium, which long had been menacing all who saw him most closely, and the queen was so overpowered as to fall into violent hysterics. . . .

Mr. Fairly . . . came boldly up to him, and took him by the arm, and begged him to go to bed, and then drew him along, and said he must go. Then he said he would not, and cried, "Who are you?" "I am Mr. Fairly, sir," he answered; "and your Majesty has been very good to me often, and now I am going to be very good to you, for you must come to bed, sir: it is necessary to your life." And then he was so surprised that he let himself be drawn along just like a child; and so they got him to bed. . . .

What an adventure had I this morning! one that has occasioned me the severest personal terror I ever experienced in my life. . . . I strolled into the gardens. I had proceeded, in my quick way, nearly half the round, when I suddenly perceived, through some trees, two or three figures. Relying on the instructions of Dr. John, I concluded them to be workmen and gardeners; yet tried to look sharp, and in so doing, as they were less shaded, I thought it was the person of his Majesty. February 2

Alarmed past all possible expression, I waited not to know more, but, turning back, ran off with all my might. But what was my terror to hear myself pursued! — to hear the voice of the king himself loudly and hoarsely calling after me, "Miss Burney! Miss Burney!" I protest I was ready to die. I knew not in what state he might be at the time; I only knew the orders to keep out of his way were universal. . . . The steps still pursued me, and still the poor hoarse and altered voice rang in my ears, more and more footsteps resounded frightfully behind me, — the attendants all running to catch their eager master, and the voices of the two Dr. Willises loudly exhorting him not to heat himself so unmercifully. A momentary return of the king to sanity

Heavens, how I ran! I do not think I should have felt the hot lava from Vesuvius — at least not the hot cinders — had I so run during its eruption. My feet were not sensible that they even touched the ground. Soon after, I heard other voices, shriller, though less nervous, call out "Stop! stop! stop!" . . . I fairly believe no one of the whole party could have overtaken me, if these words from one of the attendants had not reached me, "Dr. Willis begs you to stop!"

"I cannot! I cannot!" I answered, still flying on, when he called out, "You must, ma'am; it hurts the king to run." Then indeed I stopped — in a state of fear really amounting to agony. I turned round; I saw the two doctors had got the king between them, and three attendants of Dr. Willis were hovering about. . . . When they were within a few yards of me, the king called out, "Why did you run away?" Shocked at a question impossible to answer, yet a little assured by the mild tone of his voice, I instantly forced myself forward, to

meet him, though the internal sensation which satisfied me this was a step the most proper to appease his suspicions and displeasure was so violently combated by the tremor of my nerves that I fairly think I may reckon it the greatest effort of personal courage I have ever made.

The effort answered ; I looked up, and met all his wonted benignity of countenance, though something still of wildness in his eyes. Think, however, of my surprise, to feel him put both his hands round my two shoulders and then kiss my cheek ! I wonder I did not really sink, so exquisite was my affright when I saw him spread out his arms ! Involuntarily, I concluded he meant to crush me.

In the journal of Madame Papendieck we get another glimpse of the king during his insanity. It is curious to note that his thoughts still ran back twenty-five years to his greatest failure, the loss of the American colonies. The Prince of Wales, who is referred to so unfavorably in this journal, was already on bad terms with his father and mother. When the king's insanity became incurable, however, he was made regent, and so remained from 1810 to 1820, when his father's death brought about his accession as George IV.

399. Another account of the king's insanity

The king was allowed pens, ink, and paper, and wrote down, as a sort of journal, every occurrence that took place, and every conversation, as correctly as could be.

Twice only was the king shaved between November and some time in January. My father, though principal barber (the title of his £300 a year place), was too nervous to undertake it. Mr. Papendieck, however, was ready. He begged the queen to have Palmer, the razor maker, down, that there might be no flaw or hitch in the instruments, and the razor well sharpened. This was done, and Mr. Papendieck succeeded in clearing the two cheeks at one sitting, which, with the king's talking in between, was nearly a two hours' job. The queen, out of sight of the king, sat patiently to see it done,

which was achieved without one drop of blood. The condition of the queen was pitiable in the extreme. The first days of her terrible grief she passed almost entirely with her hands and arms stretched across a table before her, with her head resting upon them, and she took nothing to eat or drink except once or twice a little barley water. . . . Mr. Papendieck told me afterwards that the silence and gloom within the walls of the lodge was something terrible. . . .

The conduct of the Prince of Wales was, during this season of affliction, very heartless. . . . At first the queen could not make up her mind to see him. . . . When he began to enter upon political conversation, her Majesty said that the equerries and Miss Goldsworthy must be called to answer the prince, who, after being most severe, and knocking his stick several times upon the floor, while condemning the whole of what had been done, bowed and retired without kissing the queen's hand according to the usual custom. . . .

His Majesty used to inquire who called, and on wishing to be told if Lord North had ever been, was answered in the affirmative. Then the king said: "He might have recollected me sooner. However, he, poor fellow, has lost his sight, and I my mind. Yet we meant well to the Americans; just to punish them with a few bloody noses, and then to make bows for the mutual happiness of the two countries. But want of principle got into the army. . . . We lost America. Tell him not to call again; I shall never see him."

The following account of the famous signal of Nelson on board the *Victory* at the battle of Trafalgar, was given in a letter written by Captain Pascoe many years after the incident, but there is no reason to doubt its general correctness.

400. Nelson's signal at Trafalgar

His lordship came to me on the poop, and after ordering certain signals to be made, about a quarter to noon he said: "Mr. Pascoe, I wish to say to the fleet, 'England confides that every man will do his duty'"; and he added, "You must be quick, for I have one more to make which is for close

action." I replied, "If your lordship will permit me to substitute the word 'expects' for 'confides,' the signal will sooner be completed, because the word 'expects' is in the vocabulary, but the word 'confides' must be spelt." His lordship replied in haste, and with seeming satisfaction, "That will do, Pascoe; make it directly." When it had been answered by a few ships in the van, he ordered me to make the signal for close action, and to keep it up; accordingly I hoisted No. 16 at the topgallant masthead, and there it remained until shot away.

The fame of Nelson, like that of other naval heroes, was of rapid growth, and the following extracts from an account of his victories gives some measure of this reputation at the time of his death at the battle of Trafalgar.

401. A contemporary estimate of Nelson

All the honors which a grateful country could bestow were heaped upon the memory of Nelson. His brother was made an earl, with a grant of £6000 a year; £10,000 were voted to each of his sisters, and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. A public funeral was decreed, and a common monument. Statues and monuments also were voted by most of our principal cities. The leaden coffin in which he was brought home was cut in pieces, which were distributed as "relics of St. Nelson" — so the gunner of the *Victory* called them; and when at his interment his flag was about to be lowered into the grave, the sailors who assisted at the ceremony with one accord rent it in pieces, that each might preserve a fragment while he lived.

The death of Nelson was felt in England as something more than a public calamity; men started at the intelligence and turned pale, as if they had heard of the loss of a dear friend. An object of our admiration and affection, of our pride and of our hopes, was suddenly taken from us; and it seemed as if we had never till then known how deeply we loved and reverenced him. . . .

The people of England grieved that funeral ceremonies, and public monuments, and posthumous rewards were all which

they could now bestow upon him whom the king, the legislature, and the nation would have alike delighted to honor; whom every tongue would have blessed; whose presence in every village through which he might have passed would have waked the church bells, have given schoolboys a holiday, have drawn children from their sports to gaze upon him, and old men from the chimney corner, to look upon Nelson ere they died.

Yet he cannot be said to have fallen prematurely whose work was done, nor ought he to be lamented who died so full of honors and at the height of human fame. The most triumphant death is that of the martyr; the most awful that of the martyred patriot; the most splendid that of the hero in the time of victory; and if the chariot and horses of fire had been vouchsafed for Nelson's translation, he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. He has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example which are at this hour inspiring thousands of youth of England — a name which is our pride, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength.

The following speeches in the House of Lords and the House of Commons took place five days after the battle of Waterloo.

402. Speech in the House of Lords (June 23, 1815)

Earl Bathurst rose, pursuant to the notice which he had given, to move the thanks of the House to the duke of Wellington and the army under his command, for those transcendant exertions which led to the victory of the 18th of this month. He was aware that their lordships must be eager to discharge the debt of gratitude to the duke of Wellington, who had now so gloriously opened the campaign, and relieved them of the anxiety which all must have felt for some time past.

However sanguine any of them might have been as to the final result, yet there were none who must not have experienced the utmost anxiety with respect to the turn which the campaign might take at the commencement. That campaign

was begun by Buonaparte[1] himself. He had not, for this time at least, to blame the elements. He had not to accuse the seasons, nor the defection of those from whom he expected support. He could not say that he was obliged to commence the battle by those to whose measures he was compelled to yield, contrary to his own better judgment. It was completely his own act and choice. He had the choice of the time, of the place, and of the adversary with whom he might be desirous to contend. Under these circumstances he had begun the battle, and he had failed. His attacks were repulsed; the order was reversed — he was attacked in his turn. His boasted genius shrunk under the ascendency of the mightier genius of him by whom he was opposed, and the result was the complete rout and overthrow of the French army. . . .

He had now, then, only to move their lordships, "That the thanks of this House be given to Field Marshal the duke of Wellington, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardor displayed by him on the 18th of June, on which day the decisive victory over the enemy, commanded by Buonaparte in person, was obtained by his grace, with the allied troops under his command, and in conjunction with the troops under the command of Marshal Prince Blucher, whereby the military glory of the British nation has been exalted, and the territory of his Majesty's ally the king of the Netherlands has been protected from invasion and spoil."

The same tone of congratulation accompanied by a pecuniary grant appears in the speeches in the House of Commons.

403. Speeches in the House of Commons (June 23, 1815)

The right honorable gentleman concluded by moving, "That a sum, not exceeding £200,000 net, be granted to his

[1] The English continued to speak of Napoleon by his last name, and to spell this in the Italian form, as given here, long after his first name had been adopted in France as his official title, and his last name, when used at all, had come regularly to be spelled in the French form of Bonaparte. By this they meant to intimate that he was only a usurper, and an Italian at that.

Majesty for the better enabling the trustees appointed under an act of the last session of parliament, for settling and securing an annuity on Arthur, duke of Wellington, and his heirs, and for empowering the lords of the Treasury to advance out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain a sum of money to purchase an estate in order to accompany the said title, to carry into effect the provisions of the said act with respect to the purchasing a suitable residence and estate for the duke of Wellington and his heirs."

Mr. W. Smith said he wished it were possible that some other mode could be devised of rewarding such transcendent merit as the duke of Wellington's, instead of a pecuniary compensation. However, as all other modes of approbation were exhausted, he must at least express his desire that the sum now voted should be employed in the erection of a palace rather than in purchasing one. Every Briton must look at Blenheim with emotions of pride and satisfaction very different from what would be felt if it were merely a house that had been built for another and purchased for the duke of Marlborough. For his own part, he would rather add £50,000 more to the present vote, if by so doing he thought the erection of a mansion for the duke of Wellington would be secured. . . .

Sir T. Acland could not but feel anxious to mark the sense of the nation on this victory in the most distinct manner; and he should be much disposed to favor the idea of building a palace, if he did not feel that any suitable mansion purchased for the duke of Wellington in consequence of a vote of that House, would bear the same character which would attach to a palace purposely erected for him. If he thought the effect would not be the same, he would willingly consent to a grant of half a million or a whole one to accomplish so desirable an object.

The duke of Wellington had greatly raised the military character of England. In India his conduct obtained for him the approbation of his country: he had been praised as the saviour of Spain and Portugal. One thing only was wanting to complete his own glory and that of his country — a triumph over him who was said to have conquered every other general

to whom he had been opposed. This object was gained. It was reserved for his last triumph to supply all that was wanting to the consummation of his glory. Many had heretofore doubted what would be the result of a contest in which he and Buonaparte fought hand to hand ; that doubt was gone forever. We now saw renewed the splendid days of Cressy and Agincourt, and this we owed to the duke of Wellington, who had now gained the last triumph necessary for his own fame, or for that of his country.

The unmeasured, unreasoning, bitter, and ignorant hatred for Napoleon that had grown up in England is well reflected in the following article in the *London Times*, published the day the news of his surrender reached England.

404. News of the surrender of Napoleon (July 15, 1815)

Our paper of this day will satisfy the sceptics, for such there were beginning to be, as to the capture of that bloody miscreant, who has so long tortured Europe, Napoleon Buonaparte. Savages are always found to unite the greatest degree of cunning to the ferocious part of their nature. The cruelty of this person is written in characters of blood in almost every country in Europe and in the contiguous angles of Africa and Asia which he visited ; and nothing can more strongly evince the universal conviction of his low, perfidious craft, than the opinion, which was beginning to get abroad, that, even after his capture had been officially announced both in France and England, he might yet have found means to escape.

However, all doubts upon this point are put at an end by his arrival off the British coast, and, if he be not now placed beyond the possibility of again outraging the peace of Europe, England will certainly never again deserve to have heroes such as those who have fought and bled at Waterloo for this his present overthrow. The lives of the brave men who fell on that memorable day will have been absolutely thrown away by a thoughtless country, the grand object obtained by their valour will have been frustrated, and we shall do little less than insult over their remains, almost before they have ceased

to bleed. But Fortune, seconding their undaunted efforts, has put it in our power to do far otherwise.

Captain Sartorius of the *Slaney*, frigate, arrived yesterday with dispatches from Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, confirming all the antecedent accounts of Buonaparte's surrender, with various other details, and closing them by their natural catastrophe — his safe conveyance to England. He is, therefore, what we may call, here. Captain Sartorius delivered his dispatches to Lord Melville, at Wimbledon, by whom their contents were communicated to Lord Liverpool, at his seat at Coombe Wood; summonses were immediately issued for a cabinet council, to meet at 12 o'clock; what passed there was, of course, not suffered to transpire.

Our narrative must therefore revert to the *Slaney*, frigate, and the accounts brought by her. She had been sent forward by Captain Maitland to Plymouth, with the dispatches announcing that Buonaparte was on board the *Bellerophon*, with a numerous suite. But it was the intention of Captain Maitland, himself, to proceed to Torbay, and not land his prisoners until he had received orders from government.

Buonaparte's suite, as it is called, consists of upward of forty persons, among whom are Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Grogau, and several women. He has been allowed to take on board carriages and horses, but admission was denied to about fifty cavalry, for whom he had the impudence to require accommodation. This wretch has really lived in the commission of every crime so long that he has lost all sight and knowledge of the difference that exists between good and evil, and hardly knows when he is doing wrong, except he be taught by proper chastisement. A creature who ought to be greeted with a gallows as soon as he lands, — to think of an attendance of fifty horsemen! He had at first wanted to make conditions with Captain Maitland as to his treatment, but the British officer very properly declared that he must refer him upon this subject to his government.

When he had been some time on board, he asked the captain what chance two large frigates, well manned, would have with a seventy-four. The answer, we understand, which he

received to this inquiry did not give him any cause to regret that he had not risked his fortune in a naval combat with the relative forces in question. By the way, we should not have been surprised if he had come into an action with the two frigates and then endeavoured to escape in his own and leave the other to her fate. It has been the constant trick of this villain, whenever he got his companions into a scrape, to leave them in it and seek his own safety by flight. In Egypt, in the Moscow expedition, and at Waterloo, such was his conduct. . . .

The first procedure, we trust, will be a special commission or the appointment of a court-martial to try him for the murde of Captain Wright. It is nonsense to say, as some have, that courts-martial are instituted only to try offenses committed by soldiers of the country to which they belong: it was an American court-martial that tried and shot Major André as a spy; and Buonaparte himself appointed commissions of all kinds, and in all countries, to try offenses committed against himself.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERIOD OF REFORM, 1815–1852

I. Contests between Conservatives and Radicals

The discord and conflict of classes at home became even more intense when peace was attained abroad, after the long period of war. This fact is well exemplified in the democratic sentiments expressed in the following passages from Cobbett's *Weekly Register.*

405. An article in Cobbett's *Weekly Register*

A letter to the journeymen and laborers of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, on the cause of their present miseries; on the measures which have produced that cause; on the remedies which some foolish and some cruel and insolent men have proposed; and on the line of conduct which journeymen and laborers ought to pursue, in order to obtain effectual relief, and to assist in promoting the tranquillity and restoring the happiness of their country.

Friends and Fellow-Countrymen:

Labor the source of all wealth

Whatever the pride of rank, of riches, or of scholarship may have induced some men to believe, the real strength and all the resources of a country ever have sprung and ever must spring from the labor of its people; and hence it is that this nation, which is so small in numbers and so poor in climate and soil compared with many others, has, for many ages, been the most powerful nation in the world: it is the most industrious, the most laborious, and, therefore, the most powerful. Elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately buildings, fine roads and canals, fleet horses and carriages, numerous and stout ships, warehouses teeming with goods,—all these, and many other objects that fall under our view, are so many marks of

national wealth and resources. But all these spring from *labor*. Without the journeyman and the laborer none of them could exist; without the assistance of their hands the country would be a wilderness, hardly worth the notice of an invader.

The common people form the military strength of the nation

As it is the labor of those who toil which makes a country abound in resources, so it is the same class of men, who must, by their arms, secure its safety and uphold its fame. Titles and immense sums of money have been bestowed upon numerous naval and military commanders. Without calling the justice of these in question, we may assert that the victories were obtained by you and your fathers and brothers and sons, in coöperation with those commanders, who, with your aid, have done great and wonderful things; but who, without that aid, would have been as impotent as children at the breast.

With this correct idea of your own worth in your minds, with what indignation must you hear yourselves called "the populace," "the rabble," "the mob," "the swinish multitude"; and with what greater indignation, if possible, must you hear the projects of those cool and cruel and insolent men, who, now that you have been, without any fault of yours, brought into a state of misery, propose to narrow the limit of parish relief, to prevent you from marrying in the days of your youth, or to thrust you out to seek your bread in foreign lands, never more to behold your parents or friends? But suppress your indignation until we return to this topic, after we have considered the cause of your present misery, and the measures which have produced that cause.

The times in which we live are full of peril. The nation, as described by the very creatures of government, is fast advancing to that period when an important change must take place. It is the lot of mankind that some shall labor with their limbs and others with their minds; and, on all occasions, more especially on an occasion like the present, it is the duty of the latter to come to the assistance of the former. We are all equally interested in the peace and happiness of our common country. It is of the utmost importance that, in seeking to obtain these objects, our endeavors should be uniform, and

consideration of the House; for if, on the other occasions, I have called the attention of the House of Commons to this subject, it has been upon my own responsibility, unaided by any one, —involving no one in the failure of the attempt,—though often completely gratified by partial success. But, sir, the measure I have now to bring forward is a measure, not of mine, but of the government in whose name I appear,—the deliberate measure of a whole cabinet, unanimous upon this subject, and resolved to place their measure before this House, in redemption of their pledge to their sovereign, to parliament, and to their country. It is, therefore, with great anxiety that I venture to explain their intentions to the House upon a subject the interest of which is shown by the crowded audience assembled here, but still more by the deep interest that is felt by millions out of this House, who look with anxiety, who look with hope, who look with expectation to the result of this day's deliberations. . . .

A suppositious visitor to England

Let us now look at the question as one of reason. Allow me to imagine, for a moment, a stranger from some distant country, who should arrive in England to examine our institutions. All the information he would have collected would have told him that this country was singular for the degree which it had attained in wealth, in science, and in civilization. He would have learned that in no country have the arts of life been carried further, nowhere the inventions of mechanical skill been rendered more conducive to the comfort and prosperity of mankind. He would have made himself acquainted with its fame in history, and, above all, he would have been told that the proudest boast of this celebrated country was its political freedom. If, in addition to this, he had heard that once in six years this country, so wise, so renowned, so free, chose its representatives to sit in the great council where all the ministerial affairs were discussed and determined, he would not be a little curious to see the process by which so important and solemn an operation was effected.

What, then, would be his surprise, if he were taken by his guide, whom he had asked to conduct him to one of the places of election, to a green mound, and told that this green mound

sent two members to parliament; or to be taken to a stone wall with three niches in it, and told that these three niches sent two members to parliament; or, if he were shown a green park with many signs of flourishing vegetable life but none of human habitation, and told that this green park sent two members to parliament? But his surprise would increase to astonishment if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large flourishing towns, full of trade and activity, containing vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representatives in the assembly which was said to represent the people.

Suppose him, after all, for I will not disguise any part of the case,—suppose him to ask for a specimen of popular election, and to be carried for that purpose to Liverpool; his surprise would be turned to disgust at the gross venality and corruption which he would find to pervade the electors. After seeing all this, would he not wonder that a nation which had made such progress in every kind of knowledge, and which valued itself for its freedom, should permit so absurd and defective a system of representation any longer to prevail? . . .

I repeat that the confidence of the country in the construction and constitution of the House of Commons is gone — and gone forever. I would say more: I affirm that it would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactories of Leeds and Manchester to Gatton and Old Sarum than to reëstablish the confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it calls its constituents. I end this argument, therefore, by saying that if the question be one of right, right is in favor of reform; if it be a question of reason, reason is in favor of reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency speak loudly for reform.

One of the strongest speeches against the bill in the long debates that took place in the House of Commons on its first introduction was that of Sir Robert H. Inglis. Some extracts from the early and more general part of this address are here given.

418. Speech of Sir Robert Inglis (March, 1831)

Mr. Speaker:

Few men, I believe, can rise to address the House, excited as it has been by the speech of the noble lord, without some feeling of self-distrust. Of the cause itself which I advocate — the cause of the existing and ancient institutions of the country — I have no distrust. Yet I own that I approach the discussion of this question with a sensation of awe at the contemplation of the abyss on the brink of which we stand and into which the motion of the noble lord will, if successful, hurl us. With a deep sense, therefore, of the danger of our position, I rise to endeavor to recall to the attention of the House (for on such a subject there can be little novelty on either side) facts and arguments, which, urged in happier times and by abler men, have been successful in persuading the House to resist measures similar to the present.

The noble lord has stated that there is one peculiarity in his motion which claims the special attention of the House. I admit it. This is the first time, for nearly fifty years, that any person, invested even with the reflected light of the government, has come down to the House formally to require the House to declare that it is incompetent to the just discharge of its legislative functions. It is the first time, for nearly fifty years, that the advisers of his Majesty have thought fit to pledge themselves, and to endeavor to pledge their sovereign, before his people, to the doctrine that the House of Commons is unworthy of the confidence of the people, — is unworthy to stand between their fellow-subjects and the throne. The doctrine itself is not new, but it is now brought forward under circumstances so new as to invest it with a character not more distinct than ill-omened. The noble lord has also stated, at the beginning and at the end of his speech, that the object of his motion is demanded by the great majority of the people. The noble lord has talked not only of the myriads of petitions but of the millions of those who now come forward, I admit that he added at one time, "for their just requests," but at another he said, "to demand their rights." . . .

In this way many of those, who, sitting for close or for rotten boroughs, as they have been this night designated for

Great men who have entered parliament by appointment

the first time by the representative of the king's government, have constituted the chief ornaments of this House in the past and present age, have entered parliament; many of whom, if this way had been closed, would never have entered these walls. There is no one man, I think, of all now sitting here, who has taken any prominent part in the proceedings of this House, my honorable friend the member for Kent, and my honorable friends the members for Devonshire and Staffordshire and Cornwall, and the honorable and learned member for Waterford, excepted (I scarcely recollect any other), who has not entered this House as the representative of a small borough. The honorable member for Middlesex is certainly not an exception.

I will ask the noble lord by what other means the great Lord Chatham came into parliament? By the bye, his earliest seat was, I think, for Old Sarum itself. Mr. Pitt sat for Appleby; Mr. Fox came in for a close borough, and, when rejected by a populous place, took refuge again in a close borough. Mr. Burke sat for Wendover, from which, having distinguished himself in this House, he was transferred in the same way to Liverpool. Would these large places ever have thought of selecting Mr. Canning, Mr. Burke, or Lord Chatham, if these great men had not previously had an opportunity of showing their talents in this House? In later times Mr. Windham, Mr. Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly (I speak not of existing ornaments of this House, whom we owe to this system), all came into parliament by the introduction of great men. . . .

As the pressure from the people outside of parliament increased, the anger of members of parliament opposed to the bill rose against this, which seemed to them an unjustifiable intrusion. This feeling is represented by the following speech in the House of Commons.

419. Speech of the marquis of Chandos (March 7, 1831)

It is with deep regret I come forward on this occasion to interrupt for a minute the resumption of the adjourned debate. It is only through the courtesy of my gallant friend (Colonel Sibthorp) that the opportunity has been afforded to me; and

I assure the House that I should not come forward on such an occasion if I did not think it my duty to allude to a circumstance which I consider it most important should be brought to the notice of this House. Every one must admit that it is highly necessary that our deliberations on the measure now under consideration should be unbiased, unfettered, and conducted calmly and without excitement. It is a matter of the deepest regret to me, therefore, to find that persons — friends, too, of his Majesty's ministers — not content with expressing their own opinions in support of the measure proposed, are going abroad amongst the people, trying to influence the minds of the lower classes on this subject, and to intimidate members of this House in the performance of what they may consider their public duty on this question. . . .

Popular threats

A meeting was held on Friday last, at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand, the proceedings at which have been reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, and which call, as I think, for the serious attention of this House. At that meeting Colonel De Lacy Evans, lately a member of this House, the member for Rye, is reported to have stated that he had lately come up from the coast of Sussex, where there had been two reform meetings; and that he knew there were 10,000 men ready to march up to London from that part of the country, if ministers were defeated in the measure they have brought forward.

Now it really does appear to me, sir, that his Majesty's ministers are called upon to notice such statements. In my opinion, no means should be allowed to be taken, directly or indirectly, of biasing the determination of the members of this House, or endeavoring by intimidation of this sort to deter them from the performance of their duty. I have thought it my duty to call the attention of his Majesty's ministers to this subject, and the answer I receive from the noble lord will bias me very much in the course I shall take. It is for his Majesty's government and the House to say what steps they consider it necessary to take in such a case, but certainly such proceedings ought not to be tolerated.

Lord Althorp, one of the ministers, made the following reply.

Reply of Lord Althorp

Sir, I really do not know what ground the noble marquis has for presuming that his Majesty's ministers are encouraging any persons to inflame the public mind with a view to disturb the deliberations of this House. I beg distinctly to state that the ministers have done no such thing. All we wish is that the measure now under consideration should be calmly, dispassionately, and quietly discussed. I am aware that the people feel a strong interest in the success of this measure, and the noble marquis must know, as well as I do, that when the people of this country do feel a strong interest in any public question meetings will be held and violent language will sometimes be used. His Majesty's ministers have no wish, however, that the discussions of this subject should be influenced by anything but its true merits.

A fair idea of what was meant by the close boroughs, which the act of 1832 abolished, can be obtained from the following table. The first column gives the name of the town or borough; the second column gives the name of the landowner on whose estates it lay, and who had therefore practical control over the appointment of its representatives; the third column gives the number of its inhabitants.

420. A list of small represented towns

Aldborough	Duke of Newcastle	60
Aldeburgh	Marquis of Hertford	80
Appleby	Earl of Thanet and Earl Lonsdale	100
Bedwin	Marquis of Aylesbury	80
Beeralston	Earl of Beverly	100
Bishop's Castle	Earl Powis	60
Bletchingley	Mr. M. Russell	80
Boroughbridge	Duke of Newcastle	50
Bossiney	Lord Warncliffe and Mr. Turmo	35
Brackley	R. H. and J. Bradshaw	33
Bramber	Lord Calthorpe and the Duke of Rutland	20
Buckingham	Duke of Buckingham	13
Callington	Mr. A. Baring	50
Camelford	Marquis of Cleveland	25

Castle Rising	Marquis of Cholmondeley and Hon. F. G. Howard	50
Corfe Castle	Mr. H. Bankes	50
Dunwich	Lord Huntingfield and Mr. Barne	18
East Looe	Mr. Hope	50
Eye	Sir E. Kerrison	100
Fowey	Mr. Austin and Mr. Livey	70
Gatton	Lord Monson	5
Haslemere	Earl Lonsdale	60
Heytesbury	Lord Heytesbury	50
Higham Ferrers	Lord Fitzwilliam	145
Hindon	Lord Grosvenor and Lord Calthorpe	240
Ilchester	Disputed between Lord Cleveland and Lord Huntingtower	70
Lostwithiel	Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	94
Ludgershall	Sir G. Graham and Mr. Everett	70
Malmesbury	Mr. Pitt	13
Maw's, St.	Duke of Buckingham	20
Michael, St.	Lord Falmouth and Mr. J. H. Hawkins	32
Midhurst	Mr. John Smith	13
Milborne Port	Marquis of Angelsea	90
Minehead	Mr. Luttrell	10
Newport, Cornwall	Duke of Northumberland	62
Newton, Lancashire	Mr. Legh	60
Newton, Isle of Wight	Lord Yarborough and Sir F. Barrington	40
Old Sarum	The Proprietor	no inhabitants
Orford	Marquis of Hertford	20
Petersfield	Colonel Joliffe	140
Plympton	Mr. Trehy and the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	210
Romney, New	Sir E. Dering	150
Ryegate	Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Somers	200
Saltash	Mr. Buller	36
Seaford	Lord Seaford and Mr. J. Fitzgerald	no inhabitants
Steyning	Duke of Norfolk	110
Stockbridge	Lord Grosvenor	106
Tregony	Mr. J. A. Gordon	180
Wareham	Right Hon. J. Calcraft	20
Wendover	Lord Carrington	140

Weobly	. . . . .	Marquis of Bath	 90
West Looe	. . . .	Mr. Buller	 55
Whitchurch	. . . .	Lord Sydney and Sir F. Scott	. . 70
Winchelsea	. . . .	Marquis of Cleveland	 40
Woodstock	. . . .	Duke of Marlborough	 400
Wooton Bassett	. .	Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Pitt	. . 100
Yarmouth	. . . .	The Holmes Family	 50

The following letter from Thomas B. Macaulay, then a young member of parliament, gives a graphic description of the vote by which the Reform Bill was carried through the House of Commons for the first time.

421. Macaulay to Francis Ellis (March 30, 1831)

Dear Ellis:

I have little news for you, except what you will learn from the papers as well as from me. It is clear that the Reform Bill must pass, either in this or in another parliament. The majority of one does not appear to me, as it does to you, by any means inauspicious. We should perhaps have had a better plea for dissolution if the majority had been the other way. But surely a dissolution under such circumstances would have been a most alarming thing. If there should be a dissolution now, there will not be that ferocity in the public mind which there would have been if the House of Commons had refused to entertain the bill at all. I confess that, till we had a majority, I was half inclined to tremble at the storm which we raised. At present I think that we are absolutely certain of victory, and of victory without commotion.

Omitting the speaker and the four tellers there would be six hundred and three voters

Such a scene as the division of last Tuesday I never saw, and never expect to see again. If I should live fifty years, the impression of it will be as fresh and sharp in my mind as if it had just taken place. It was like seeing Cæsar stabbed in the Senate house, seeing Oliver take the mace from the table, — a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. The crowd overflowed the House in every part. When the strangers were cleared out and the doors locked, we had six hundred and eight members present — more by fifty-five than ever were in a division before. The ayes and noes were like two volleys of cannon from opposite sides of a field of battle. When the

opposition went out into the lobby, — an operation which took up twenty minutes or more, — we spread ourselves over the benches on both sides of the House; for there were many of us who had not been able to find a seat during the evening.

When the doors were shut we began to speculate on our numbers. Everybody was desponding. "We have lost it. We are only two hundred and eighty at most." "I do not think we are two hundred and fifty. They are three hundred." "Alderman Thompson has counted them. He says they are two hundred and ninety-nine." This was the talk on our benches. I wonder that men who have been long in parliament do not acquire a better *coup d'œil* for numbers. The House, when only the ayes were in it, looked to me a very fair House, much fuller than it generally is even on debates of considerable interest. I had no hope, however, of three hundred. As the tellers passed along our lowest row on the left-hand side the interest was insupportable — two hundred and ninety-one — two hundred and ninety-two; we were all standing up and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At three hundred there was a short cry of joy; at three hundred and two another, suppressed, however, in a moment; for we did not yet know what the hostile force might be. We knew, however, that we could not be severely beaten.

Three hundred and two for the bill

The doors were thrown open and in they came. Each of them, as he entered, brought some different report of their numbers. It must have been impossible, as you may conceive, in the lobby, crowded as they were, to form any exact estimate. First we heard that they were three hundred and three; then that number rose to three hundred and ten; then went down to three hundred and seven. Alexander Barry told me that he had counted, and that they were three hundred and four. We were all breathless with anxiety, when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried out, "They are only three hundred and one." We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands. The tellers scarcely got through the crowd; for the House was thronged up to the table, and all the floor was fluctuating with

Three hundred and one against it

heads like the pit of a theater. But you might have heard a pin drop as Duncannon read the numbers.

Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain. And the jaw of Peel fell; and the face of Twiss was as the face of a damned soul; and Herries looked like Judas taking his necktie off for the last operation. We shook hands and clapped each other on the back, and went out laughing, crying, and huzzaing into the lobby. And no sooner were the outer doors opened than another shout answered that within the House. All the passages and the stairs into the waiting rooms were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. We passed through a narrow lane between two thick masses of them, and all the way down they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was, "Is the bill carried?" "Yes, by one." "Thank God for it, sir!" And away I rode to Gray's Inn, and so ended a scene which will probably never be equaled till the reformed parliament wants reforming; and that, I hope, will not be till the days of our grandchildren, — till that truly orthodox and apostolical person, Dr. Francis Ellis, is an archbishop of eighty.

IV. General Reform Legislation

All reform came more easily, now that the great break with the past had been made by the passage of the bill of 1832. The agitation for laws protecting children from overwork in the factories had been in progress ever since the rise of the factories in the eighteenth century. The extract that follows, dating from the year 1815, is part of this discussion.

422. A debate in parliament on a factory law (June 6, 1815)

Sir Robert Peel called the attention of the House to the expediency of some legislative regulation for the purpose of restricting the employment of young children in manufacturing labor. It was well known that a bad practice had prevailed

of condemning children whose years and strength did not admit of it to the drudgery of occupations often severe and sometimes unhealthy. What he was disposed to recommend was a regulation that no children should be so employed under the age of ten years, either as apprentices or otherwise, and the duration of their labor should be limited to twelve hours and a half per diem, including the time for education and meals, which would leave ten hours for laborious employment. The accounts he had recently seen showed that it was not so much the hardship as the duration of the labor which had produced mischievous effects on the health of the rising generation. It was to be lamented, however, that the inspectors appointed under a late act had been very remiss in the performance of their duty. He should, in consequence of this misfortune, propose that proper persons be appointed at quarter sessions, and that they should be paid in due proportion for their trouble. . . .

Evils of the system of bound children in factories

Mr. Horner observed that the former measures and even the present bill, as far as he could understand its object, fell far short of what parliament should do on the subject. The practice which was so prevalent of apprenticing parish children in distant manufactories was as repugnant to humanity as any practice which had ever been suffered to exist by the negligence of the legislature. These children were often sent one, two, or three hundred miles from their place of birth, separated for life from all their relations, and deprived of the aid and instruction which even in their humble and almost destitute situation they might derive from their friends. The practice was altogether objectionable on this ground, but even more so from the enormous abuses which had existed in it. It had been known that with a bankrupt's effects a gang, if he might use the word, of these children had been put up to sale, and were advertised publicly as part of the property.

A most atrocious instance had been brought before the Court of King's Bench, two years ago, in which a number of these boys, apprenticed by a parish in London to one manufacturer, had been transferred to another, and had been found by some benevolent persons in a state of absolute famine.

Another case more horrible had come to his knowledge while on a committee upstairs: that not many years ago an agreement had been made between a London parish and a Lancashire manufacturer, by which it was stipulated that with every twenty sound children one idiot should be taken! A practice in which there was a possibility that abuses of this kind might arise, should not be suffered to exist, and now, or in the next session, when the bill should be discussed, should meet with the most serious consideration.

In 1831 and 1832 a parliamentary committee was appointed to investigate the question of factory labor anew. The following are extracts from the testimony given before them.

423. Testimony given by factory laborers to the parliamentary committee of 1832

William Henden, aged 19; examined June 13, 1832

Where do you live? At Leeds. Are your father and mother living? No; they are dead. What time did you begin to work at a mill? When I was six years old. What sort of a mill? A woolen mill. Whose? Mr. John Good's, at Hunslett. What were the hours of work? We used to start at five and work till nine at night. What time had you for your dinner? Half an hour. What time for breakfast and drinking? A quarter of an hour at each end of the day. What wages had you? Two shillings and sixpence.

Where did you remove to afterwards? My father and mother removed to Leeds, and I had a brother working at Tetley, Tatham, and Walker's, and they got me work there. How long did you stop there? Three years and a half. What were the hours of working there? We used to start at half past five and work till half past nine at night. What time had you for dinner? Forty minutes. What time for breakfast and drinking? Nothing for either. What is Tetley, Tatham, and Walker's mill? A flax mill. What were the wages there? I had three shillings and sixpence there. What was your business? A doffer.

Where did you go then? To Mr. Hammond's flax mill, at Leeds. At about what age? About ten years of age. At what time did you begin work at that mill in the morning?

We used to start at half past five and work till eight at night. What time was allowed for breakfast and dinner and drinking? Forty minutes a day was all that was allowed. How were you kept up to your work during the latter part of the day? The overlooker used to come with a strap and give us a rap or two, or if they caught us asleep they would give us a pinch of snuff till we sneezed; they would give us a slap with a strap if we did not mind our work. Was the strap an instrument capable of hurting you badly? It was a heavy strap with a small handle to it.

Where did they strike you with it? Generally in the small of the back and over the head. Did they strike the young children as well as the older ones? Yes. And the females as well as the males? Yes. State the effect upon your health of those long hours of labor. I was pretty fair in health but happened with two or three misfortunes. State, in the first place, the effect upon your health and limbs of those long hours of labor? It produced a weakness in my knees; I was made crooked with standing the long hours. Just show the gentlemen your limbs. (The witness exhibited to the committee his limbs, which appeared exceedingly crooked.)

Are you quite sure you were, as a child, perfectly straight and well formed? Yes. How old were you before your limbs began to fail you? About eight years and a half old. Had you any brother or sister working at the mill? Yes, I had two sisters and a brother. Have those long hours of labor had any effect upon the rest of your family? Yes, upon one of my sisters. Is she crippled? She is nearly as bad as I am. Was she originally perfectly straight and well formed? Yes. To what age did she continue to be perfectly well formed? Till she was about nine years old. How tall are you? About four feet nine inches. Are you quite certain that the deformity of your limbs was not consequent upon the accident you had? No, it was not owing to that. You were deformed, as you are now, before that? Yes. Were the children unhappy at the state in which they were? Yes, they were. Have you seen them crying at their work? Yes. Had you time to go to a day school or a night school during this labor? No. Can

you write? No, not at all. Had you to work by gaslight? Yes. What effect do you think that has upon the eyes? It nearly made me blind; I was forced to go into the infirmary; I was seven weeks there, and the doctors said, towards the latter end of the seven weeks, they did not expect they could cure me. What do you do now? I sell potatoes.

Joseph Hebergam, aged 17; examined June 1, 1832

Where do you reside? At North Great Huddersfield in Yorkshire. Have you worked in factories? Yes. At what age did you commence? Seven years of age. At whose mill? George Addison Bradley's mill, near Huddersfield. What was the employment? Worsted spinning. What were your hours of labor at that mill? From five in the morning till eight at night. What intervals had you for refreshment? Thirty minutes at noon. Had you no time for breakfast or refreshment in the afternoon? No, not one minute; we had to eat our meals as we could, standing or otherwise. You had fourteen and a half hours of actual labor at seven years of age? Yes. What wages had you at that time? Two shillings and sixpence a week. Did you not become very drowsy and sleepy towards the end of the day, and feel much fatigued? Yes; that began about three o'clock and grew worse and worse, and it came to be very bad towards six and seven. . . .

A foreman

Do you live in Stockport? Yes. What has been your employment? A dresser of cotton yarn. In whose factory? In Mr. Robinson's. How many of the principal factories have you worked at? Mr. Ratcliffe's, Mr. Smith's, and Mr. Robinson's. How many hands do you think are employed in the spinning and weaving of cotton in the town and neighborhood of Stockport? At least 14,000. What proportion of those are children? I should think more than half. Are a considerable majority of those children females? Yes; more than half of the children employed in factories are females. What temperature do you have generally in the factory? It varies, but it is generally very high, — as high as 80°, 90°, 100°, and 110°. Are any children employed in that temperature? Yes; there are children in those rooms. The warps are twisted and drawn in the dressing room, and there are children employed for those purposes.

The chairman of the committee just referred to, Mr. Michael Sadler, who had become deeply interested in the question of factory labor, introduced a factory act based on the testimony taken by his committee. The following are passages from his address.

424. Extracts from address introducing factory act of 1832

The bill which I now implore the House to sanction with its authority has for its object the liberation of children and other young persons employed in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom from that overexertion and long confinement which common sense, as well as experience, has shown to be utterly inconsistent with the improvement of their minds, the preservation of their morals, and the maintenance of their health; in a word, to rescue them from a state of suffering and degradation, which it is conceived the children of the industrious classes in hardly any other country have ever endured. . . .

Objections to the principle of the bill

But, I apprehend, the strongest objections that will be offered on this occasion will be grounded upon the pretense that the very principle of the bill is an improper interference between the employer and the employed, and an attempt to regulate by law the market of labor. Were that market supplied by free agents, properly so denominated, I should fully participate in these objections. Theoretically, indeed, such is the case; but practically, I fear, the fact is far otherwise, even regarding those who are of mature age; and the boasted freedom of our laborers in many pursuits will, on a just view of their condition, be found little more than a name. Those who argue the question upon the mere abstract principle seem, in my apprehension, too much to forget the condition of society; the unequal division of property, or rather its total monopoly by the few, leaving the many nothing but what they can obtain by their daily labor, which very labor cannot become available for the purposes of daily subsistence without the consent of those who own the property of the community; all the materials, elements, call them what you please, on which labor can be bestowed, being in their possession. Hence it is clear

that, excepting in a state of things where the demand for labor fully equals the supply (which it would be absurdly false to say exists in this country), the employer and the employed do not meet on equal terms in the market of labor; on the contrary, the latter, whatever his age, and call him as free as you please, is often almost entirely at the mercy of the former. . . .

Overseers of the poor press parents to send their children into the factories

The parents who surrender their children to this infantile slavery may be separated into two classes. The first, and I trust by far the most numerous one, consists of those who are obliged, by extreme indigence, so to act, but who do it with great reluctance and bitter regret. Themselves perhaps out of employment, or working at very low wages, and their families in a state of great destitution, what can they do? The overseer, as is in evidence, refuses relief if they have children capable of working in factories, whom they refuse to send thither.

They choose, therefore, what they probably deem the lesser evil, and reluctantly resign their offspring to the captivity and pollution of the mill. They rouse them in the winter morning, which, as a poor father testified before the Lords' Committee, they "feel very sorry" to do; they receive them fatigued and exhausted, many a weary hour after the day has closed; they see them droop and sicken, and, in many cases, become cripples and die, before they reach their prime; and they do all this because they must otherwise suffer unrelieved, and starve, like Ugolino, amidst their starving children. It is mockery to contend that these parents have a choice; that they can dictate to, or even parley with, the employer, as to the number of hours their child shall be worked or the treatment it shall be subject to in his mill. . . .

An appeal to the humanity of parliament

I trust, however, that this House, whose peculiar duty it is to defend the weak and redress the injured, will interpose and extend that protection to these defenseless children, which is equally demanded by the principles of justice, mercy, and policy. Many have been the struggles made in their behalf, but hitherto they have been defeated. The laws passed for their protection have been avowedly and shamefully evaded, and have therefore had little practical effect but to legalize cruelty and suffering. Hence, at this late hour, while I am

consideration of the House; for if, on the other occasions, I have called the attention of the House of Commons to this subject, it has been upon my own responsibility, unaided by any one, — involving no one in the failure of the attempt, — though often completely gratified by partial success. But, sir, the measure I have now to bring forward is a measure, not of mine, but of the government in whose name I appear, — the deliberate measure of a whole cabinet, unanimous upon this subject, and resolved to place their measure before this House, in redemption of their pledge to their sovereign, to parliament, and to their country. It is, therefore, with great anxiety that I venture to explain their intentions to the House upon a subject the interest of which is shown by the crowded audience assembled here, but still more by the deep interest that is felt by millions out of this House, who look with anxiety, who look with hope, who look with expectation to the result of this day's deliberations. . . .

A supposititious visitor to England

Let us now look at the question as one of reason. Allow me to imagine, for a moment, a stranger from some distant country, who should arrive in England to examine our institutions. All the information he would have collected would have told him that this country was singular for the degree which it had attained in wealth, in science, and in civilization. He would have learned that in no country have the arts of life been carried further, nowhere the inventions of mechanical skill been rendered more conducive to the comfort and prosperity of mankind. He would have made himself acquainted with its fame in history, and, above all, he would have been told that the proudest boast of this celebrated country was its political freedom. If, in addition to this, he had heard that once in six years this country, so wise, so renowned, so free, chose its representatives to sit in the great council where all the ministerial affairs were discussed and determined, he would not be a little curious to see the process by which so important and solemn an operation was effected.

What, then, would be his surprise, if he were taken by his guide, whom he had asked to conduct him to one of the places of election, to a green mound, and told that this green mound

sent two members to parliament; or to be taken to a stone wall with three niches in it, and told that these three niches sent two members to parliament; or, if he were shown a green park with many signs of flourishing vegetable life but none of human habitation, and told that this green park sent two members to parliament? But his surprise would increase to astonishment if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large flourishing towns, full of trade and activity, containing vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representatives in the assembly which was said to represent the people.

Suppose him, after all, for I will not disguise any part of the case,—suppose him to ask for a specimen of popular election, and to be carried for that purpose to Liverpool; his surprise would be turned to disgust at the gross venality and corruption which he would find to pervade the electors. After seeing all this, would he not wonder that a nation which had made such progress in every kind of knowledge, and which valued itself for its freedom, should permit so absurd and defective a system of representation any longer to prevail? . . .

I repeat that the confidence of the country in the construction and constitution of the House of Commons is gone — and gone forever. I would say more: I affirm that it would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactories of Leeds and Manchester to Gatton and Old Sarum than to reëstablish the confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it calls its constituents. I end this argument, therefore, by saying that if the question be one of right, right is in favor of reform; if it be a question of reason, reason is in favor of reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency speak loudly for reform.

One of the strongest speeches against the bill in the long debates that took place in the House of Commons on its first introduction was that of Sir Robert H. Inglis. Some extracts from the early and more general part of this address are here given.

418. Speech of Sir Robert Inglis (March, 1831)

Mr. Speaker:

Few men, I believe, can rise to address the House, excited as it has been by the speech of the noble lord, without some feeling of self-distrust. Of the cause itself which I advocate — the cause of the existing and ancient institutions of the country — I have no distrust. Yet I own that I approach the discussion of this question with a sensation of awe at the contemplation of the abyss on the brink of which we stand and into which the motion of the noble lord will, if successful, hurl us. With a deep sense, therefore, of the danger of our position, I rise to endeavor to recall to the attention of the House (for on such a subject there can be little novelty on either side) facts and arguments, which, urged in happier times and by abler men, have been successful in persuading the House to resist measures similar to the present.

The noble lord has stated that there is one peculiarity in his motion which claims the special attention of the House. I admit it. This is the first time, for nearly fifty years, that any person, invested even with the reflected light of the government, has come down to the House formally to require the House to declare that it is incompetent to the just discharge of its legislative functions. It is the first time, for nearly fifty years, that the advisers of his Majesty have thought fit to pledge themselves, and to endeavor to pledge their sovereign, before his people, to the doctrine that the House of Commons is unworthy of the confidence of the people, — is unworthy to stand between their fellow-subjects and the throne. The doctrine itself is not new, but it is now brought forward under circumstances so new as to invest it with a character not more distinct than ill-omened. The noble lord has also stated, at the beginning and at the end of his speech, that the object of his motion is demanded by the great majority of the people. The noble lord has talked not only of the myriads of petitions but of the millions of those who now come forward, I admit that he added at one time, "for their just requests," but at another he said, "to demand their rights." . . .

In this way many of those, who, sitting for close or for rotten boroughs, as they have been this night designated for

Great men who have entered parliament by appointment

the first time by the representative of the king's government, have constituted the chief ornaments of this House in the past and present age, have entered parliament; many of whom, if this way had been closed, would never have entered these walls. There is no one man, I think, of all now sitting here, who has taken any prominent part in the proceedings of this House, my honorable friend the member for Kent, and my honorable friends the members for Devonshire and Staffordshire and Cornwall, and the honorable and learned member for Waterford, excepted (I scarcely recollect any other), who has not entered this House as the representative of a small borough. The honorable member for Middlesex is certainly not an exception.

I will ask the noble lord by what other means the great Lord Chatham came into parliament? By the bye, his earliest seat was, I think, for Old Sarum itself. Mr. Pitt sat for Appleby; Mr. Fox came in for a close borough, and, when rejected by a populous place, took refuge again in a close borough. Mr. Burke sat for Wendover, from which, having distinguished himself in this House, he was transferred in the same way to Liverpool. Would these large places ever have thought of selecting Mr. Canning, Mr. Burke, or Lord Chatham, if these great men had not previously had an opportunity of showing their talents in this House? In later times Mr. Windham, Mr. Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly (I speak not of existing ornaments of this House, whom we owe to this system), all came into parliament by the introduction of great men. . . .

As the pressure from the people outside of parliament increased, the anger of members of parliament opposed to the bill rose against this, which seemed to them an unjustifiable intrusion. This feeling is represented by the following speech in the House of Commons.

419. Speech of the marquis of Chandos (March 7, 1831)

It is with deep regret I come forward on this occasion to interrupt for a minute the resumption of the adjourned debate. It is only through the courtesy of my gallant friend (Colonel Sibthorp) that the opportunity has been afforded to me; and

I assure the House that I should not come forward on such an occasion if I did not think it my duty to allude to a circumstance which I consider it most important should be brought to the notice of this House. Every one must admit that it is highly necessary that our deliberations on the measure now under consideration should be unbiased, unfettered, and conducted calmly and without excitement. It is a matter of the deepest regret to me, therefore, to find that persons — friends, too, of his Majesty's ministers — not content with expressing their own opinions in support of the measure proposed, are going abroad amongst the people, trying to influence the minds of the lower classes on this subject, and to intimidate members of this House in the performance of what they may consider their public duty on this question. . . .

Popular threats

A meeting was held on Friday last, at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand, the proceedings at which have been reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, and which call, as I think, for the serious attention of this House. At that meeting Colonel De Lacy Evans, lately a member of this House, the member for Rye, is reported to have stated that he had lately come up from the coast of Sussex, where there had been two reform meetings; and that he knew there were 10,000 men ready to march up to London from that part of the country, if ministers were defeated in the measure they have brought forward.

Now it really does appear to me, sir, that his Majesty's ministers are called upon to notice such statements. In my opinion, no means should be allowed to be taken, directly or indirectly, of biasing the determination of the members of this House, or endeavoring by intimidation of this sort to deter them from the performance of their duty. I have thought it my duty to call the attention of his Majesty's ministers to this subject, and the answer I receive from the noble lord will bias me very much in the course I shall take. It is for his Majesty's government and the House to say what steps they consider it necessary to take in such a case, but certainly such proceedings ought not to be tolerated.

Lord Althorp, one of the ministers, made the following reply.

Reply of Lord Althorp

Sir, I really do not know what ground the noble marquis has for presuming that his Majesty's ministers are encouraging any persons to inflame the public mind with a view to disturb the deliberations of this House. I beg distinctly to state that the ministers have done no such thing. All we wish is that the measure now under consideration should be calmly, dispassionately, and quietly discussed. I am aware that the people feel a strong interest in the success of this measure, and the noble marquis must know, as well as I do, that when the people of this country do feel a strong interest in any public question meetings will be held and violent language will sometimes be used. His Majesty's ministers have no wish, however, that the discussions of this subject should be influenced by anything but its true merits.

A fair idea of what was meant by the close boroughs, which the act of 1832 abolished, can be obtained from the following table. The first column gives the name of the town or borough; the second column gives the name of the landowner on whose estates it lay, and who had therefore practical control over the appointment of its representatives; the third column gives the number of its inhabitants.

420. A list of small represented towns

Aldborough	Duke of Newcastle	60
Aldeburgh	Marquis of Hertford	80
Appleby	Earl of Thanet and Earl Lonsdale	100
Bedwin	Marquis of Aylesbury	80
Beeralston	Earl of Beverly	100
Bishop's Castle	Earl Powis	60
Bletchingley	Mr. M. Russell	80
Boroughbridge	Duke of Newcastle	50
Bossiney	Lord Warncliffe and Mr. Turmo	35
Brackley	R. H. and J. Bradshaw	33
Bramber	Lord Calthorpe and the Duke of Rutland	20
Buckingham	Duke of Buckingham	13
Callington	Mr. A. Baring	50
Camelford	Marquis of Cleveland	25

Castle Rising	Marquis of Cholmondeley and Hon. F. G. Howard	50
Corfe Castle	Mr. H. Bankes	50
Dunwich	Lord Huntingfield and Mr. Barne	18
East Looe	Mr. Hope	50
Eye	Sir E. Kerrison	100
Fowey	Mr. Austin and Mr. Livey	70
Gatton	Lord Monson	5
Haslemere	Earl Lonsdale	60
Heytesbury	Lord Heytesbury	50
Higham Ferrers	Lord Fitzwilliam	145
Hindon	Lord Grosvenor and Lord Calthorpe	240
Ilchester	Disputed between Lord Cleveland and Lord Huntingtower	70
Lostwithiel	Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	94
Ludgershall	Sir G. Graham and Mr. Everett	70
Malmesbury	Mr. Pitt	13
Maw's, St.	Duke of Buckingham	20
Michael, St.	Lord Falmouth and Mr. J. H. Hawkins	32
Midhurst	Mr. John Smith	13
Milborne Port	Marquis of Angelsea	90
Minehead	Mr. Luttrell	10
Newport, Cornwall	Duke of Northumberland	62
Newton, Lancashire	Mr. Legh	60
Newton, Isle of Wight	Lord Yarborough and Sir F. Barrington	40
Old Sarum	The Proprietor	no inhabitants
Orford	Marquis of Hertford	20
Petersfield	Colonel Joliffe	140
Plympton	Mr. Trehy and the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	210
Romney, New	Sir E. Dering	150
Ryegate	Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Somers	200
Saltash	Mr. Buller	36
Seaford	Lord Seaford and Mr. J. Fitzgerald	no inhabitants
Steyning	Duke of Norfolk	110
Stockbridge	Lord Grosvenor	106
Tregony	Mr. J. A. Gordon	180
Wareham	Right Hon. J. Calcraft	20
Wendover	Lord Carrington	140

Weobly	Marquis of Bath	90
West Looe	Mr. Buller	55
Whitchurch	Lord Sydney and Sir F. Scott	70
Winchelsea	Marquis of Cleveland	40
Woodstock	Duke of Marlborough	400
Wooton Bassett	Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Pitt	100
Yarmouth	The Holmes Family	50

The following letter from Thomas B. Macaulay, then a young member of parliament, gives a graphic description of the vote by which the Reform Bill was carried through the House of Commons for the first time.

421. Macaulay to Francis Ellis (March 30, 1831)

Dear Ellis:

I have little news for you, except what you will learn from the papers as well as from me. It is clear that the Reform Bill must pass, either in this or in another parliament. The majority of one does not appear to me, as it does to you, by any means inauspicious. We should perhaps have had a better plea for dissolution if the majority had been the other way. But surely a dissolution under such circumstances would have been a most alarming thing. If there should be a dissolution now, there will not be that ferocity in the public mind which there would have been if the House of Commons had refused to entertain the bill at all. I confess that, till we had a majority, I was half inclined to tremble at the storm which we raised. At present I think that we are absolutely certain of victory, and of victory without commotion.

Omitting the speaker and the four tellers there would be six hundred and three voters

Such a scene as the division of last Tuesday I never saw, and never expect to see again. If I should live fifty years, the impression of it will be as fresh and sharp in my mind as if it had just taken place. It was like seeing Cæsar stabbed in the Senate house, seeing Oliver take the mace from the table, — a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. The crowd overflowed the House in every part. When the strangers were cleared out and the doors locked, we had six hundred and eight members present — more by fifty-five than ever were in a division before. The ayes and noes were like two volleys of cannon from opposite sides of a field of battle. When the

opposition went out into the lobby, — an operation which took up twenty minutes or more, — we spread ourselves over the benches on both sides of the House; for there were many of us who had not been able to find a seat during the evening.

When the doors were shut we began to speculate on our numbers. Everybody was desponding. "We have lost it. We are only two hundred and eighty at most." "I do not think we are two hundred and fifty. They are three hundred." "Alderman Thompson has counted them. He says they are two hundred and ninety-nine." This was the talk on our benches. I wonder that men who have been long in parliament do not acquire a better *coup d'œil* for numbers. The House, when only the ayes were in it, looked to me a very fair House, much fuller than it generally is even on debates of considerable interest. I had no hope, however, of three hundred. As the tellers passed along our lowest row on the left-hand side the interest was insupportable — two hundred and ninety-one — two hundred and ninety-two; we were all standing up and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At three hundred there was a short cry of joy; at three hundred and two another, suppressed, however, in a moment; for we did not yet know what the hostile force might be. We knew, however, that we could not be severely beaten.

Three hundred and two for the bill

The doors were thrown open and in they came. Each of them, as he entered, brought some different report of their numbers. It must have been impossible, as you may conceive, in the lobby, crowded as they were, to form any exact estimate. First we heard that they were three hundred and three; then that number rose to three hundred and ten; then went down to three hundred and seven. Alexander Barry told me that he had counted, and that they were three hundred and four. We were all breathless with anxiety, when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried out, "They are only three hundred and one." We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands. The tellers scarcely got through the crowd; for the House was thronged up to the table, and all the floor was fluctuating with

Three hundred and one against it

heads like the pit of a theater. But you might have heard a pin drop as Duncannon read the numbers.

Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain. And the jaw of Peel fell; and the face of Twiss was as the face of a damned soul; and Herries looked like Judas taking his necktie off for the last operation. We shook hands and clapped each other on the back, and went out laughing, crying, and huzzaing into the lobby. And no sooner were the outer doors opened than another shout answered that within the House. All the passages and the stairs into the waiting rooms were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. We passed through a narrow lane between two thick masses of them, and all the way down they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was, "Is the bill carried?" "Yes, by one." "Thank God for it, sir!" And away I rode to Gray's Inn, and so ended a scene which will probably never be equaled till the reformed parliament wants reforming; and that, I hope, will not be till the days of our grandchildren, — till that truly orthodox and apostolical person, Dr. Francis Ellis, is an archbishop of eighty.

IV. General Reform Legislation

All reform came more easily, now that the great break with the past had been made by the passage of the bill of 1832. The agitation for laws protecting children from overwork in the factories had been in progress ever since the rise of the factories in the eighteenth century. The extract that follows, dating from the year 1815, is part of this discussion.

422. A debate in parliament on a factory law (June 6, 1815)

Sir Robert Peel called the attention of the House to the expediency of some legislative regulation for the purpose of restricting the employment of young children in manufacturing labor. It was well known that a bad practice had prevailed

of condemning children whose years and strength did not admit of it to the drudgery of occupations often severe and sometimes unhealthy. What he was disposed to recommend was a regulation that no children should be so employed under the age of ten years, either as apprentices or otherwise, and the duration of their labor should be limited to twelve hours and a half per diem, including the time for education and meals, which would leave ten hours for laborious employment. The accounts he had recently seen showed that it was not so much the hardship as the duration of the labor which had produced mischievous effects on the health of the rising generation. It was to be lamented, however, that the inspectors appointed under a late act had been very remiss in the performance of their duty. He should, in consequence of this misfortune, propose that proper persons be appointed at quarter sessions, and that they should be paid in due proportion for their trouble. . . .

Evils of the system of bound children in factories

Mr. Horner observed that the former measures and even the present bill, as far as he could understand its object, fell far short of what parliament should do on the subject. The practice which was so prevalent of apprenticing parish children in distant manufactories was as repugnant to humanity as any practice which had ever been suffered to exist by the negligence of the legislature. These children were often sent one, two, or three hundred miles from their place of birth, separated for life from all their relations, and deprived of the aid and instruction which even in their humble and almost destitute situation they might derive from their friends. The practice was altogether objectionable on this ground, but even more so from the enormous abuses which had existed in it. It had been known that with a bankrupt's effects a gang, if he might use the word, of these children had been put up to sale, and were advertised publicly as part of the property.

A most atrocious instance had been brought before the Court of King's Bench, two years ago, in which a number of these boys, apprenticed by a parish in London to one manufacturer, had been transferred to another, and had been found by some benevolent persons in a state of absolute famine.

Another case more horrible had come to his knowledge while on a committee upstairs: that not many years ago an agreement had been made between a London parish and a Lancashire manufacturer, by which it was stipulated that with every twenty sound children one idiot should be taken! A practice in which there was a possibility that abuses of this kind might arise, should not be suffered to exist, and now, or in the next session, when the bill should be discussed, should meet with the most serious consideration.

In 1831 and 1832 a parliamentary committee was appointed to investigate the question of factory labor anew. The following are extracts from the testimony given before them.

423. Testimony given by factory laborers to the parliamentary committee of 1832

William Henden, aged 19; examined June 13, 1832

Where do you live? At Leeds. Are your father and mother living? No; they are dead. What time did you begin to work at a mill? When I was six years old. What sort of a mill? A woolen mill. Whose? Mr. John Good's, at Hunslett. What were the hours of work? We used to start at five and work till nine at night. What time had you for your dinner? Half an hour. What time for breakfast and drinking? A quarter of an hour at each end of the day. What wages had you? Two shillings and sixpence.

Where did you remove to afterwards? My father and mother removed to Leeds, and I had a brother working at Tetley, Tatham, and Walker's, and they got me work there. How long did you stop there? Three years and a half. What were the hours of working there? We used to start at half past five and work till half past nine at night. What time had you for dinner? Forty minutes. What time for breakfast and drinking? Nothing for either. What is Tetley, Tatham, and Walker's mill? A flax mill. What were the wages there? I had three shillings and sixpence there. What was your business? A doffer.

Where did you go then? To Mr. Hammond's flax mill, at Leeds. At about what age? About ten years of age. At what time did you begin work at that mill in the morning?

We used to start at half past five and work till eight at night. What time was allowed for breakfast and dinner and drinking? Forty minutes a day was all that was allowed. How were you kept up to your work during the latter part of the day? The overlooker used to come with a strap and give us a rap or two, or if they caught us asleep they would give us a pinch of snuff till we sneezed; they would give us a slap with a strap if we did not mind our work. Was the strap an instrument capable of hurting you badly? It was a heavy strap with a small handle to it.

Where did they strike you with it? Generally in the small of the back and over the head. Did they strike the young children as well as the older ones? Yes. And the females as well as the males? Yes. State the effect upon your health of those long hours of labor. I was pretty fair in health but happened with two or three misfortunes. State, in the first place, the effect upon your health and limbs of those long hours of labor? It produced a weakness in my knees; I was made crooked with standing the long hours. Just show the gentlemen your limbs. (The witness exhibited to the committee his limbs, which appeared exceedingly crooked.)

Are you quite sure you were, as a child, perfectly straight and well formed? Yes. How old were you before your limbs began to fail you? About eight years and a half old. Had you any brother or sister working at the mill? Yes, I had two sisters and a brother. Have those long hours of labor had any effect upon the rest of your family? Yes, upon one of my sisters. Is she crippled? She is nearly as bad as I am. Was she originally perfectly straight and well formed? Yes. To what age did she continue to be perfectly well formed? Till she was about nine years old. How tall are you? About four feet nine inches. Are you quite certain that the deformity of your limbs was not consequent upon the accident you had? No, it was not owing to that. You were deformed, as you are now, before that? Yes. Were the children unhappy at the state in which they were? Yes, they were. Have you seen them crying at their work? Yes. Had you time to go to a day school or a night school during this labor? No. Can

you write? No, not at all. Had you to work by gaslight? Yes. What effect do you think that has upon the eyes? It nearly made me blind; I was forced to go into the infirmary; I was seven weeks there, and the doctors said, towards the latter end of the seven weeks, they did not expect they could cure me. What do you do now? I sell potatoes.

Joseph Hebergam, aged 17; examined June 1, 1832

Where do you reside? At North Great Huddersfield in Yorkshire. Have you worked in factories? Yes. At what age did you commence? Seven years of age. At whose mill? George Addison Bradley's mill, near Huddersfield. What was the employment? Worsted spinning. What were your hours of labor at that mill? From five in the morning till eight at night. What intervals had you for refreshment? Thirty minutes at noon. Had you no time for breakfast or refreshment in the afternoon? No, not one minute; we had to eat our meals as we could, standing or otherwise. You had fourteen and a half hours of actual labor at seven years of age? Yes. What wages had you at that time? Two shillings and sixpence a week. Did you not become very drowsy and sleepy towards the end of the day, and feel much fatigued? Yes; that began about three o'clock and grew worse and worse, and it came to be very bad towards six and seven. . . .

A foreman

Do you live in Stockport? Yes. What has been your employment? A dresser of cotton yarn. In whose factory? In Mr. Robinson's. How many of the principal factories have you worked at? Mr. Ratcliffe's, Mr. Smith's, and Mr. Robinson's. How many hands do you think are employed in the spinning and weaving of cotton in the town and neighborhood of Stockport? At least 14,000. What proportion of those are children? I should think more than half. Are a considerable majority of those children females? Yes; more than half of the children employed in factories are females. What temperature do you have generally in the factory? It varies, but it is generally very high, — as high as 80°, 90°, 100°, and 110°. Are any children employed in that temperature? Yes; there are children in those rooms. The warps are twisted and drawn in the dressing room, and there are children employed for those purposes.

The chairman of the committee just referred to, Mr. Michael Sadler, who had become deeply interested in the question of factory labor, introduced a factory act based on the testimony taken by his committee. The following are passages from his address.

424. Extracts from address introducing factory act of 1832

The bill which I now implore the House to sanction with its authority has for its object the liberation of children and other young persons employed in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom from that overexertion and long confinement which common sense, as well as experience, has shown to be utterly inconsistent with the improvement of their minds, the preservation of their morals, and the maintenance of their health; in a word, to rescue them from a state of suffering and degradation, which it is conceived the children of the industrious classes in hardly any other country have ever endured. . . .

Objections to the principle of the bill

But, I apprehend, the strongest objections that will be offered on this occasion will be grounded upon the pretense that the very principle of the bill is an improper interference between the employer and the employed, and an attempt to regulate by law the market of labor. Were that market supplied by free agents, properly so denominated, I should fully participate in these objections. Theoretically, indeed, such is the case; but practically, I fear, the fact is far otherwise, even regarding those who are of mature age; and the boasted freedom of our laborers in many pursuits will, on a just view of their condition, be found little more than a name. Those who argue the question upon the mere abstract principle seem, in my apprehension, too much to forget the condition of society; the unequal division of property, or rather its total monopoly by the few, leaving the many nothing but what they can obtain by their daily labor, which very labor cannot become available for the purposes of daily subsistence without the consent of those who own the property of the community; all the materials, elements, call them what you please, on which labor can be bestowed, being in their possession. Hence it is clear

that, excepting in a state of things where the demand for labor fully equals the supply (which it would be absurdly false to say exists in this country), the employer and the employed do not meet on equal terms in the market of labor; on the contrary, the latter, whatever his age, and call him as free as you please, is often almost entirely at the mercy of the former. . . .

Overseers of the poor press parents to send their children into the factories

The parents who surrender their children to this infantile slavery may be separated into two classes. The first, and I trust by far the most numerous one, consists of those who are obliged, by extreme indigence, so to act, but who do it with great reluctance and bitter regret. Themselves perhaps out of employment, or working at very low wages, and their families in a state of great destitution, what can they do? The overseer, as is in evidence, refuses relief if they have children capable of working in factories, whom they refuse to send thither.

They choose, therefore, what they probably deem the lesser evil, and reluctantly resign their offspring to the captivity and pollution of the mill. They rouse them in the winter morning, which, as a poor father testified before the Lords' Committee, they "feel very sorry" to do; they receive them fatigued and exhausted, many a weary hour after the day has closed; they see them droop and sicken, and, in many cases, become cripples and die, before they reach their prime; and they do all this because they must otherwise suffer unrelieved, and starve, like Ugolino, amidst their starving children. It is mockery to contend that these parents have a choice; that they can dictate to, or even parley with, the employer, as to the number of hours their child shall be worked or the treatment it shall be subject to in his mill. . . .

An appeal to the humanity of parliament

I trust, however, that this House, whose peculiar duty it is to defend the weak and redress the injured, will interpose and extend that protection to these defenseless children, which is equally demanded by the principles of justice, mercy, and policy. Many have been the struggles made in their behalf, but hitherto they have been defeated. The laws passed for their protection have been avowedly and shamefully evaded, and have therefore had little practical effect but to legalize cruelty and suffering. Hence, at this late hour, while I am

thus feebly, but earnestly, pleading the cause of these oppressed children, what numbers of them are still tethered to their toil, confined in heated rooms, bathed in perspiration, stunned with the roar of revolving wheels, poisoned with the noxious effluvia of grease and gas, till, at last, weary and exhausted, they turn out, almost naked, into the inclement air, and creep, shivering, to beds from which a relay of their young work-fellows have just risen!

A typical instance of the other reforms of this period is the reduction of the price of postage and the introduction of the use of stamps by which the price is paid in advance. Some of the hardships of the old system are described in the following article in the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1840, quoting some testimony recently collected by a parliamentary committee.

425. The old post-office system

We are justified in saying that, for the great mass of our countrymen, the post office does not exist; for the higher and middle classes sink into nothing if measured by numbers against those below them; and it is only necessary to compare the income of a laboring man with his pressing wants, to see that it is idle to suppose he will apply his little surplus to the expensive enjoyment of post letters. It would be easy to fill pages with instances of pain and misery which result from there being no post office for the poor. We shall confine ourselves, however, to a few pregnant facts, drawn from the evidence.

Instances of hardship testified to by postmasters

The postmaster at Banwell said: "My father kept the post office many years; he is lately dead; he used to trust poor people very often with letters; they generally could not pay the whole charge. He told me, indeed I know, he did lose many pounds by letting poor people have their letters. We sometimes return them to London, in consequence of the inability of the persons to whom they are addressed raising the postage. We frequently keep them for weeks, and, when we know the parties, let them have them, taking the chance of getting our money. One poor woman once offered my sister

a silver spoon to keep until she could raise the money. My sister did not take the spoon, and the woman came with the amount in a day or two, and took up the letter. It came from her husband, who was confined for debt in prison; she had six children, and was very badly off. I am quite sure, if the postage of letters were lowered to a penny, ten times the number would be written by all classes of people." What follows is the answer of another postmaster at a large village containing 1500 or 1600 inhabitants, called Congresbury. "I have had complaints made of the high rate of postage; the price of a letter is a great tax on poor people. I sent one charged eightpence to a poor laboring man about a week ago; it came from his daughter. He first refused it, saying it would take a loaf of bread from his other children; but, after hesitating a little time, he paid the money and opened the letter. I seldom return letters of this kind to Bristol, because I let the poor people have them and take the chance of being paid. Sometimes I lose the postage, but generally the poor people pay me by degrees."

The postmaster at Yatton says: "The poor, and rich too, complain of the high charge of letters. I am quite sure if they were not so high, government would lose nothing, — there would be so many more written. I have had a letter waiting lately from the husband of a poor woman who is at work in Wales; the charge was ninepence; it lay many days, in consequence of her not being able to pay the postage. I at last trusted her with it." "Sixpence," says Mr. Brewin, one of the Society of Friends, "is a third of a poor man's daily income. If a gentleman, whose fortune is £1000 a year, or £3 a day, had to pay one third of his daily income, that is, a sovereign, for a letter, how often would he write letters of friendship? Let a gentleman put that to himself, and then he will be able to see how the poor man cannot be able to pay sixpence for his letter. The people do not think of using the post office; it is barred against them by the very high charge."

V. Queen Victoria

The coronation of the young queen is described in the *Journal* of C. C. F. Greville, then an official connected with the court.

426. Extracts from Greville's *Journal* (June 29, 1838)

The coronation (which, thank God, is over) went off very well. The day was fine, without heat or rain; the innumerable multitude which thronged the streets, orderly and satisfied. The appearance of the abbey was beautiful, particularly the benches of the peeresses, who were blazing with diamonds. The entry of Soult was striking. He was saluted with a murmur of curiosity and applause as he passed through the nave, and nearly the same as he advanced along the choir. His appearance is that of a veteran warrior, and he walked alone, with his numerous suite following at a respectful distance, preceded by heralds and ushers, who received him with marked attention, — more certainly than any of the other ambassadors. The queen looked very diminutive, and the effect of the procession itself was spoiled by being too crowded; there was not interval enough between the queen and the lords and others going before her. The bishop of London (Blomfield) preached a very good sermon. The different actors in the ceremonial were very imperfect in their parts, and had neglected to rehearse them.

Lord John Thynne, who officiated for the dean of Westminster, told me that nobody knew what was to be done except the archbishop (who is experienced in these matters) and the duke of Wellington, and consequently there was a continual difficulty and embarrassment, and the queen never knew what she was to do next. They made her leave her chair and enter into St. Edward's Chapel before the prayers were concluded, much to the discomfiture of the archbishop. She said to John Thynne, "Pray tell me what I am to do, for they don't know"; and at the end, when the orb was put into her hand, she said to him, "What am I to do with it?" "Your Majesty is to carry it, if you please, in your hand." "Am I?" she said; "it is very heavy." The ruby ring was made for her little finger instead of the fourth, on which the rubric prescribes

that it should be put. When the archbishop was to put it on, she extended the former, but he said it must be on the latter. She said it was too small, and she could not get it on. He said it was right to put it there, and, as he insisted, she yielded, but had first to take off her other rings, and then this was forced on; but it hurt her very much, and, as soon as the ceremony was over, she was obliged to bathe her finger in iced water in order to get it off.

The noise and confusion were very great when the medals were thrown away by Lord Surrey, everybody scrambling with all their might and main to get them, and none more vigorously than the maids of honor. There was a great demonstration of applause when the duke of Wellington did homage. Lord Rolle, who is between eighty and ninety, fell down as he was getting up the steps of the throne. Her first impulse was to rise, and when afterward he came again to do homage she said, "May I not get up and meet him?" and then rose from the throne and advanced down one or two of the steps to prevent his coming up, an act of graciousness and kindness which made a great sensation. It is, in fact, the remarkable union of naïveté, kindness, and good nature, with propriety and dignity, which makes her so admirable and so endearing to those about her, as she certainly is. I have been repeatedly told that they are all warmly attached to her, but that all feel the impossibility of for a moment losing sight of the respect which they owe her. She never ceases to be a queen, but is always the most charming, cheerful, obliging, unaffected queen in the world.

An even more personal event in the life of the queen, her engagement and marriage, followed in the next year. The following letter was written by the young queen to her uncle Leopold on the evening of the day she had proposed marriage to her cousin Albert.

My dearest Uncle:

This letter will, I am sure, give you pleasure, for you have always shown and taken so warm an interest in all that concerns me. My mind is quite made up, and I told Albert this morning

427. Queen Victoria to Leopold, king of Belgium (from Windsor Castle, October 15, 1839)

of it. The warm affection he showed me on learning this gave me great pleasure. He seems perfection, and I think that I have the prospect of very great happiness before me. I love him more than I can say, and shall do everything in my power to render his sacrifice (for such in my opinion it is) as small as I can. He seems to have great tact, a very necessary thing in his position. These last few days have passed like a dream to me, and I am so much bewildered by it all that I hardly know how to write; but I do feel very happy. It is absolutely necessary that this determination of mine should be known to no one but yourself and to Uncle Ernest until after the meeting of parliament, as it would be considered, otherwise, neglectful on my part not to have assembled parliament at once to inform them of it.

The approval of the prime minister

Lord Melbourne, whom I have of course consulted about the whole affair, quite approves my choice, and expresses great satisfaction at this event, which he thinks in every way highly desirable. Lord Melbourne has acted in this business, as he has always done toward me, with the greatest kindness and affection. We also think it better, and Albert quite approves of it, that we should be married very soon after parliament meets, about the beginning of February. Pray, dearest uncle, forward these two letters to Uncle Ernest, to whom I beg you will enjoin strict secrecy, and explain these details, which I have not time to do, and to faithful Stockmar. I think you might tell Louise of it, but none of her family.

I wish to keep the dear young gentleman here till the end of the next month. Ernest's sincere pleasure gives me great delight. He does so adore dearest Albert.

Ever, dearest uncle, your devoted niece,

V. R.

VI. Chartism and the Corn Laws

The popular dissatisfaction with the results of the Reform Act is clearly expressed in the first petition of the Chartists, presented to parliament in 1838.

428. The first Chartist petition to parliament (1838)

To the honorable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, the petition of the undersigned their suffering countrymen.

Humbly showeth:

That we, your petitioners, dwell in a land whose merchants are noted for their enterprise, whose manufacturers are very skillful, and whose workmen are proverbial for their industry. The land itself is goodly, the soil rich, and the temperature wholesome. It is abundantly furnished with the materials of commerce and trade. It has numerous and convenient harbors. In facility of internal communication it exceeds all others. For three and twenty years we have enjoyed a profound peace.

Yet with all the elements of national prosperity, and with every disposition and capacity to take advantage of them, we find ourselves overwhelmed with public and private suffering. We are bowed down under a load of taxes, which, notwithstanding, fall greatly short of the wants of our rulers. Our traders are trembling on the verge of bankruptcy; our workmen are starving. Capital brings no profit, and labor no remuneration. The home of the artificer is desolate, and the warehouse of the pawnbroker is full. The workhouse is crowded, and the manufactory is deserted. We have looked on every side; we have searched diligently in order to find out the causes of distress so sore and so long continued. We can discover none in nature or in Providence.

The failure of the Reform Act

It was the fond expectation of the friends of the people that a remedy for the greater part, if not for the whole, of their grievances would be found in the Reform Act of 1832. They regarded that act as a wise means to a worthy end, as the machinery of an improved legislation, where the will of the masses would be at length potential. They have been bitterly and basely deceived. The fruit which looked so fair to the eye has turned to dust and ashes when gathered. The Reform Act has effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another, and left the people as helpless as before. Our slavery has been exchanged for an apprenticeship

to liberty, which has aggravated the painful feelings of our social degradation by adding to them the sickening of still deferred hope. We come before your honorable house to tell you, with all humility, that this state of things must not be permitted to continue. . . .

Universal suffrage

Required, as we are universally, to support and obey the laws, nature and reason entitle us to demand that in the making of the laws the universal voice shall be implicitly listened to. We perform the duties of freemen; we must have the privileges of freemen. Therefore we demand universal suffrage. The suffrage, to be exempt from the corruption of the wealthy and the violence of the powerful, must be secret. The assertion of our right necessarily involves the power of its uncontrolled exercise. We ask for the reality of a good, not for its semblance; therefore we demand the ballot. The connection between the representatives and the people, to be beneficial, must be intimate. The legislative and constituent powers, for correction and for instruction, ought to be brought into frequent contact. Errors which are comparatively light when susceptible of a speedy popular remedy may produce the most disastrous effects when permitted to grow inveterate through years of compulsory endurance. To public safety, as well as public confidence, frequent elections are essential. Therefore we demand annual parliaments.

Secret ballot

Annual parliaments

Abolition of property qualifications

With power to choose, and freedom in choosing, the range of our choice must be unrestricted. We are compelled by the existing laws to take for our representatives men who are incapable of appreciating our difficulties, or have little sympathy with them; merchants who have retired from trade and no longer feel its harassings; proprietors of land who are alike ignorant of its evils and its cure; lawyers by whom the notoriety of the senate is courted only as a means of obtaining notice in the courts. The labors of a representative who is sedulous in the discharge of his duty are numerous and burdensome. It is neither just, nor reasonable, nor safe, that they should continue to be gratuitously rendered. We demand that in the future election of members of your honorable house, the approbation of the constituency shall be the sole

Payment of members

qualification, and that to every representative so chosen shall be assigned out of the public taxes a fair and adequate remuneration for the time which he is called upon to devote to the public service.

The five points of the Charter

The management of this mighty kingdom has hitherto been a subject for contending factions to try their selfish experiments upon. We have felt the consequences in our sorrowful experience, — short glimmerings of uncertain enjoyment swallowed up by long and dark seasons of suffering. If the self-government of the people should not remove their distresses, it will, at least, remove their repinings. Universal suffrage will, and it alone can, bring true and lasting peace to the nation; we firmly believe that it will also bring prosperity. May it therefore please your honorable house to take this our petition into your most serious consideration, and to use your utmost endeavors, by all constitutional means, to have a law passed, granting to every male of lawful age, sane mind, and unconvicted of crime, the right of voting for members of parliament, and directing all future elections of members of parliament to be in the way of secret ballot, and ordaining that the duration of parliament, so chosen, shall in no case exceed one year, and abolishing all property qualifications in the members, and providing for their due remuneration while in attendance on their parliamentary duties.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

The more violent and threatening form of Chartism, as it developed itself during the summer of 1848, ten years after the date of the petition just given, is shown in the following passages from the *Journal* of Charles Greville, clerk of the council, which has been quoted from before.

429. Extracts from Greville's *Journal*

All London is making preparations to encounter a Chartist row to-morrow; so much, that it is either very sublime or very ridiculous. All the clerks and others in the different offices are ordered to be sworn in special constables, and to constitute themselves into garrisons. I went to the police office

with all my clerks, messengers, etc., and we were all sworn. April 9, 1848
We are to pass the whole day at the office to-morrow, and I am to send down all my guns; in short, we are to take a warlike attitude. Colonel Harness, of the Railway Department, is our commander in chief; every gentleman in London is become a constable, and there is an organization of some sort in every district. . . .

Monday passed off with surprising quiet, and it was con- April 13, 1848
sidered a most satisfactory demonstration on the part of the government and the peaceable and loyal part of the community. Enormous preparations were made, and a host of military, police, and special constables were ready if wanted; every gentleman in London was sworn, and during a greater part of the day, while the police were reposing, they did duty. The Chartist movement was contemptible; but everybody rejoices that the defensive demonstration was made, for it has given a great and memorable lesson which will not be thrown away, either on the disaffected and mischievous or the loyal and peaceful; and it will produce a vast effect in all foreign countries and show how solid is the foundation on which we are resting. We have displayed a great resolution and a great strength and given unmistakable proofs that if sedition and rebellion hold up their heads in this country, they will be instantly met with the most rigorous resistance, and be put down by the hand of authority, and by the zealous coöperation of all classes of the people.

The whole of the Chartist movement was to the last degree contemptible from first to last. The delegates who met on the eve of the day were full of valor amounting to desperation; they indignantly rejected the intimation of the government that their procession would not be allowed; swore they would have it at all hazard, and die, if necessary, in asserting their rights. One man said he loved his life, his wife, his children, but would sacrifice all rather than give way.

In the morning (a very fine day) everybody was on the alert; the parks were closed; our office was fortified, a barricade of Council Registers was erected in the accessible room on the ground-floor, and all our guns were taken down to be

used in defense of the building. However, at about twelve o'clock crowds came streaming along Whitehall, going northward, and it was announced that all was over. The intended tragedy was rapidly changed into a ludicrous farce. The Chartists, about 20,000 in number, assembled on Kennington Common. Presently Mr. Mayne appeared on the ground and sent one of his inspectors to say he wanted to speak to Feargus O'Connor. Feargus thought he was going to be arrested and was in a terrible fright; but he went to Mayne, who merely said he was desired to inform him that the meeting would not be interfered with, but the procession would not be allowed. Feargus insisted on shaking hands with Mayne, swore he was his best of friends, and instantly harangued his rabble, advising them not to provoke a collision, and to go away quietly — advice they instantly obeyed, and with great alacrity and good humor. Thus all evaporated in smoke.

Mayne, chief of the police force, and O'Connor, one of the Chartist leaders

Feargus himself then repaired to the Home Office, saw Sir George Grey, and told him it was all over, and thanked the government for their leniency, assuring him the convention would not have been so lenient if they had got the upper hand. Grey asked him if he was going back to the meeting. He said no; that he had had his toes trodden on till he was lame, and his pockets picked, and he would have no more to do with it. The petition was brought down piecemeal and presented in the afternoon. Since that there has been an exposure of the petition itself, covering the authors of it with ridicule and disgrace. It turns out to be signed by less than two millions, instead of by six as Feargus stated; and of those two, there were no end of fictitious names, together with the insertion of every species of ribaldry, indecency, and impertinence. The Chartists are very crestfallen, and evidently conscious of the contemptible figure they cut; but they have endeavored to bluster and lie as well as they can in their subsequent gatherings, and talk of other petitions and meetings, which nobody cares about.

Two months later Greville does not feel so contemptuous of the Chartists, nor so unsympathetic with them.

The government are now getting seriously uneasy about the Chartist manifestations in various parts of the country, especially in London, and at the repeated assemblings and marchings of great bodies of men. Le Marchant told me that two or three months ago, when he was at the Home Office, he received accounts he thought very alarming of the widespreading disaffection of the people, and particularly of the enormous increase of cheap publications of the most mischievous and inflammatory character, which were disseminated among the masses and eagerly read; and lately accounts have been received from well-informed persons, whose occupations lead them to mix with the people, clergymen — particularly Roman Catholic — and medical men, who report that they find a great change for the worse among them, an increasing spirit of discontent and disaffection, and that many who on the 10th of April went out as special constables declare they would not do so again if another manifestation required it. June 3, 1848

The speeches which are made at the different meetings are remarkable for the coarse language and savage spirit they display. It is quite new to hear any Englishman coolly recommend assassination, and the other day a police superintendent was wounded in the leg by some sharp instrument. These are new and very bad symptoms, and it is impossible not to feel alarm when we consider the vast amount of the population as compared with any repressive power we possess. The extent and reality of the distress they suffer, the impossibility of expecting such masses of people to be eternally patient and forbearing, to restrain all their natural impulses, and endure tamely severe privations when they are encouraged and stimulated to do otherwise, and are thus accessible to every sort of internal and external temptation — all these considerations may well beget a serious presentiment of danger. . . .

The government have at last taken strong measures against the Chartists; but in spite of the arrest of some of their leaders, another demonstration is expected on Monday, for which great preparations are to be made. . . . But if these multitudes of discontented men can be daunted into submission, fearful considerations remain behind. We have an enormous June 10, 1848

overgrown population, a vast proportion of which are in undeniable misery and distress, and are soured and exasperated by their sufferings. To expect such beings to be reasonable, and still more to be logical, is to expect a moral impossibility. While the minds of the masses are in a combustible state, and they are ready to listen to anybody who appears to sympathize with them, and who pretends to be able to put them in the way of mending their condition, there are not wanting agents who strive with all their might, and not without success, to inflame and mislead them. The suffering people are prompt to believe that that cannot be a sound and just condition of society in which they are abandoned to starvation and destitution, while other classes are revelling in luxury and enjoyment. They have confused notions that this is all wrong, and that under some different political dispensation their interests would be better cared for, and according to their necessities they would be comforted and relieved. They are neither able to comprehend nor disposed to listen to the long processes of argument by which it might be demonstrated to them that all the prevailing misery and distress are attributable to causes over which government has no control, and which no legislation can counteract.

From time to time during this whole period appeared a series of bitter poems by Ebenezer Elliott. They are spoken of collectively as the *Corn-Law Rhymes*, because so many of them were directed against the laws laying a tax on the importation of grain; but the real objects of attack are the landlords and other members of the governing classes.

430. Extracts from the *Corn-Law Rhymes*

Avenge the plunder'd poor, oh Lord!
But not with fire, but not with sword,
Not as at Peterloo they died,
Beneath the hoofs of coward pride.
Avenge our rags, our chains, our sighs,
The famine in our children's eyes!
But not with sword — no, not with fire

Chastise thou Britain's locustry!
Lord, let them feel thy heavier ire;
Whip them, oh Lord! with poverty!
Then, cold in soul as coffined dust,
Their hearts as tearless, dead, and dry,
Let them in outraged mercy trust,
And find that mercy they deny!

. . . . . .

Bread-tax eating absentee,
What hath bread-tax done for thee? —
Crammed thee from our children's plates,
Made thee all that nature hates,
Filled thy skin with untaxed wine,
Filled thy purse with cash of mine,
Filled thy breast with hellish schemes,
Filled thy head with fatal dreams
Of potatoes basely sold
At the price of wheat in gold,
And of Britons styed to eat
Wheat-priced roots instead of wheat.

England! what for mine and me,
What hath bread-tax done for thee?
It hath shown what kinglings are,
Stripp'd the hideous idols bare,
Sold thy greatness, stain'd thy name,
Struck thee from the rolls of fame.

. . . . . .

Make haste, slow rogues! prohibit trade,
  Prohibit honest gain;
Turn all the good that God hath made
  To fear, and hate, and pain;
Till beggars all, assassins all,
  All cannibals we be,
And death shall have no funeral,
  From shipless sea to sea.

. . . . . .

Child, what hast thou with sleep to do?
  Awake, and dry thine eyes!
Thy tiny hands must labor too;
  Our bread is taxed. Arise!
Arise, and toil long hours twice seven,
  For pennies two or three;
Thy woes make angels weep in heaven, —
  But England still is free.

Up, weary man of eighty-five,
  And toil in hopeless woe!
Our bread is tax'd, our rivals thrive,
  Our gods will have it so.
Yet God is undethroned on high,
  And undethron'd will be:
Father of all! hear thou our cry,
  And England shall be free!

. . . . . .

The connection between existing distress and the corn laws is strongly brought out in the following report in the *Times* of a meeting among the poor and ignorant agricultural laborers in Wiltshire.

431. A meeting of laborers in Wiltshire (January 7, 1846)

A meeting of a very remarkable and important character at the present crisis was held last night at a village, six miles beyond this town, called Goatacre, a small place with an agricultural population scarcely exceeding 200 persons, but surrounded at various distances by several similar villages or hamlets. The chairman was a labourer; the speakers, with the exception of two, were labourers; and the object in view was to call public attention to the present condition of the labouring population in this part of the country, and to petition her Majesty and the legislature to take decisive steps for the speedy relief of their extreme distress. The meeting was to have been held in a large booth erected in a field, but the great expense of providing such accommodation was beyond the combined contributions which these poor people could spare from their very

scanty means; and therefore they were compelled to assemble together in the crossroads of the village, and to endure the inclemency of a winter night while they talked over their common sufferings.

The whole of the arrangements and proceedings were strikingly characteristic of the occasion. A hurdle, supported by four stakes driven into the ground, beneath a hedge on the roadside, formed a narrow and unsteady platform, capable of supporting only the chairman and one speaker at a time. Below this rustic erection were placed a small deal table and some rush-bottom chairs, borrowed from a neighbouring cottage, for the accommodation of reporters. Four or five candles, some in lanterns and others sheltered from the wind by the hands that held them, threw a dim and flickering light upon the groups on this spot, before and around which were gathered nearly 1000 of the peasantry of Wiltshire, some of them accompanied by their wives and children, who, thus collected, presented a wild and painful appearance. . . .

The chairman then said: "To all who are here present, and to my poor fellow-labourers in particular: I call your attention to a subject of the utmost importance,—a subject which demands very serious consideration. You know by painful experience that we are suffering under distress and poverty; and we are met here this evening on purpose to make known that distress to her Majesty and to her ministers, to pray them to open the ports and to repeal the unjust corn laws, so that we and our families may enjoy the bounties of Providence. (Hear, hear.) As it respects my own distress, and the calamities and miseries I have underwent and undergone, I have spoken of them before at the Ramsbury meeting. But the case is not altered now. I have only six shillings a week for keeping myself, a wife, and two small children. I cannot earn half enough to keep us. Six pounds ten shillings must go to pay house and garden rent, and no potatoes got. (Hear.) I say, then, let us unite together to advocate the cause of free trade. (Cheers.) Free trade forever! (Repeated cheers.)

"What was it we were sent into the world for? Is it not for the benefit of society? Hath God not committed to us a talent,

and will he not require the use of it at our hands? (Hear, hear.) There are classes of people in this world, but perhaps they are unknown to many of you, that think that, because God brings all things to pass according to his unalterable decrees, they may sit down and rest contented, and never think of doing anything at all, except it is to usurp the authority of God. They may look into his sacred word, but with his revealed will they will have nothing to do. Dost thou not know, O man! that thou wast endowed with a mind, and will, and faculties, which God works upon as his instruments to bring about his all-wise purposes? . . .

Universal suffrage

"Let us stand up, my fellow-labourers, for good laws, for freedom, for equality. (Loud cheers.) I envy not the rich man for his riches; but is it not unreasonable and arbitrary that the rich should be endowed with the full and sole power to send members to parliament to legislate? (Hear, hear.) The laws press upon the poor who never had any power in making them. (Hear, hear.) But I do think the time will come when every labouring householder will have the privilege of sending members to parliament. (Cheers.) When every man comes under the power of every law that is made, ought not every man to have a voice in the making of that law? (Hear, hear.) And now a word or two for the protectionists. . . ."

Free trade

The labourers must be persecuted for meeting together; but farmers and landowners might meet and devise how to starve the poor labourers, and that was all right. (A voice, "Never mind; it won't last long.") He hoped not. His master (Mr. Wansborough) said that free trade would starve them. (Cries of "Let 's try it; why, we be starving now.") He said, "You won't have any money if you have free trade." How many in that meeting had money? He would venture to say none. (A labourer: "I have been five weeks without a farthing in my pocket; I have never see'd any money all that time.") He saw no hope for them but in free trade. There was plenty of bread and meat waiting to come into this country, but the corn laws would not let it come. Their cry, then, must be, "Free trade, free trade forever!" (Cheers.) [This report was subsequently reprinted and circulated as a free-trade pamphlet.]

The potato blight was not peculiar to Ireland; but it was a greater calamity to that country than to England and Scotland, because potatoes were relatively a far more important crop and a larger element in the food of the people. The following letter from a London potato dealer and grower to the home secretary describes the sudden appearance of the disease in the southeast of England.

432. R. Parker to Sir J. Graham (August 11, 1845)

I received a letter on the 1st inst. from my agent at Ash, near Sandwich, stating the crops were blighted in that neighborhood the same as in October last year (it was then only partial in East Kent). On Tuesday last I went down by the Dover eight o'clock train; on my arrival there I immediately drove all round the neighborhood, and found the whole of the crops, early and late, not excepting the cottagers' gardens, were being entirely destroyed. On my return I could trace it by the side of the whole line at Tonbridge; have since looked over the potato tops that come as covering on that article to the different markets, and find they are all affected. On Thursday last I paid a visit to my farm at Maidstone, and found it had made fearful destruction there, and returned by way of Gravesend — all were alike affected. The same evening I went to East and West Ham in Essex; amongst the large growths found it was just appearing. Friday I went to Leytonstone and neighborhood — all are alike.

I am given to understand it is so in Holland and France, and should it be general in this country, it will be a shocking calamity for the poor. Being apprehensive it might be general, I thought it my duty to inform you, thinking it probable you might think it of importance to make further inquiry.

As soon as the ministers learned of the prevalence of the disease in Ireland they saw that it would bring up the question of the Corn Laws. This appears from the following letter from the home secretary to the prime minister.

433. Sir J. Graham to Sir Robert Peel

The enclosed letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland conveys to us information of the most serious kind, which requires our immediate attention. I am willing still to hope that the present fears are exaggerated; for the reports have varied almost from day to day, and it was admitted about a fortnight ago that greater apprehensions were entertained with respect to the potato crop in Ireland than the facts ascertained fully justified.

On the other hand, the time has now arrived when the potatoes are taken out of the ground, and when speculation on the subject is reduced to certainty. A great national risk is always incurred when a population so dense as that of Ireland subsists on the potato; for it is the cheapest and the lowest food, and if it fail no substitute can be found for starving multitudes.

It will be necessary after this warning that we should apply our immediate thoughts and attention to measures which may mitigate this national calamity; for human skill can supply no remedy.

In Belgium and in Holland, if I mistake not, a similar evil has been met by opening the ports to all articles of first necessity for human food. It is desirable that we should know, without loss of time, what has been done by our continental neighbors in similar circumstances. Indian corn might be obtained from the United States readily, and on cheap terms, if the people would eat it, but unfortunately it is an acquired taste; and if we opened the ports to maize duty free, most popular and irresistible arguments present themselves why flour and oatmeal, the staple of the food of man, should not be restricted in its supply by artificial means, while heaven has withheld from an entire people its accustomed sustenance. Could we with propriety remit duties in November by order in council, when parliament might so easily be called together? Can these duties, once remitted by act of parliament, be ever again reimposed? Ought they to be maintained with their present stringency, if the people of Ireland be reduced to the last extremity for want of food? . . . [The suspension of the duties on grain led to the adoption of free trade.]

It is very unusual for parliament or any other branch of the English government to lay down general principles. An exception, however, was made in 1852, when the following statement of the benefits of freedom of trade was introduced by Lord Palmerston, and adopted by a large vote. It was long acquiesced in, and is still accepted by a majority of the people, but not without deep and increasing opposition.

434. A resolution in favor of free trade (November 23, 1852)

That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition and abolished taxes imposed for purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of food to the people.

That it is the opinion of this House that that policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people.

CHAPTER XX

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY, 1852–1897

I. The Middle Years of the Century

The great rebellion in India, which followed so closely on the Crimean War, consisted of a confused series of risings, massacres, and conflicts. The following letters were written home by Major Hodder, an English officer engaged in the difficult task of recapturing Delhi, the most important point in the whole campaign of reconquest. He was killed in the final and successful assault, at the moment of victory. His letters show very well the plain, matter-of-fact, but faithful, brave, and determined attitude of the average English officer.

435. Letters of Major W. I. R. Hodder Umbola, May 15, 1857

We got here after two nights of very harassing marching. We started badly, the men having been drinking before they came to parade, and they were hurried too much in going downhill, consequently there was much straggling; but, thanks to ponies and carts and elephants, sent out to meet us, we got in to-day in tolerable completeness. Affairs are very serious, and unless very prompt and serious measures are taken, the whole army, and perhaps a large portion of India, will be lost to us. Delhi is in the hands of the mutineers, — no European that we can hear of being left alive there; men, women, and children, all who were caught, have been butchered! Brigadier Graves, Abbott, and some others have escaped. Willoughby, the ordnance commissary in charge of the magazine and arsenal, is said to have fired it himself to prevent the mutineers having possession of the contents to

arm themselves with, of course sacrificing his own life to such a duty. A lac and a half of muskets would otherwise have been in the hands of the insurgents.

The commander in chief came in this morning. Here alarm is the prevalent feeling, and conciliation, of men with arms in their hands and in a state of absolute rebellion, the order of the day. This system, if pursued, is far more dangerous than anything the Sepoys can do to us. There is an outbreak at Ferozepoor, but the Europeans have the fort in their possession ; if not, we should be without arms, for the regiments here have no ammunition, and Philour, our nearest source of supply, was nearly falling into the hands of the Sepoys. Even now some say it is at their mercy. Fortunately the Maharaja of Puttiala is stanch, and so are other Sikh chiefs hereabouts. We shall go on to Delhi in a few days. That city is in the hands of the insurgents, and the king proclaimed emperor of Hindostan ! I do trust that the authorities will act with vigor, else there is no knowing where the affair will end. O for Sir Charles Napier now !

May 17 We are all terribly anxious about the hill stations, reports having reached us that the Goorkhas have mutinied and attacked Simla. One hundred men with ammunition have gone off this morning to Kussowlee. Dugshai is easily defended. Simla is most to be feared. . . . All this has put out of my head for the time the good news for us. Yesterday I was sent for by the commander in chief, and appointed assistant quartermaster general on his personal staff, to be under the immediate orders of his excellency, and with command to raise 100 horses and 50 foot, for service in the intelligence department, and as personal escort. All this was done, moreover, in a most complimentary way, and it is quite in my line. I am prepared to set to work vigorously ; but I confess my anxiety on account of the reports we hear respecting the hill stations makes me cruelly anxious. . . .

May 19 This morning the commander in chief ordered me to raise and command an entire new regiment of irregular horse. I do not know who or what has been at work for me, but he

seems willing enough to give me work to do and I am willing enough to do it. The European troops arrived this morning (I sent a telegraph message to say so); and the Rajah of Jheend, with his men, last night. I have offered to clear the road and open the communication to Meerut and Delhi with the Rajah's horse. If the chief will consent, I think I am sure of success. It is believed that nothing has occurred at Agra. The Punjaub all quiet up to last night; as long as that is the case we shall do. With God and our Saxon arms to aid us I have firm faith in the result.

May 25 I wrote this morning a few hurried lines to keep you from anxiety. I was too tired to do more; the continued night work had wearied me out, and when I got back from here at half-past six this morning I was fairly dead beat. Poor Charlie Thomason is with me. I am happy to have been in some measure instrumental in getting him in in safety by offering a heavy sum to the villagers. He had been wandering about in the jungles, with several other refugees, for days without food or shelter. I am deeply grieved for him, poor fellow! The state of panic at Meerut was shocking; all the ladies shut up in an inclosed barrack, and their husbands sleeping in the men's barracks for safety and never going beyond the sentries.

Race, June 2 Colonel Hope commands. The Meerut folks have had another fight (on the 31st) with the Delhi mutineers, and again beaten them; but this constant exposure is very trying to Europeans. I wish we were moving nearer Delhi more rapidly, as all now depends on our quickly disposing of this mighty sore. I wish from my heart we had Sir Henry Lawrence here; he is the man for the crisis. We are all in high spirits; only eager to get at the villains who have committed atrocities which make the blood run cold but to think of. I trust the retribution will be short, sharp, and decisive.

Another batch of half-starved, half-naked Europeans, men, women, and children (a deputy collector and his family), were brought into camp to-day, after wandering twenty-three days in the jungle.

I wrote you a few hurried lines on the field of battle yesterday, to say that we had beaten the enemy and driven them back five miles into Delhi. How grateful rest was after such a morning! The Guides came in to-day, and it would have done your heart good to see the welcome they gave me, cheering and shouting and crowding round me like frantic creatures. . . . Camp before Delhi, June 9

The enemy are at least four or five times our strength, and their numbers tell when we come near them, despite their want of discipline. They are splendid artillerymen, however, and actually beat ours in accuracy of fire. . . .

We were to have taken Delhi by assault last night, but a "mistake of orders" as to the right time of bringing the troops to the rendezvous, prevented its execution. I am much annoyed and disappointed at our plan not having been carried out, because I am confident it would have been successful. The rebels were cowed, and perfectly ignorant of any intention of so bold a stroke on our part as an assault; the surprise would have done everything. I am very vexed, though the general is most kind and considerate in trying to soothe my disappointment; too kind, indeed, or he would not so readily have pardoned those whose fault it is that we are still outside Delhi. June 13

The rebels came out again this morning in considerable force, with the avowed intention of attacking us on all sides. They have been frustrated, however, save on one point, and firing is still going on. They do little more than annoy us, and the only great evil they cause is the keeping our men out for hours in this scorching heat. The worst of all is that we can do but little harm to them, as they are well under cover. The rascals most forward to-day are the Jullundar troops, who ought never to have been allowed to join the king of the rebels here at Delhi; why they were not pursued and cut up is at present a mystery, but indignation is strong in camp against those who suffered their escape. . . . June 23

An amusing story is told apropos of the fight this morning. A rascally Pandy, thinking all was over, put his head out of the window of one of the houses in the shade of which a few Europeans and Goorkhas were resting. One of the latter jumped

up, laid hold of the rebel by his hair, and with one chop of his "kookrie" took off his head. Atkinson should make a sketch of this for the *Illustrated News*. . . .

July 25 There is much that is disappointing and disgusting to a man who feels that more might have been done, but I comfort myself with the thought that history (if Russell, not Macaulay, writes it) will do justice to the constancy and fortitude of the handful of Englishmen who have for so many weeks — months, I may say — of desperate weather, amid the greatest toil and hardship, resisted and finally defeated the worst and most strenuous exertions of an entire army and a whole nation in arms — an army trained by ourselves, and supplied with all but exhaustless munitions of war, laid up by ourselves for the maintenance of our empire. I venture to aver that no other nation in the world would have remained here, or avoided defeat had they attempted to do so.

The delay as yet has been both morally and politically bad in many ways, and the results are already beginning to be manifest, but in the end it will increase our prestige and the moral effects of our power. A nation which could conquer a country like the Panjaub so recently with an Hindostanee army, and then turn the energies of the conquered Sikhs to subdue the very army by which they were tamed; which could fight out a position like Peshawur for years in the very teeth of the Afghan tribes, and then, when suddenly deprived of the regiments which effected this, could unhesitatingly employ those very tribes to disarm and quell those regiments when in mutiny — a nation which could do this is destined indeed to rule the world; and the races of Asia must succumb. This is a proud feeling, and nerves one's arm in many a time of difficulty and danger, as much almost as the conviction that we must conquer, or worse than death awaits us.

The intelligence of Sir H. Wheeler's destruction came to us from too true a source to be doubted, — it was in dear Sir Henry Lawrence's own handwriting, and has been confirmed, alas, too surely. All we do not know is whether the women and children were massacred with the men. . . .

Nana Sahib, the betrayer of the English at Cawnpore

One of my news letters reports that eighteen women are in prison under the care of Nana Sahib (Bajee Rao Peishwar's adopted son), who attacked Cawnpore. You must remember at the artillery review a very "swell" looking native gentleman, accompanied by another educated native, who spoke French and other European languages and was talking a good deal to Alfred Light. Well, this was the identical Nana Sahib who has done all this, and who must even at that very time have been meditating the treachery, if not the murders.

When the storm of the mutiny was over the queen announced her pardon of the rebels and the final transfer of India from the East India Company to the crown of England, in the following proclamation.

436. Proclamation of Queen Victoria to the people of India (1858)

Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, in parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honorable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories in our name and on our behalf.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honorable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfill.

Religious freedom

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, as far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. . . .

Amnesty

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have

been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offenses against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

An early view of the two men, Disraeli and Gladstone, who were so long to be the most prominent political leaders in parliament and in the country is given in the following contemporary description of a scene in parliament in 1838. Neither the author's estimate of Mr. Gladstone's character nor his prophecy of his future career was very accurate, but it is to be remembered that Mr. Gladstone's character was not a simple one nor his political development entirely consistent.

437. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone (1838)

When he [Disraeli] rose, which he did immediately after Mr. O'Connell had concluded his speech, all eyes were fixed on him, and all ears were open to listen to his eloquence; but before he had proceeded far he furnished a striking illustration of the hazard that attends on highly wrought expectations. After the first few minutes he met with every possible manifestation of opposition and ridicule from the ministerial benches, and was, on the other hand, cheered in the loudest and most earnest manner by his Tory friends; and it is particularly deserving of mention that even Sir Robert Peel, who very rarely cheers any honorable gentleman, not even the most able and accomplished speakers of his own party, greeted Mr. Disraeli's speech with a prodigality of applause which must have been severely trying to the worthy baronet's lungs.

Mr. Disraeli's first speech

At one time, in consequence of the extraordinary interruptions he met with, Mr. Disraeli intimated his willingness to resume his seat, if the House wished him to do so. He proceeded, however, for a short time longer, but was still assailed

with groans and undergrowls in all their varieties; the uproar, indeed, often became so great as completely to drown his voice.

At last, losing all temper, which until now he had preserved in a wonderful manner, he paused in the midst of a sentence, and, looking the Liberals in the face, raised his hands, and opening his mouth as wide as its dimensions would permit, said in remarkably loud and almost terrific tones, "Though I sit down now, the time will come when you will hear me." Mr. Disraeli then sat down amidst the loudest uproar.

His personality

The exhibition altogether was a most extraordinary one. Mr. Disraeli's appearance and manner were very singular. His dress also was peculiar; it had much of a theatrical aspect. His black hair was long and flowing, and he had a most ample crop of it. His gesture was abundant; he often appeared as if trying with what celerity he could move his body from one side to another and throw his hands out and draw them in again. At other times he flourished one hand before his face and then the other. His voice, too, is of a very unusual kind: it is powerful and had every justice done to it in the way of exercise; but there is something peculiar in it which I am at a loss to characterize. His utterance was rapid and he never seemed at a loss for words. On the whole, and notwithstanding the result of his first attempt, I am convinced he is a man who possesses many of the requisites of a good debater. That he is a man of great literary talent, few will dispute. . . .

Mr. Gladstone's Tory period

Mr. Gladstone, the member for Newark, is one of the most rising young men on the Tory side of the House. His party expect great things from him; and certainly, when it is remembered that his age is only twenty-five, the success of the parliamentary efforts he has already made justifies their expectations. He is well informed on most of the subjects which usually occupy the attention of the legislature, and he is happy in turning his information to a good account. He is ready, on all occasions which he deems fitting ones, with a speech in favor of the policy advocated by the party with whom he acts. His extemporaneous resources are ample. Few men in the House can improvisate better. It does not appear to cost him an effort to speak. He is a man of very considerable talent

but has nothing approaching to genius. His abilities are much more the result of an excellent education and of mature study than of any prodigality on the part of nature in the distribution of mental gifts.

I have no idea that he will ever acquire the reputation of a great statesman. His views are not sufficiently profound or enlarged for that; his celebrity in the House of Commons will chiefly depend on his readiness and dexterity as a debater, in conjunction with the excellence of his elocution and the gracefulness of his manner when speaking. His style is polished, but has no appearance of the effect of previous preparation. He displays considerable acuteness in replying to an opponent; he is quick in his perception of anything vulnerable in the speech to which he replies, and happy in laying the weak point bare to the gaze of the House. He now and then indulges in sarcasm, which is, in most cases, very felicitous. He is plausible even when most in error. When it suits himself or his party, he can apply himself with the strictest closeness to the real point at issue; when to evade that point is deemed politic, no man can wander from it more widely.

The ablest speech he ever made in the House, and by far the ablest on the same side of the question, was when opposing, on the 30th of March last, Sir George Strickland's motion for the abolition of the negro apprenticeship system on the 1st of August next. Mr. Gladstone, I should here observe, is himself an extensive West India planter.

Mr. Gladstone's appearance and manners are much in his favor. He is a fine-looking man. He is about the usual height and of good figure. His countenance is mild and pleasant and has a highly intellectual expression. His eyes are clear and quick. His eyebrows are dark and rather prominent. There is not a dandy in the House but envies what Truefitt would call his "fine head of jet-black hair." It is always carefully parted from the crown downwards to his brow, where it is tastefully shaded. His features are small and regular; and his complexion must be a very unworthy witness if he does not possess an abundant stock of health.

A clearer impression of the leading statesmen in the House of Commons, sixteen years later, about the time of the Crimean War, may be obtained from a book of observations in England, written in 1854 by William Wells Brown. The author was himself a man of some interest. He was an American negro, who had escaped from slavery in the South and been educated by a Northern man. He later traveled, was well received abroad, and wrote an interesting account of his journey.

438. Observations in the House of Commons (1854)

Yonder, on the right of us, sits Richard Cobden. Look at his thin, pale face, and spare-made frame. He started as a commercial traveler; was afterwards a calico printer and merchant in Manchester. He was the expounder, in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and in the town council,

Cobden

of the principles of free trade. In the council of the Anti-Corn Law League he was the leader, and principal agitator of the question in public meetings throughout the kingdom. He was first elected for Stockport. When Sir Robert Peel's administration abolished the corn laws, the prime minister avowed in the House of Commons that the great measure was in most part achieved by the unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden. He is the representative of the nonintervention or political peace party, holding the right and duty of national defense, but opposing all alliances which are calculated to embroil the country in the affairs of other nations. His age is about fifty. He represents the largest constituency in the kingdom — the western division of Yorkshire, which contains thirty-seven thousand voters. Mr. Cobden has a reflective cast of mind; and is severely logical in his style, and very lucid in the treatment of his subjects. He may be termed the leader of the Radical party in the House.

Macaulay

Three seats from Cobden you see that short, stout person, with his high head, large, round face, good-sized eyes. It is Macaulay, the poet, critic, historian, and statesman. If you have not read his essay on Milton, you should do so immediately; it is the finest thing of the kind in the language. . . .

Over on the same side with the Liberals sits John Bright, the Quaker statesman, and leader of the Manchester school. He is the son of a Rochdale manufacturer, and first distinguished himself as an agitator in favor of the repeal of the corn laws. He represents the city of Manchester, and has risen rapidly. Mr. Cobden and he invariably act together, and will, doubtless, sooner or later, come into power together. Look at his robust and powerful frame, round and pleasing face. He is but little more than forty; an earnest and eloquent speaker, and commands the fixed attention of his audience. Bright

See that exceedingly good-looking man just taking his seat. It is William Ewart Gladstone. He is the son of a Liverpool merchant and represents the University of Oxford. He came into parliament in 1832 under the auspices of the Tory duke of Newcastle. He was a disciple of the first Sir R. Peel, and was by that statesman introduced into official life. He has been vice president and president of the board of trade, and is now chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Gladstone is only forty-four. When not engaged in speaking he is of rather unprepossessing appearance. His forehead appears low, but his eye is bright and penetrating. He is one of the ablest debaters in the House, and is master of a style of eloquence in which he is quite unapproached. As a reasoner he is subtle, and occasionally jesuitical; but, with a good cause and a conviction of the right, he rises to a lofty pitch of oratory, and may be termed the Wendell Phillips of the House of Commons. Gladstone

There sits Disraeli, among the Tories. Look at that Jewish face, those dark ringlets hanging round that marble brow. When on his feet he has a catlike, stealthy step; always looks on the ground when walking. He is the son of the well-known author of the *Curiosities of Literature*. His ancestors were Venetian Jews. He was himself born a Jew, and was initiated into the Hebrew faith. Subsequently he embraced Christianity. His literary works are numerous, consisting entirely of novels, with the exception of a biography of the late Lord George Bentinck, the leader of the Protectionist party, to whose post Mr. Disraeli succeeded on the death of his friend and political chief. Mr. Disraeli has been all round the compass in politics. Disraeli

He is now professedly a Conservative, but is believed to be willing to support any measures, however sweeping and democratical, if by so doing he could gratify his ambition — which is for office and power. He was the great thorn in the side of the last Sir R. Peel, and was never so much at home as when he could find a flaw in that distinguished statesman's political acts. He is an able debater and a finished orator, and in his speeches wrings applause even from his political opponents.

Lord Palmerston

Cast your eyes to the opposite side of the House, and take a good view of that venerable man, full of years, just rising from his seat. See how erect he stands; he is above seventy years of age, and yet he does not seem to be forty. That is Lord Palmerston. Next to Joseph Hume, he is the oldest member in the House. He has been longer in office than any other living man. All parties have, by turns, claimed him, and he has belonged to all kinds of administration, — Tory, Conservative, Whig, and Coalition. He is a ready debater, and he is a general favorite as a speaker, for his wit and adroitness, but little trusted by any party as a statesman. His talents have secured him office, and he is useful as a minister and dangerous as an opponent. . . .

Lord John Russell

Ah! we shall now have a speech. See that little man rising from his seat; look at his thin black hair, how it seems to stand up; hear that weak but distinct voice. Oh, how he repeats the ends of his sentences! It is Lord John Russell, the leader of the present administration. He is now asking for three million pounds sterling to carry on the war. He is a terse and perspicuous speaker, but avoids prolixity. He is much respected on both sides of the House. Though favorable to reform measures generally, he is nevertheless an upholder of aristocracy, and stands at the head and firmly by his order. He is brother to the present duke of Bedford, and has twice been premier; and, though on the sunny side of sixty, he has been in office, at different times, more than thirty years. He is a constitutional Whig and conservative reformer. See how earnestly he speaks, and keeps his eyes on Disraeli! He is afraid of the Jew! Now he scratches the bald place on his

head, and then opens that huge roll of paper and looks over towards Lord Palmerston. . . .

Gladstone again

All eyes are turned towards the seat of the chancellor of the exchequer: a pause of a moment's duration, and the orator of the House rises to his feet. Those who have been reading the *Times* lay it down; all whispering stops, and the attention of the members is directed to Gladstone as he begins. Disraeli rests his chin upon his hat, which lies upon his knee: he too is chained to his seat by the fascinating eloquence of the man of letters. Thunders of applause follow, in which all join but the Jew. Disraeli changes his position on his seat, first one leg crossed and then the other, but he never smiles while his opponent is speaking. He sits like one of those marble figures in the British Museum. Disraeli has furnished more fun for *Punch* than any other man in the empire. When it was resolved to have a portrait of the late Sir R. Peel painted for the government, Mr. Gladstone ordered it to be taken from one that appeared in *Punch* during the lifetime of that great statesman. This was indeed a compliment to that sheet of fun. But now look at the chancellor of the exchequer. He is in the midst of his masterly speech, and silence reigns throughout the House.

> His words of learned length and thundering sound
> Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;
> And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
> That one small head could carry all he knew.

II. England and the Civil War in America

The following speech by John Bright, delivered at a public dinner at Rochdale, in the midst of the cotton-manufacturing country, was of great influence in keeping some degree of friendship between England and America during the early period of the Civil War.

439. Speech of John Bright (December 4, 1861)

In these times in which we live, by the influence of the telegraph and the steamboat and the railroad, and the multiplication of newspapers, we seem continually to stand as on the top

of an exceeding high mountain, from which we behold all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them — unhappily, also, not only their glory, but their follies and their crimes and their calamities.

The Crimean War

Seven years ago our eyes were turned with anxious expectation to a remote corner of Europe, where five nations were contending in bloody strife for an object which possibly hardly one of them comprehended, and, if they did comprehend it, which all sensible men amongst them must have known to be absolutely impracticable. Four years ago we were looking still further to the east, where there was a gigantic revolt in a great dependency of the British crown, arising mainly from gross neglect, and from the incapacity of England, up to that moment, to govern the country which it had known how to conquer. Two years ago we looked south, to the plains of Lombardy, and saw a great strife there, in which every man of England took a strong interest; and we have welcomed, as the results of that strife, the addition of a great kingdom to the list of European states. Now our eyes are turned in a contrary direction and we look to the west. There we see a struggle in progress of the very highest interest to England and to humanity at large. We see there a nation which I shall call the transatlantic English nation — the inheritor and partaker of all the historic glories of this country. We see it torn with intestine broils and suffering from calamities from which for more than a century past, in fact, for more than two centuries past, this country has been exempt. That struggle is of especial interest to us. We remember the description which one of our great poets gives of Rome, "Lone mother of dead empires."

The Sepoy rebellion

The Franco-Italian War

The Civil War in America

But England is the living mother of great nations on the American and on the Australian continents, which promise to endow the world with all her knowledge and all her civilization, and with even something more than the freedom she herself enjoys. . . .

Acknowledged hostility to the North

Now I am obliged to say, and I say it with the utmost pain, that if we have not done things which are plainly hostile to the North, and if we have not expressed affection for

slavery and, outwardly and openly, hatred for the Union, — I say that there has not been that friendly and cordial neutrality which, if I had been a citizen of the United States, I should have expected; and I say further, that, if there has existed considerable irritation at that, it must be taken as a measure of the high appreciation which the people of those states place upon the opinion of the people of England. If I had been addressing this audience ten days ago, so far as I know, I should have said just what I have said now; and although, by an untoward event, circumstances are somewhat, even considerably, altered, yet I have thought it desirable to make this statement, with a view, so far as I am able to do it, to improve the opinion of England and to assuage feelings of irritation in America, if there be any, so that no further difficulties may arise in the progress of this unhappy strife.

Seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell

But there has occurred an event which was announced to us only a week ago, which is one of great importance, and it may be one of some peril. It is asserted that what is called "international law" has been broken by the seizure of the Southern commissioners on board an English trading steamer by a steamer of war of the United States. Now what is international law? You have heard that the opinions of the law officers of the crown are in favor of this view of the case — that the law has been broken. I am not at all going to say that it has not. It would be imprudent in me to set my opinion on a legal question which I have only partially examined, against their opinion on the same question, which I presume they have carefully examined. But this I say, that international law is not to be found in an act of parliament; it is not in so many clauses. You know that it is difficult to find the law. I can ask the mayor, or any magistrate around me, whether it is not very difficult to find the law, even when you have found the act of parliament and found the clause. But when you have found no act of parliament, and no clause, you may imagine that the case is still more difficult.

The uncertainty of international law

Now maritime law, or international law, consists of opinions and precedents for the most part, and it is very unsettled. The opinions are the opinions of men of different countries,

given at different times; and the precedents are not always like each other. The law is very unsettled, and, for the most part, I believe it to be exceedingly bad. In past times, as you know from the histories you read, this country has been a fighting country; we have been belligerents, we have carried maritime law by our own powerful hand to a pitch that has been very oppressive to foreign and especially to neutral nations. Well, now, for the first time, unhappily, almost for the first time in our history for the last two hundred years, we are not belligerents but neutrals; and we are disposed to take, perhaps, rather a different view of maritime and international law.

Now the act which has been committed by the American steamer, in my opinion, whether it was legal or not, was both impolitic and bad. That is my opinion. I think it may turn out, almost certainly, that, so far as the taking of those men from that ship was concerned, it was an act wholly unknown to, and unauthorized by, the American government. And if the American government believe, on the opinion of their law officers, that the act is illegal, I have no doubt they will make fitting reparation; for there is no government in the world that has so strenuously insisted upon modifications of international law, and been so anxious to be guided always by the most moderate and merciful interpretation of that law.

Now our great advisers of the *Times* newspaper have been persuading people that this is merely one of a series of acts which denote the determination of the Washington government to pick a quarrel with the people of England. Did you ever know anybody who was not very nearly dead drunk, who, having as much upon his hands as he could manage, would offer to fight everybody about him? Do you believe that the United States government, presided over by President Lincoln, so constitutional in all his acts, so moderate as he has been — representing at this moment that great party in the United States, happily now in the ascendency, which has always been especially in favour of peace, and especially friendly to England — do you believe that such a government, having now upon its hands an insurrection of the most formidable character in the South, would invite the armies and the fleets of England to

combine with that insurrection, and, it might be, to render it impossible that the Union should ever again be restored? I say, that single statement, whether it came from a public writer or a public speaker, is enough to stamp him forever with the character of being an insidious enemy of both countries. . . .

Remembering the past, remembering at this moment the perils of a friendly people, and seeing the difficulties by which they are surrounded, let us, I entreat of you, see if there be any real moderation in the people of England, and if magnanimity, so often to be found amongst individuals, is absolutely wanting in a great nation. . . .

Now, whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South achieve an unhonoured independence or not, I know not and I predict not. But this I think I know, that in a few years, a very few years, the twenty millions of freemen in the North will be thirty millions, or even fifty millions — a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes I pray that it may not be said amongst them that in the darkest hour of their country's trials England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and calamities of their children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondmen of the South, and which tends to generous thoughts and generous deeds between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name.

Only a minority of the governing classes of England agreed with John Bright in his views of the American struggle. But as time went on their numbers increased, and admiration for the character of Lincoln, at least, became quite general. This feeling is well reflected in the following anonymous poem from the English humorous journal *Punch*, when the news of his assassination was received.

440. A recantation, *Punch* (May 6, 1865)

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please.

You whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain:
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity or people's pain.

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril jester, is there room for *you?*

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen —
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose,
How his quaint wit made home truth seem more true,
How, iron like, his temper grew by blows.

How humble yet how hopeful he could be:
How in good fortune and in ill the same:
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work — such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand —
As one who knows, where there 's a task to do,
Man's honest will must heaven's good grace command.

. . . . . .

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron-bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear —
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train:
Rough culture — but such trees large fruit may bear
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it: four long-suffering years!
Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood:
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest —
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-labouring limbs were laid to rest!

III. The Completion of Parliamentary Reform

Some idea of the differences of opinion on political questions that existed just before the adoption of the Reform Bill of 1867 can be gathered from the debate that took place on an earlier and unsuccessful bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone in 1866. The closing speech is one of the best examples of the fervid eloquence with which Mr. Gladstone discussed practical problems.

441. A debate in the House of Commons on a proposed Reform Bill in 1866

Lord Cranborne entreated the chancellor of the exchequer to let the House know who their new masters were to be. In proposing so great an alteration, it was right to ask for information as to the extent of the change that was to take place, the number of new voters to be introduced, the class of the

community to which they belonged, and how far they represented the wealth and numbers of the country. . . .

Mr. Hughes, a Radical

Mr. Hughes supported the bill as an honest attempt to extend the franchise, — the most important part of reform, — and because (according to the opinion of an influential man among them) it would admit a large body of the best of the working classes. He defended trades unions and their leaders from imputations which had been made against them, described the great results which had been achieved by co-operative societies, and argued that if the working classes had been more effectually represented in the House, it would have been able to deal more effectually with such questions as the relations between workmen and employers, the improvement of dwellings, the restriction of noxious trades, and the like. He derided the notion that the working classes were not as much divided on political matters as any other class, and urged the national importance of riveting their adherence to the constitution by this concession. . . .

Mr. Lowe, a Conservative

Mr. Lowe pointed out the danger arising from the power of the working classes to combine for the accomplishment of their objects, and the ease with which trades unions might be converted into political organizations. Trades unions were far more unions against the best, most skillful, industrious men themselves than against the masters. They made war upon all superiority and skilled industry, and made themselves the slaves of clumsiness, idleness, and ignorance. And see what a tremendous machinery they would have if they only allowed them to possess the one thing they wanted — the parliamentary vote. Adopt this bill, and there was no saying where they would stop in the downward direction of democracy. Among the consequences which might be anticipated from it were the profession of politics as a last resource when every other had failed, a disposition to war, opposition to free trade, and the concentration of power. Democratize the House of Commons, and it would not rest until it had swept away the institutions which now stood between it and the throne, and supplied their places by other institutions deriving their origin directly from the people, and not having

the quasi-independence which those corporations and privileged classes now enjoyed. When that was done, they would have face to face, with nothing to break the shock between them, the monarch for the time being and a great democracy; and history had taught us little if we thought that those two powers would go on harmoniously. . . .

Mr. Disraeli, the Conservative leader

The franchise would again be extended; all command over the executive would cease; and when that was the state of things they would have a hall of selfish and obscure mediocrities, incapable of anything but mischief, and that mischief devised and regulated by the raging demagogue of the hour. The question before the House was, not whether the workingmen should be introduced to the franchise, but whether the working of the English constitution could be improved; and he was convinced that, although it was the opinion of the thoughtful portion of the community that the choicest members of the working classes should form a part, and no unimportant part, of the estate of the Commons, they recoiled from attaining that result by an undistinguishing reduction of the franchise. He did not say that the working classes had their full share of the franchise; but before proceeding to invest them with it, the House ought to obtain accurate information, and, above all, they should legislate in the spirit of the English constitution, so that this House should remain a House of Commons, and not the house of the people or of an indiscriminate multitude. In voting for this bill they would act not in the spirit of the British constitution but in the spirit of the constitution of America. . . .

Mr. Gladstone, the Liberal leader

My right honorable friend says we know nothing about the laboring classes. Is not one single word a sufficient reply, and that word is "Lancashire," associated with the sufferings of the last four years, so painful and bitter, but so nobly and gloriously borne? The qualities then exhibited were the qualities, not of select men here and there among a depraved multitude, but of the masses. For my own part, I cannot believe that the men who exhibited those qualities were only a sample of the people, and that the rest would not have done the same had occasion arisen. I cannot see what argument

could be found for some wise and temperate experiment of the extension of civil rights among such people, if the experience of the past few years does not afford it.

Let us consider the enormous and silent changes which have been going forward among the laboring population. May I use the words to honorable and right honorable gentlemen once used by way of exhortation by Sir Robert Peel, "Elevate your vision"? Let us try and raise our views above the fears, suspicions, jealousies, attacks, and recriminations of this place. Let us look onward to the time of our children and our children's children. Let us think what preparation should be made for them. Is there or is there not a steady movement of the laboring classes, and is or is not that movement onwards and upwards? I do not say you can see it; for, like all great processes, it is unobservable in detail but solid and unassailable in character. It is like those movements of the earth's crust, which science tells us are even now going on in certain portions of the globe, which sailors sail over and the traveler by land treads upon without being conscious of them; but science tells you that the changes are taking place, and that things are not as they were.

Has my right honorable friend ever considered the astonishing phenomena connected with some portion of the conduct of the laboring classes, and especially in the Lancashire distress? Has he considered what an amount of self-denial was exhibited by these men in respect to the American war? Could any man have believed that a conduct so still, so calm, so firm, so energetic, could have planted itself in the minds of a population without becoming a known patent fact through the whole country? And yet when the day of trial came, we saw that noble sympathy on their part with the people of the North; that determination that, be their sufferings what they might, no word should proceed from them that would damage a cause so just. On one side, there was a magnificent moral spectacle; on the other side, there was a great lesson to us all, to teach us that, in their minds, by a process of quiet instillation, opinions and sentiments were gradually forming themselves, of which we for a long time remain unaware, but that,

when at last they make their appearance, are found mature, solid, and irresistible. . . .

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb, — those great social forces are against you; they are marshaled on our side; and the banner which we now carry, though, perhaps, at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy but to a certain and to a not distant victory.

As examples of the many measures of a reforming nature carried through parliament in the years immediately following the Reform Bill of 1867, may be taken the bill for the abolition of religious tests at the universities, the bill for free public education, and the bill for legalizing trade unions. The following extracts include a few sections from each of these statutes.

Previous to this time every student, fellow, and lecturer at the universities had been compelled to take certain oaths and conform to certain religious requirements which none but members of the Church of England could conscientiously do. The universities were now by law thrown open to members of all creeds.

442. Extracts from the law abolishing religious tests at the universities (1870)

Whereas, it is expedient that the benefits of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, and of the colleges and halls now subsisting therein, as places of religion and learning, should be rendered freely accessible to the nation:

And whereas, by means of divers restrictions, tests, and disabilities, many of her Majesty's subjects are debarred from the full enjoyment of the same:

And whereas, it is expedient that such restrictions, tests, and disabilities should be removed, under proper safeguards

for the maintenance of religious instruction and worship in the said universities and the colleges and halls now subsisting within the same : . . .

No religious requirement

No person shall be required, upon taking or to enable him to take any degree (other than a degree in divinity) within the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, or any of them, or upon exercising or to enable him to exercise any of the rights and privileges which may heretofore have been or may hereafter be exercised by graduates in the said universities or any of them, or in any college subsisting at the time of the passing of this act in any of the said universities, or upon taking or holding, or to enable him to take or hold any office in any of the said universities or any such college as aforesaid, or upon teaching or to enable him to teach within any of the said universities or any such college as aforesaid, or upon opening or to enable him to open a private hall or hostel in any of the said universities for the reception of students, to subscribe any article or formulary of faith, or to make any declaration or take any oath respecting his religious belief or profession, or to conform to any religious observance, or to attend or abstain from attending any form of public worship, or to belong to any specified church, sect, or denomination ; nor shall any person be compelled, in any of the said universities or any such college as aforesaid, to attend the public worship of any church, sect, or denomination to which he does not belong.

Education in England was formerly considered principally a matter to be cared for by the church or by private individuals. Nevertheless both church and endowed schools had long received some financial aid from the government. Now a still further step was taken. Compulsory free education was introduced. The two great difficulties — the unwillingness of local authorities to go to the expense of supporting the schools, and religious differences — were met in the way shown in the following clauses of the act of 1870.

443. Extracts from the law establishing free public schools (1870)

There shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools (as hereinafter defined) available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made; and where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation, in this act referred to as "public school accommodation," the deficiency shall be supplied in the manner provided by this act.

Where the education department, in the manner provided by this act, are satisfied and have given public notice that there is an insufficient amount of public school accommodation for any school district, and the deficiency is not supplied as hereinafter required, a school board shall be formed for such district and shall supply such deficiency, and in case of default by the school board the education department shall cause the duty of such board to be performed in the manner provided by this act.

Every elementary school which is conducted in accordance with the following regulations shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this act; and every public elementary school shall be conducted in accordance with the following regulations (a copy of which regulations shall be conspicuously put up in every such school); namely, (1) it shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted in or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs; (2) the time or times during which any religious observance is practiced or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be either at the beginning, or at the end, or at the beginning and the end of such meeting.

A full investigation of trade unions was made by a large parliamentary committee during the years 1867–1869.

The law adopted on its recommendation gave the trade unions a legal right to exist, and, if they were registered, certain other rights similar to those of an insurance company.

444. Extracts from the law legalizing trade unions (1871)

The purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be deemed to be unlawful so as to render any member of such trade union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise.

The purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be unlawful so as to render void or voidable any agreement or trust. . . .

Any seven or more members of a trade union may, by subscribing their names to the rules of the union, and otherwise complying with the provisions of this act with respect to registry, register such trade union under this act, provided that if any one of the purposes of such trade union be unlawful such registration shall be void.

It shall be lawful for any trade union registered under this act to purchase or take upon lease in the names of the trustees for the time being of such union any land not exceeding one acre. . . .

Officers of trade unions held to account

Every treasurer or other officer of a trade union registered under this act, at such times as by the rules of such trade union he should render such account as hereinafter mentioned, or, upon being required so to do, shall render to the trustees of the trade union, at a meeting of the trade union, a just and true account of all moneys received and paid by him since he last rendered the like account, and of the balance then remaining in his hands. . . .

A general statement of the receipts, funds, effects, and expenditure of every trade union registered under this act shall be transmitted to the registrar before the first day of June in every year, and shall show fully the assets and liabilities at the date, and the receipts and expenditure during the year preceding the date to which it is made out, of the trade union; and shall show separately the expenditure in respect of the several objects of the trade union. . . .

Definition of a trade union

The term "trade union" means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business.

The measure for legalization of trade unions, from which some passages have just been given, did not go nearly so far as many supporters of the unions wished. A minority report still more favorable to the unions was therefore made by two members of the investigating committee. From this the following passages are taken.

445. Extracts from minority report on trade unions (1869)

The first impression which the results of this protracted inquiry produce is one which it is of importance never to lose sight of — the great extent to which unionism has been carried. There is no industry in the country, with some very doubtful exceptions, into which it has not entered, and very few parts of the country where it is not prevalent. . . .

It is probable that in many trades some of the best and most educated men stand aloof. It has not, however, been suggested by any one that the union is ever composed of the inferior order of workmen, though it may not invariably be composed of the superior. In some trades, and those perhaps requiring the greatest skill, it seems to be admitted that the union contains the great bulk of the most skilled men — as the engineers, the iron founders, the painters, glass makers, printers, shipbuilders, and others. All legislation, and all discussion with a view to legislation, must therefore take as its basis this general fact; viz., that a very great proportion of the skilled workmen of the country have for many years shown a strong and increasing disposition to unite themselves in these trade societies. The evidence leaves no doubt on our minds that the union as a rule consists of the superior class of workmen; and we can see no indications whatever that it is ever regarded as injurious by any body of workmen deserving attention from either their numbers or their character. . . .

Outrages charged to trade unions

Without disguising from ourselves the shocking character of certain atrocities which have been clearly brought home to unionists in various parts of the country, . . . it is some satisfaction to feel that a very great improvement in the general character of unionism is shown, as contrasted with the results of earlier inquiries. . . .

The conclusion from this seems inevitable that whatever tends to keep the unions in the relation in which they stood to the old combination law is an evil, and the more nearly they can be placed on the footing of other legal bodies, the less has the public to fear from their character. These same facts are also a very instructive answer to a proposal which has been made to render the action of national associations illegal whilst legalizing the local; and, to another, which is still more unfortunate, to legalize mere trade unions, but to deprive them of all character of mutual assurance. The effect of either of these would be to put a premium on the existence of the more questionable form of unionism, whilst suppressing that form of it which is shown to be above suspicion.

Influence of trade unions on strikes

It does not appear to be borne out by the evidence that the disposition to strike on the part of workmen is in itself the creation of unionists, or that this disposition increases in proportion to the strength of the union. It appears, in fact, that the relation of unions to strikes is rather the converse, and that many unions are hastily formed when the spirit of demanding a rise is rife; but that the effect of the established societies is to diminish the frequency and certainly the disorder of strikes, and to guarantee a regularity of wages and hours rather than to engage in constant endeavors to improve them. . . .

Strikes against non-union workmen

It is clear that it is a very general practice of unionists, wherever their numbers are sufficiently great, to refuse work in company with nonunionists. It is, however, far from being universal. The evidence shows that in many trades no such practice exists. There can, however, be little doubt that it is constantly enforced whenever the union is strong enough to insist on it. The practice is no doubt unsocial, and is often carried out in a vexatious and arbitrary spirit, but it is one too common amongst other classes of the community to require

any special treatment. It is common to corporations, confraternities, and parties of all kinds; and, as it would be plainly unjust for the state to compel workmen to work with those to whom they objected, and even to punish them, directly or indirectly, for this refusal, it seems to us one of those things which must be left to gradual improvement of tone.

We are, on the whole, convinced by the evidence that the union is usually felt by the great body of workmen to be working for their benefit and with their adhesion; and we are inclined to think that the workmen who, under the influence of agencies without (such as the Free Labor societies), place themselves in antagonism to it, represent a very small and for the most part a wholly inferior minority.

Relative harmlessness of unions

It results that hardly any one of the features commonly attributed to unionism in general can be said to be a general principle; but only that the characters of the different unions vary like those of the different bodies of men of whom they are composed, and of the officials by whom they are influenced. It seems to us that in themselves the unions are simply associations to enable the workmen to obtain the best terms for themselves. Whether they regard their interest from an enlightened point of view, or the contrary, depends very much on the members and the management, and on the conditions of the particular trade. We can see no reason why the whole of these societies, under good management, might not become what very many of them now are, — peaceful and useful institutions. And as a general principle it appears to us impossible, when the right of combining to further their interests is conceded, to enact that there should be certain interests which they may not pursue, however lawfully and peacefully.

With respect to all the customs or rules complained of, we are of opinion that no sensible public injury has been shown to result from them; that they arise from a standing struggle between conflicting interests, with neither of which the state is identified; and that they are matters on which legislation must maintain complete neutrality, the rather that these customs are attacked and defended in the name of economic principles still far from settled or recognized. . . .

The interest of the community is the welfare of the various classes which compose it, not the multiplication of products at constantly cheaper prices. The notion that the public is a gainer whilst goods are constantly growing cheaper, even though this end be obtained at the expense of each class of the community in turn suffering in liberty, health, or comfort, is disposed of by being stated. Such a theory would lead to the conclusion that slavery was a public benefit, if it could be shown that slave labor in any product would conduce to increased production at a lower rate. . . .

Real basis of existence of trade unions

It seems to us that quite sufficient ground for unionism is to be found in the following considerations. The capitalist having a reserve fund, or accumulation of labor, is necessarily in a better position to treat for terms than the individual laborer who has no reserve fund. The capitalist is a combination in himself. The workmen, by combination, and by contributing to form a reserve fund, can place themselves on a footing of equality with the capitalist. The economic principle to which the critics of unionism the most often appeal is that the interest of the community is best secured by the individuals who compose it striving to improve their own conditions for themselves. It is beyond doubt that a great number of capitalists honestly hold and carry out this doctrine. Without attributing any harshness or injustice to capitalists individually, or as a class, it is plain that the efforts of each of them to improve his own condition must lead him to many things which are prejudicial to the immediate interest of others. For instance, he introduces a new process or machine by which he saves immensely in labor, and at once dispenses with a body of workmen. By his own principles he considers that they are the proper persons to take care of their own interests, and not he. They proceed to do so, and their answer is unionism; that is, they combine and seek their ends in common.

They find that their interest lies in making their demands and refusing offers in concert, and not individually. Under a system which professes the right or rather the duty of all men peacefully to pursue their own interests for themselves, unionism appears to us the exact correlative of competition. The

stronger prefer to pursue their ends by means of competition, the weaker by means of combination. But for the capitalist to deny the workman unlimited freedom to combine is for the stronger to object to the weaker pursuing his interests by the most obvious resource in his reach.

The plan of a third reform bill had scarcely been formulated, in 1884, when the House of Lords intimated that this measure would be defeated by them. The conflict immediately took the form of an attack on the House of Lords. The following letter from John Bright, the old Radical statesman, puts the matter clearly.

446. John Bright to J P. Hartley (July 18, 1884)

Dear Sir:

I am glad to hear of the arrangements for your great meeting to-morrow. Accrington and the surrounding district will not fail in its duty at this crisis. The question is not one of the franchise bill only; that bill will not be defeated or long delayed. There has arisen another and a greater question. Shall the House of Lords subject to its will the ministry, which represents the crown, and the House of Commons, which represents the nation? Shall the policy of a great and free country be thwarted by men sitting in their hereditary chamber, who are there by no right of votes given them, and through whom the voice of the millions of the United Kingdom is not heard? Their veto is a constant insult to the House of Commons, and if the freedom of our people is not a pretense and a sham, some limit must be placed upon a power which is chiefly manifested in or by its hostility to the true interests of the nation. A parliament controlled by hereditary peers is no better, perhaps it is worse, than a parliament influenced by and controlled by a despotic monarch. Ask your friends to consider this question seriously. Let them join with their countrymen in demanding a change which shall free the House of Commons from fetters as humiliating to it as they are injurious to the country.

Believe me, sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

IV. Irish Home Rule

The bill for home rule for Ireland, in 1886, was a far-reaching political measure that proved too difficult even for the influence of Mr. Gladstone. Nevertheless the Irish question has always since remained prominent, and home rule has been constantly advocated. This account, including Mr. Gladstone's speech, is from Morley's *Life of Gladstone*.

447. The plan of Irish home rule in 1886

The foundation of the scheme was the establishment in Ireland of a domestic legislature to deal with Irish as distinguished from imperial affairs. It followed from this that if Irish members and representative peers remained at Westminster at all, though they might claim a share in the settlement of imperial affairs, they could not rightly control English or Scotch affairs. This was from the first, and has ever since remained, the Gordian knot. The cabinet, on a review of all the courses open, determined to propose the plan of total exclusion, save and unless for the purpose of revising this organic statute.

The next question was neither so hard nor so vital. Ought the powers of the Irish legislature to be specifically enumerated? Or was it better to enumerate the branches of legislation from which the statutory parliament was to be shut out? Should we enact the things that they might do, or the things that they might not do, leaving them the whole residue of lawmaking power outside these exceptions and exclusions? The latter was the plan adopted in the bill. Disabilities were specified, and everything not so specified was left within the scope of the Irish authority. These disabilities comprehended all matters affecting the crown. All questions of defense and armed force were shut out; all foreign and colonial relations; the law of trade and navigation, of coinage and legal tender. The new legislature could not meddle with certain charters, nor with certain contracts, nor could it establish or endow any particular religion. . . .

The legislative body was to be composed of two orders. The first order was to consist of the twenty-eight representative peers, together with seventy-five members elected by certain scheduled constituencies on an occupation franchise of twenty-five pounds and upwards. To be eligible for the first order, a person must have a property qualification, either in realty of two hundred pounds a year, or in personalty of the same amount, or a capital value of four thousand pounds. The representative peers now existing would sit for life, and, as they dropped off, the crown would nominate persons to take their place up to a certain date, and on the exhaustion of the twenty-eight existing peers, then the whole of the first order would become elective under the same conditions as the seventy-five other members.

The second order would consist of 206 members, chosen by existing counties and towns under the machinery now operative. The two orders were to sit and deliberate together, but either order could demand a separate vote. This right would enable a majority of one order to veto the proposal of the other. But the veto was only to operate until a dissolution, or for three years, whichever might be the longer interval of the two.

The executive transition was to be gradual. The office of viceroy would remain, but he would not be the minister of a party nor quit office with an outgoing government. He would have a privy council; within that council would be formed an executive body of ministers like the British cabinet. This executive would be responsible to the Irish legislature, just as the executive government here is responsible to the legislature of this country. . . .

Introduction of the home-rule bill

No such scene has ever been beheld in the House of Commons. Members came at break of day to secure their places; before noon every seat was marked, and crowded benches were even arrayed on the floor of the House from the mace to the bar. Princes, ambassadors, great peers, high prelates, thronged the lobbies. The fame of the orator, the boldness of his exploit, curiosity as to the plan, poignant anxiety as to the party result, wonder whether a wizard had at last actually arisen with a spell for casting out the baleful

spirits that had for so many ages made Ireland our torment and our dishonor, — all these things brought together such an assemblage as no minister before had ever addressed within those world-renowned walls. The parliament was new. Many of its members had fought a hard battle for their seats, and trusted they were safe in the haven for half a dozen good years to come. Those who were moved by professional ambition, those whose object was social advancement, those who thought only of upright public service, the keen party men, the men who aspired to office, the men with a past and the men who looked for a future, all alike found themselves adrift on dark and troubled waters. The secrets of the bill had been well kept. To-day the disquieted host were first to learn what was the great project to which they would have to say that Aye or No on which for them and for the state so much would hang. . . .

Mr. Gladstone's closing speech on the bill

"Ireland stands at your bar expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant. Her words are the words of truth and soberness. She asks a blessed oblivion of the past, and in that oblivion our interest is deeper even than hers. You have been asked to-night to abide by the traditions of which we are the heirs. What traditions? By the Irish traditions? Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single voice, a single book, in which the conduct of England toward Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? No, they are a sad exception to the glory of our country. They are a broad and black blot upon the pages of its history, and what we want to do is to stand by the traditions of which we are the heirs in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our relation to Ireland conform to the other traditions of our country. So we treat our traditions, so we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She seeks also a boon for the future; and that boon for the future, unless we are much mistaken, will be a boon to us in respect of honor, no less than a boon to her in respect of

happiness, prosperity, and peace. Such, sir, is her prayer. Think, I beseech you; think well, think wisely; think, not for the moment, but for the years that are to come, before you reject this bill."

The well-known poet, William Watson, gave voice to the deep desire for a true reconciliation between the peoples of England and Ireland in the following poem, written two years after the failure of the home rule bill of 1886.

448. England to Ireland (February, 1888)

Spouse whom my sword in the olden time won me,
  Winning me hatred more sharp than a sword;
Mother of children to hiss at or shun me,
  Curse or revile me, and hold me abhorred;
Heiress of anger that nothing assuages,
  Mad for the future, and mad for the past;
Daughter of all the implacable ages,
  Lo, let us turn and be lovers at last!

Lovers whom tragical sin hath made equal,
  One in transgression and one in remorse,
Bonds may be severed, but what were the sequel?
  Hardly shall amity come of divorce.
Let the dead past have a royal entombing,
  O'er it the future built white for a fane!
I that am haughty from much overcoming
  Sue to thee, supplicate, — nay, is it vain?

Hate and mistrust are the children of blindness.
  Could we but see one another, 't were well!
Knowledge is sympathy, charity, kindness,
  Ignorance only is maker of hell.
Could we but gaze for an hour, for a minute,
  Deep in each other's unfaltering eyes,
Love were begun, for that look would begin it,
  Born in the flash of a mighty surprise.

Then should the ominous night-bird of error,
Scared by a sudden irruption of day,
Flap his maleficent wings, and, in terror,
Flit to the wilderness, dropping his prey.
Then should we, growing in strength and in sweetness,
Fusing to one indivisible soul,
Dazzle the world with a splendid completeness,
Mightily single, immovably whole.

Thou, like a flame when the stormy winds fan it,
I, like a rock to the elements bare;
Mixed by love's magic, the fire and the granite,
Who should compete with us, what should compare?
Strong with a strength that no fate might dissever,
One with a oneness no force could divide,
So were we married and mingled forever,
Lover with lover, and bridegroom with bride.

V. The British Empire

To illustrate the change of feeling that has taken place in regard to the proper relation between Great Britain and her distant colonies, it is necessary to go back to a much earlier period than has now been reached. The first selection that follows is a short passage from a work published in 1790. It illustrates the feeling of opposition in England to colonization, — an opposition which had become widespread soon after the loss of the American colonies, and which continued for many years.

449. An opinion adverse to colonies (1790)

The rage for colonization has not yet been driven from the councils of this country. We have fortunately lost New England, but a New Wales has since started up! How many millions it may cost may be the subject of the calculations of succeeding financiers, unless by the exertions of some able statesman that source of future waste and extravagance is prevented.

Forty years later prevailing opinion was still skeptical as to the desirability of obtaining or retaining colonies.

450. A later argument against colonies (1830)

There are only three ways that colonies can be of any advantage: (1) in furnishing a military force; (2) in supplying the parent state with a revenue; (3) in affording commercial advantages.

(1) Instead of furnishing a military force, the colonies are always a great drain upon the military resources of a country, particularly in war, when they occupy a large portion of the army and fleet in their defense. In the last war, while our own shores were threatened with invasion from Boulogne and Brest, our means of defense were greatly crippled by the number of troops and ships we were obliged to keep in the colonies.

(2) With respect to revenue, we have declared by the act of the 18 Geo. III, that we will not levy any taxes or duties in the colonies except for their use.

(3) As to commercial advantages, if the colonial trade were quite free, our commercial relations with the colonies would resemble the intercourse between ourselves and independent countries; and therefore whatever advantages we shall derive from them will be embraced in two questions: (1) whether our commerce with them will be more beneficial than with independent countries; (2) whether the capital employed in them will be more beneficially employed than it would be if employed in the United Kingdom.

Unprofitableness of colonies

With respect to the first question, it is one easily solved, because where the employment of capital is free the net profit that may be obtained by the employment of it in commerce with independent countries will always be as great as if it were employed in the colonial trade. The trade we carry on with the United States proves this.

With respect to the second question, it is necessary to trace the operations of capital when employed in the colonies and when employed at home. In the West India Islands it goes to feed and clothe slaves; to pay British agents, clerks, and managers; to employ ships and sailors; and although the gross profit upon it seems very high when all the charges and risks are

considered, and also the effects of competition, the net profit cannot be greater than it is on capital employed at home.

When capital is employed in the United Kingdom — for instance, on manufactures — it pays wages to English workmen instead of buying clothes and food for slaves; it employs agents, clerks, and managers; it employs ships and sailors to import raw materials and to export the finished goods, and the rate of net profit on it is full as high as that on capital employed in the colonies.

Too many colonies obtained by England in the wars against Napoleon

In settling the conditions of the last treaty of peace it was most unwise to retain so many of the conquered colonies. Trinidad, Demerara, Essequibo, and Tobago were but little advanced in cultivation, a large transfer of capital was necessary for their cultivation, and there was little or no local revenue belonging to them.

At the close of the war the East India Company was anxious to be allowed to have the island of Ceylon, and it is not too late to give it up to them; but as large sums of public money have been expended since the war in adding to its value, the company should repay a large part of them as the condition of becoming masters of this island.

As the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius are of no use except for the defense of the East India Company's possessions, the company ought to be called on to defray all the expense of their military protection; and it is to be hoped that the opportunity which the expiration of the charter of the company will offer, will lead to an arrangement which will secure all these objects.

When peace was made in 1814 the English government wished to let Austria have the Ionian Islands, but France would not agree to this arrangement. There can be no real use in keeping these islands, with Malta and Gibraltar in our hands.

The settlement of Sierra Leone and the military posts on the west coast of Africa should be given up. The public derives no benefit from these possessions, either in a commercial or military point of view; and with respect to the slave trade, the use they are of in contributing to put it down is

so questionable as not to justify the waste of money and of human life which they occasion.

With respect to Canada (including our other possessions on the continent of North America), no case can be made out to show that we should not have every commercial advantage we are supposed now to have, if it were made an independent state. Neither our manufactures, foreign commerce, nor shipping would be injured by such a measure. On the other hand, what has the nation lost by Canada? Fifty or sixty millions have already been expended; the annual charge on the British treasury is full £600,000 a year; and we learn from the second report of the committee of finance, that a plan of fortifying Canada has been for two or three years in progress, which is to cost £3,000,000.

It was not merely English economists and financiers who felt that the bond between the mother country and the colonies was a burden. Many of the colonists, or those who sympathized with them, felt that such a connection was a disadvantage, so long as the home government interfered in the internal affairs of the colonies. The following shrewd observations in a pamphlet, entitled *Responsible Government for the Colonies*, call attention to the fact that no one in England really knew or cared anything about the colonies, except certain obscure clerks in the colonial office, who practically decided all colonial questions that came up.

451. The concentration of power over the colonies in the hands of the lower officials at London

Thus, from the general indifference of parliament on colonial questions, it exercises, in fact, hardly the slightest efficient control over the administration or the making of laws for the colonies. In nine cases out of ten it merely registers the edicts of the colonial offices in Downing Street. It is there, then, that nearly the whole public opinion which influences the conduct of affairs in the colonies really exists. It is there that the supremacy of the mother country really resides; and when we speak of that supremacy, and of the responsibility of

the colony to the mother country, you may, to all practical intents, consider as the mother country — the possessor of this supremacy, the center of this responsibility — the occupants of the large house that forms the end of that *cul-de-sac* so well known by the name of Downing Street. However colonists or others may talk of the crown, the parliament, and the public — of the honour of the first, the wisdom of the second, or the enlightened opinion of the last, — nor queen, nor lords, nor commons, nor the great public itself exercise any power, or will, or thought on the greater part of colonial matters; and the appeal to the mother country is, in fact, an appeal to "The Office." . . .

That mother country which has been narrowed from the British Isles into the parliament, from the parliament into the executive government, from the executive government into the colonial office, is not to be sought in the apartments of the secretary of state or his parliamentary undersecretary. Where you are to look for it, it is impossible to say. In some back room — whether in the attic, or in what story we know not — you will find all the mother country which really exercises supremacy and really maintains connection with the vast and widely scattered colonies of Britain. We know not the name, the history, or the functions of the individual into the narrow limits of whose person we find the mother country shrunk. . . .

The system of intrusting absolute power (for such it is) to one wholly irresponsible is obviously most faulty. . . . It has all the faults of an essentially arbitrary government in the hands of persons who have little personal interest in the welfare of those over whom they rule, who reside at a distance from them, who never have ocular experience of their condition, who are obliged to trust to second-hand and one-sided information, and who are exposed to the operation of all those sinister influences which prevail wherever publicity and freedom are not established.

In intelligence, activity, and regard for the public interests, the permanent functionaries of "The Office" may be superior to the temporary head that the vicissitudes of party politics

give them; but they must necessarily be inferior to those persons in the colony in whose hands the adoption of the true practice of responsible government would vest the management of local affairs.

A turning point in colonial policy was reached in the year 1838. Lord Durham was sent in that year as high commissioner to Upper and Lower Canada, to introduce order after the partial rebellion that had just occurred. Although his high-handed measures led to his recall the next year, he presented a report that was of permanent influence. It recommended practical self-government for Canada and the other colonies, a policy that was little by little subsequently introduced. The following passages are taken from this report, which forms in itself a good-sized volume.

452. Extracts from Lord Durham's report on Canada

On the course which your Majesty and your parliament may adopt, with respect to the North American colonies, will depend the future destinies not only of the million and a half of your Majesty's subjects who at present inhabit those provinces, but of that vast population which those ample and fertile territories are fit and destined hereafter to support. No portion of the American continent possesses greater natural resources for the maintenance of large and flourishing communities. An almost boundless range of the richest soil still remains unsettled and may be rendered available for the purposes of agriculture. The wealth of inexhaustible forests of the best timber in America, and of extensive regions of the most valuable minerals, have as yet been scarcely touched. Along the whole line of seacoast, around each island, and in every river are to be found the greatest and richest fisheries in the world. The best fuel and the most abundant water power are available for the coarser manufactures, for which an easy and certain market will be found.

Trade with other continents is favored by the possession of a large number of safe and spacious harbors. Long, deep,

and numerous rivers and vast inland seas supply the means of easy intercourse, and the structure of the country generally affords the utmost facility for every species of communication by land. Unbounded materials of agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry are there; it depends upon the present decision of the imperial legislature to determine for whose benefit they are to be rendered available. The country which has founded and maintained these colonies at a vast expense of blood and treasure may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population; they are the rightful patrimony of the English people, the ample appanage which God and nature have set aside in the New World for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portions in the Old World. Under wise and free institutions these great advantages may yet be secured to your Majesty's subjects; and a connection secured by the link of kindred origin and mutual benefits may continue to bind to the British empire the ample territories of its North American provinces, and the large and flourishing population by which they will assuredly be filled. . . .

Canadian attraction to the United States

As the general opinion of the American people became more apparent during the course of the last year, the English of Lower Canada were surprised to find how strong, in spite of the first burst of sympathy with a people supposed to be struggling for independence, was the real sympathy of their republican neighbors with the great objects of the minority. Without abandoning their attachment to their mother country, they have begun, as men in a state of uncertainty are apt to do, to calculate the probable consequences of a separation, if it should unfortunately occur, and be followed by an incorporation with the United States.

In spite of the shock which it would occasion their feelings, they undoubtedly think that they should find some compensation in the promotion of their interests; they believe that the influx of American emigration would speedily place the English race in a majority; they talk frequently and loudly of what has occurred in Louisiana, where, by means which they utterly misrepresent, the end, nevertheless, of securing an English

predominance over a French population has undoubtedly been attained; they assert very confidently that the Americans would make a very speedy and decisive settlement of the pretensions of the French; and they believe that, after the first shock of an entirely new political state has been got over, they and their posterity would share in that amazing progress and that great material prosperity which every day's experience shows them is the lot of the people of the United States. I do not believe that such a feeling has yet sapped their strong allegiance to the British empire, but their allegiance is founded on their deep-rooted attachment to British as distinguished from French institutions; and if they find that that authority which they have maintained against its recent assailants is to be exerted in such a manner as to subject them again to what they call a French dominion, I feel perfectly confident that they would attempt to avert the result by courting, on any terms, a union with an Anglo-Saxon people. . . .

Proposal to allow self-government to Canada

It is not by weakening, but strengthening the influence of the people on its government; by confining within much narrower bounds than those hitherto allotted to it, and not by extending the interference of the imperial authorities in the details of colonial affairs, that I believe that harmony is to be restored where dissension has so long prevailed, and a regularity and vigor hitherto unknown introduced into the administration of these provinces. It needs no change in the principles of government, no invention of a new constitutional theory, to supply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution, and introduce into the government of these great colonies those wise provisions by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient.

We are not now to consider the policy of establishing representative government in the North American colonies. That has been irrevocably done; and the experiment of depriving the people of their present constitutional power is not to be thought of. To conduct their government harmoniously, in

accordance with its established principles, is now the business of its rulers; and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way than by administering the government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the crown; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the people in these colonies require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. But the crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions, and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence.

The practical working of parliamentary government in England

In England this principle has been so long considered an indisputable and essential part of our constitution that it has really hardly ever been found necessary to inquire into the means by which its observance is enforced. When a ministry ceases to command a majority in parliament on great questions of policy, its doom is immediately sealed; and it would appear to us as strange to attempt, for any time, to carry on a government by means of ministers perpetually in a minority, as it would be to pass laws with a majority of votes against them. The ancient constitutional remedies, by impeachment and a stoppage of the supplies, have never, since the reign of William III, been brought into operation for the purpose of removing a ministry. They have never been called for, because, in fact, it has been the habit of ministers rather to anticipate the occurrence of an absolutely hostile vote, and to retire, when supported only by a bare and uncertain majority. If colonial legislatures have frequently stopped the supplies, if they have harassed public servants by unjust or harsh impeachments, it was because the removal of an unpopular administration could not be effected in the colonies by those milder indications of a want of confidence, which have always sufficed to attain the end in the mother country.

Every purpose of popular control might be combined with every advantage of vesting the immediate choice of advisers in the crown, were the colonial governor to be instructed to

secure the coöperation of the assembly in his policy, by intrusting its administration to such men as could command a majority; and if he were given to understand that he need count on no aid from home in any difference with the assembly that should not directly involve the relations between the mother country and the colony. This change might be effected by a single dispatch containing such instructions; or, if any legal enactment were requisite, it would only be one that would render it necessary that the official acts of the governor should be countersigned by some public functionary. This would induce responsibility for every act of the government, and, as a natural consequence, it would necessitate the substitution of a system of administration by means of competent heads of departments for the present rude machinery of an executive council.

The means by which self-government may be attained in the colonies

The governor, if he wished to retain advisers not possessing the confidence of the existing assembly, might rely on the effect of an appeal to the people, and, if unsuccessful, he might be coerced by a refusal of supplies, or his advisers might be terrified by the prospect of impeachment. But there can be no reason for apprehending that either party would enter on a contest when each would find its interest in the maintenance of harmony; and the abuse of the powers which each would constitutionally possess would cease when the struggle for larger powers became unnecessary. Nor can I conceive that it would be found impossible or difficult to conduct a colonial government with precisely that limitation of the respective powers which has been so long and so easily maintained in Great Britain. . . .

I admit that the system which I propose would, in fact, place the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves; and that we should thus leave to them the execution of the laws, of which we have long intrusted the making solely to them. Perfectly aware of the value of our colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with the necessity of maintaining our connection with them, I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the mother country.

But few powers should be retained by the mother country

The matters which so concern us are very few. The constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the mother country, the other British colonies, and foreign nations, and the disposal of the public lands are the only points on which the mother country requires a control. This control is now sufficiently secured by the authority of the imperial legislature, by the protection which the colony derives from us against foreign enemies, by the beneficial terms which our laws secure to its trade, and by its share of the reciprocal benefits which would be conferred by a wise system of colonization. A perfect subordination, on the part of the colony, on these points is secured by the advantages which it finds in the continuance of its connection with the empire. It certainly is not strengthened, but greatly weakened, by a vexatious interference on the part of the home government with the enactment of laws for regulating the internal concerns of the colony, or in the selection of the persons intrusted with their execution. The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs; but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so, than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the empire.

Gradually during the latter part of the nineteenth century English public opinion concerning the colonies underwent a change. Of this there are many evidences. The following extracts from an address by William E. Forster, a leading Liberal statesman, furnish an example.

453. An address favoring retention of the colonies (1875)

Ideas are the rulers of the world. First or last they realize themselves, and become the facts of history. If, then, it is to be the prevalent idea in the minds of English-speaking men at home and abroad, that each colony must become an independent nation when it has become powerful enough to protect

itself, we may at once try to reconcile ourselves to the inevitable; give up the hope of continuing to girdle the world with our possessions; strive to convince ourselves that this hope is a foolish dream, that this boasted rule is but a vain show, — a sacrifice of the reality of power to the pretense of *prestige*, — and concentrate all our endeavors in the attempt to propitiate the new nations and obtain from them friendly consideration, as one by one they assert their independence, or, as it were, take up their nationality.

But suppose that, in place of this idea, there comes to prevail another and a very different idea, namely this: that our colonies, when strong enough to be independent, will yet be stronger, more rich, more intelligent, able to be better, if still in union with ourselves; that their inhabitants will have greater opportunities, a wider scope, a possibility of a higher career, if continuing our fellow-countrymen; that, in order to fulfill all the duties of free and civilized and self-governing men, they need not cease to be British citizens; that they may have all the advantages of a nationality without disowning their allegiance; and that as they increase in strength and power, so also shall we. If this, I say, become the prevalent idea, then this will be the idea that will realize itself, and our colonial empire may and will last. . . .

Imperial federation

And this brings us to the practical question: Are there any means by which it is possible that these future commonwealths, when no longer dependent, can be united with us and with one another? I may hasten at once to try to answer this question; for if it can be answered, that argument will also be met which I have already mentioned, namely, that separation would stimulate the colonies to greater progress and would increase their self-reliance. Surely it cannot be denied that if it be possible to replace dependence by association, each member of the federation would find in the common nationality at least as much scope for its aspirations, as much demand for the patriotism and the energy and the self-reliance of its citizens, as it would if trying to obtain a distinct nationality for itself.

But is this federation possible? There are men, even of those who desire it, who think that it is not. This opinion chiefly

depends upon the difficulties of distance. If, however, these difficulties have not prevented the government of a colony from England, why must they prevent the association of self-governing communities with England? . . .

Present need is for a change of ideas not of laws

And now, if any one of you has followed me thus far in the line of thought which I have taken, he will, I think, be ready with the question: If you think the future association possible, if you see no insuperable physical or moral bar to prevent it, in what way do you expect it to be formed? What kind of federation do you propose? My reply is: I am ready with no proposition. I believe any precise proposition would be premature; and for this reason — that as yet no change in our relations is necessary. As Mr. Arthur Mills states, "The present principle of our colonial policy is to ripen these communities to the earliest possible maturity"; and when they have obtained this maturity it will be for us and for them to consider what, under the circumstances then existing, will be the best bond of union. All that is required now is to imbue them and ourselves with the desire that the union should last, with the determination that the empire shall not be broken up; to replace the idea of eventual independence, which means disunion, by that of association on equal terms, which means union. If this be done we need not fear that, at the fitting time, this last idea will not realize itself. . . .

Much of the more recent imperialist feeling has taken the form of patriotic sentiment and has naturally expressed itself in poetry. The following sonnet by Mr. Watson is an instance.

454. *To the Colonies*, a sonnet by William Watson (April, 1885)

Brothers beyond the Atlantic's loud expanse;
And you that rear the innumerable fleece
Far southward 'mid the ocean named of peace;
Britons that past the Indian wave advance
Our name and spirit and world-predominance;
And you our kin that reap the earth's increase
Where crawls that long-backed mountain till it cease,
Crowned with the headland of bright esperance:

Remote compatriots wheresoe'er ye dwell,
By your prompt voices ringing clear and true
We know that with our England all is well:
Young is she yet, her world-task but begun!
By you we know her safe, and know by you
Her veins are millions but her heart is one.

Mr. Swinburne has an ode on the same subject.

455. *England; an Ode*, by Algernon Charles Swinburne

Far and near from the swan's nest here, the storm-birds bred
of her fair white breast,
Sons whose home was the sea-wave's foam, have borne the
fame of her east and west;
North and south has the storm-wind's mouth rung praise of
England and England's quest.

. . . . . .

All our past acclaims our future: Shakespeare's voice and
Nelson's hand,
Milton's faith and Wordsworth's trust in this our chosen and
chainless land,
Bear us witness: come the world against her, England yet shall
stand.

. . . . . .

No man ever spake as he that bade our England be but true,
Keep but faith with England fast and firm, and none should
bid her rue;
None may speak as he: but all may know the sign that Shake-
speare knew.

Change darkens and lightens around her, alternate in hope and
in fear to be:
Hope knows not if fear speak truth, nor fear whether hope be
not blind as she:
But the sun is in heaven that beholds her immortal, and girdled
with life by the sea.

The jubilee of the queen's accession in 1887, and still more the "Diamond Jubilee" of 1897, were occasions

for much imperialist feeling. The following extract from a contemporary newspaper well expresses this.

456. An imperialist article in *The Speaker*, June 26, 1897

To the people of the empire these jubilee rejoicings have brought home a knowledge, not so much of the growth of the greatness of the empire since this reign began, as of the steady growth in our minds of the determination that we shall remain one and indivisible in the ages that lie before us. The old notions about the breaking up of imperial unity and the substitution for it of a group of independent states are dead — not here in London alone, but in Melbourne, Cape Town, Montreal, Calcutta, and Madras. In their place has been formed the still grander idea of an imperial entity in which free communities are held together by the silken cord of love — love for the queen and love for each other.

This double stream of freedom and unity is not one that can be easily realized; but that it is in course of being realized now, and that with its realization the British empire will be placed not only on a grander but a safer pedestal than any empire ever stood upon before, are facts which cannot be disputed, and which none seem less inclined to dispute than the intelligent foreign critics whose remarks upon the national festival of this week have been read in this country with so deep an interest. There is no one among us who is likely at present to need to be reminded that the strongest factor in bringing about the realization of this splendid vision is the universal feeling of devotion to the sovereign who, on Tuesday, sent her thanks and her blessing to the three hundred and fifty millions of men and women whom she rules and loves.

An editorial in an American newspaper, also written in the year 1897, expresses the same recognition of the importance of the colonies to England, and at the same time indicates the growing sympathy and appreciation of the United States for the British empire.

After a long delay imperial federation has become something more than a phrase, almost more than troops and ships.

457. A contemporary judgment, *The New York Times*

The colonies are, next after the queen herself, the central and vital figure of this solemnity. They bring with them pledges from the great daughter states to the mother of them all, — pledges of affection, of fidelity, of political loyalty, of such an imperial solidarity as has been unknown before. It is England's answer to the taunt of splendid isolation, a phrase which her prime minister uttered with pride, and her enemies have ever since echoed as a foreboding of disaster. England, with her colonies and dependencies all over the globe, stretching out their hands to the little island they look to as the fountain of life to these great states and commonwealths, is an empire in something more than name, in something more than military strength. There is between them all, to borrow the words of Mr. Gladstone, "a union of hearts." That, as we take it, is the true meaning and significance of the queen's Diamond Jubilee.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL CHANGES AND THE GREAT WAR

I. Social Legislation

In the extensive program of legislation undertaken by the Liberal party upon its return to power in 1906, for assuming social responsibility for industrial dangers besetting the individual worker, there is probably no measure more important or more characteristic than the National Insurance Act of 1911. Its voluminous and technical details are clearly summarized by L. G. Chiozza Money, a member of parliament prominent in the formulation of the bill and of similar measures.

458. Summary of the National Insurance Act of 1911

That part of the title of the National Insurance Act which relates to Health Insurance runs as follows: "An Act to provide for Insurance against Loss of Health and for the Prevention and Cure of Sickness," and that is an excellent statement of the aim, object and effect of this great law.

Sources of funds: employees, employers, and the government

By far the greater part of the British working population is compulsorily insured against loss of health. . . . The scheme is compulsory, both in respect of employers and employed. The employer has to deduct 4*d.* in the case of a man and 3*d.* in the case of a woman from the weekly wage of each worker in his employ. He is compelled himself to pay 3*d.* per week for each worker, male or female, in his employ. To enable him to make the deductions and to pay his own contributions with facility, the employer is enabled to purchase at the Post Office special stamps, which he affixes, week by week, to his employees' Insurance Cards.

The purchase of the stamps, in its turn, effects economically the transfer of the insurance contributions to the State. As the insurance stamps are specially designed, the Postmaster-General is able to earmark accurately the sums collected by him on account of the Health Insurance, and hands them over to the Central State Insurance authority — the Insurance Commissioners.

The health scheme has a voluntary as well as a compulsory side. All working people who do not work for an employer, and whose incomes from all sources do not exceed £160 a year [the maximum for compulsory insurance also], are allowed to come under the national system, on condition that they pay the equivalent of an employer's contribution as well as their own. That is to say, a male voluntary contributor pays 7*d.* a week; a female 6*d.* a week.

For both compulsory and voluntary contributors the limits of age are 16 to 65 years. Employed persons over 65 and below the Old Age Pension age of 70 are provided with a modified scheme.

In view of the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Act, both the contributions and the money benefits cease at 70 years of age. The medical benefits, however, are continued throughout life, although contributions cease at 70.

The contributions remain the same, whatever the age of the entrant into insurance. This flat rate of contribution irrespective of age is designed to place all existing workers on an equal insurance footing, so far as that is possible, at the beginning of the Act's operations. The age factor is eliminated, and for practical purposes every man and woman becomes of a single insurance age, *viz.*, 16 years. The Insurance Fund as a whole bears the burden of this elimination of the preliminary age factor, and it is estimated that the burden will be wiped out in about 18 years. When those 18 years have elapsed it will be possible to pay increased benefits for the same contributions.

As time goes on, of course, all workers will join the system as insured persons at 16 years of age.

The entire nation is also made a contributor to the Insurance Fund, in addition to the insured workers and the employers of insured workers. The Act provides that the insurance funds shall be derived as to seven-ninths (or for women, three-fourths)

from employers and employed, and as to the remaining two-ninths (or for women, one-fourth) from moneys provided by Parliament. As the men's contribution is specified at 7*d.* and the women's at 6*d.*, it follows that the State contribution is broadly the equivalent of 2*d.* per week for each contributor.

From the Insurance Fund so provided, certain benefits are paid to the insured. There is a certain list of Minimum Benefits which every normally insured person normally receives. There is a further list of Additional Benefits which will certainly be enjoyed by many of the insured.

Benefits of sickness insurance

The Minimum Benefits are as follows: —

(*a*) "Medical Benefit." This consists of free medical attendance and free medicine throughout life. The doctor is to treat and prescribe, and the medicine is to be supplied by duly qualified chemists. The benefit is administered by the Insurance Committees [see below].

(*b*) "Sickness Benefit." This is a money payment during incapacity for work caused by sickness. The benefit is 10*s.* a week for men, and 7*s.* 6*d.* a week for women, up to a maximum period of 26 weeks. Administration is by the Approved Societies of insured persons formed under the Act [see below]. Sickness Benefit ceases at 70.

(*c*) "Disablement Benefit." This is a continuation of sickness benefit at the lower rate of 5*s.* per week for both men and women. It begins with the 27th week of certified incapacity, and continues as long as may be necessary, up to the 70th year of age. This benefit also is administered by the Approved Societies, *i. e.*, by the insured persons themselves.

(*d*) "Maternity Benefit." This consists of a payment of 30*s.*, in cash or in kind, towards the expenses of confinement. It is payable both to insured women and to the uninsured wives of insured men. A compulsorily insured woman receives it in addition to sickness benefit, which means that she gets, in effect, a maternity benefit of £3. This benefit also is administered by the Approved Societies.

(*e*) "Sanatorium Benefit." This consists of special institutional treatment of consumptives in sanatoria, and may be continued for an indefinite period. It is administered by Insurance

Committees. While an insured person is in a sanatorium, sickness or disablement benefit is paid to his dependents.

The Additional Benefits include: medical benefit for dependents, dental treatment, increased sick or disablement pay, convalescent pay, old age pensions at an earlier age than 70, benevolent payments, &c. Some of these will certainly be enjoyed by the whole body of insured after the expiration of the 18 years during which the preliminary burden of insuring persons of all ages at a flat rate is paid off. Well-managed societies may enjoy them in the course of a few years. . . .

Local agencies for administering sickness insurance

The local management of the system is entrusted to democratic bodies termed by the Act "Approved Societies." Every possible proper latitude is allowed to enable existing thrift institutions, especially Friendly Societies properly so-called, and Trade Unions, to become Approved Societies. Indeed, the Approved Society system is the outcome of recognizing and adapting existing Health Insurance institutions. All existing Friendly Societies and Trade Unions, however large and however small, may obtain approval under certain conditions which secure the safety and businesslike insurance of their members. . . . A society like a Trade Union, which has other objects than to give sickness benefits, may become an Approved Society by keeping separate accounts relating to the National Health Insurance, and by keeping that part of its work distinct. . . .

A second important local insurance institution is set up by the Act, in addition to the Approved Societies which enrol the insured, manage the money benefits, and form the essential framework of the system. This second local institution is of great importance. In each County and County Borough an "Insurance Committee" is to be formed to safeguard the health of all insured persons within its area.

The Insurance Committees will have the following functions: —

(*a*) They will administer both the Medical and Sanatorium benefits in their areas, making the necessary contracts with doctors and chemists.

(*b*) With regard to the Deposit Contributors, they will administer all benefits.

(*c*) They will generally supervise health conditions within their areas, keeping proper sickness books, classifying the deposit contributors, and making suggestions, if they think well, to Local Authorities.

(*d*) They will disseminate knowledge of hygiene, publishing useful information and advice, and organizing lectures and classes.

(*e*) They will have power, in cases where excessive sickness occurs, to ask the persons or authorities responsible for the excess to repay them the extra expenditure which they have been occasioned by the excess, and if the request is refused they have power to demand a public inquiry. If at the inquiry they prove their case, the defaulting person or authority must repay them what are, in effect, damages.

With regard to this last provision as to excessive sickness, it should be added that the same power of demand for damages or public inquiry is given by the Act to the Approved Societies, and also to the board of central control.

. . . . . .

Unemployment insurance

The scheme [for unemployment insurance] has two sides, the first a compulsory insurance, the second an aid to voluntary insurance.

The compulsory or main scheme is, in view of the experimental character of the work, confined to what may be broadly described as the building and engineering groups of trades. As these employ about 2,500,000 workpeople, however, the scheme, although limited, is on a large scale. These two particular groups are chosen because of the extreme irregularity of the employment they afford.

Sources of funds: employers, employees, and the government

An Unemployment Fund is established for the relief of these 2,500,000 compulsorily insured persons by contributions from the employer, the employed, and the State, which are normally as follows:

	d.	
The employer pays	$2\frac{1}{2}$	per worker per week
The employee pays	$2\frac{1}{2}$	per week
The State adds a sum equal to one-sixth of the joint contribution of employer and workman, *viz.* .	$1\frac{2}{3}$	per worker per week
Total . . .	$6\frac{2}{3}$	per worker per week

In unemployment no contribution is paid by the workman.

Compulsion is effected, as in the case of the National Health Insurance, by compelling the employer to pay the joint contribution of himself and his workman, and giving him power to deduct the workman's share from wages.

Benefits

It is believed that these contributions will be sufficient to provide for the insured workman, in unemployment (after the first week) a Money Benefit of 7*s.* per week up to a maximum of 15 weeks in any 12 months.

The workman becomes eligible for Benefit in unemployment after having paid 26 contributions.

Agencies for administering unemployment insurance: the Board of Trade and the Labor Exchanges

The administrators of the scheme are the Board of Trade, working through the Labour Exchanges. To these an Unemployment Officer will be appointed to receive claims. The Labour Exchange provides an automatic means of checking claims, since the workman, who has to go to it for his Benefit, must either be provided with suitable work by the Exchange or given his Benefit. The Exchange will thus, in effect, give either work or out-of-work pay. The main condition of receiving Unemployment Benefit is that the man must be capable of work, but unable to obtain it. The Labour Exchange will be in the best possible position to judge of that, since the workman if properly claiming benefit will be registered as unemployed.

The workman is protected from acting as blackleg in labour disputes. Ordinarily, of course, he must take suitable work if offered him by the Exchange, but he can decline to interfere in a strike or lock-out and draw his Unemployment Benefit as though no job were available.

Similarly with regard to rates of wages. A workman can refuse a job at less wages than he customarily receives without losing his right to Benefit.

When a Trade Union pays Unemployment Benefit it can administer the State scheme for its members instead of the Labour Exchange, drawing from the Board of Trade the funds for the purpose.

The Unemployment scheme is designed to reduce as well as to alleviate unemployment. Prevention is, of course, impossible under present conditions, but certain provisions are introduced

to encourage regularity as much as may be. The chief of these is that when an employer shows that he has employed a man continuously for a year, he can recover one-third of the contributions he has paid in respect of the man, *i.e.*, one-third of 10*s.* 10*d.*

It remains to describe broadly the second or voluntary side of the Insurance scheme.

Voluntary insurance encouraged through trade unions

This consists in encouraging Trade Unions in *any* Trade to arrange schemes of Unemployment Benefit for their members. If they do so they may be granted by the State, out of moneys provided by Parliament (*not* out of the Unemployment Insurance Fund), one-sixth of what they pay out, up to a maximum benefit of 12*s.* a week.

The adoption of a new and far-reaching program such as that embodied in the National Insurance Act and other measures of like nature was accompanied, of course, by extensive discussion both hostile and friendly. Most of the arguments against such legislation centered around the ideas expressed in the following extract from a speech by Lord Rosebery at the University of Glasgow, in 1908.

459. Lord Rosebery's argument against socialleglsla-tion as impairing self-reliance

I would, then, have self-reliance, the quality for which Scots were famous but which is being daily sapped, the principle for which Chalmers in this very city made so gallant a fight — I would have self-reliance as the assay-mark of this University. It is by self-reliance, humanly speaking, by the independence which has been the motive and impelling force of our race, that the Scots have thriven, in India and in Canada, in Australia and New Zealand, and even in England, where at different periods they were banned.

As things are, we in Scotland do not take much or even ask much from the State. But the State invites us every day to lean upon it. I seem to hear the wheedling and alluring whisper, "Sound you may be; we bid you be a cripple. Do you see? Be blind. Do you hear? Be deaf. Do you walk? Be not so venturesome. Here is a crutch for one arm; when you get accustomed to it, you will soon want another — the sooner the

better." The strongest man if encouraged may soon accustom himself to the methods of an invalid; he may train himself to totter, or to be fed with a spoon.

The ancient sculptors represent Hercules leaning on his club; our modern Hercules would have his club elongated and duplicated and resting under his arms. The lesson of our Scottish teaching was "level up": the cry of modern civilization is "level down": "let the government have a finger in every pie," probing, propping, disturbing. Every day the area for initiative is being narrowed, every day the standing ground for self-reliance is being undermined; every day the public infringes — with the best intentions, no doubt — on the individual; the nation is being taken into custody by the State.

Can the current be stemmed?

Perhaps this current cannot now be stemmed; agitation or protest may be alike unavailing. The world rolls on. It may be part of its destiny, a necessary phase in its long evolution, a stage in its blind, toilsome progress to an invisible goal. I neither affirm nor deny; all in the long run is doubtless for the best. But, speaking as a Scotsman to Scotsmen, I plead for our historical character, for the maintenance of those sterling national qualities which have meant so much to Scotland in the past. I should like, at least, to think that in one powerful city youth was being reared to know that most of what a man has to do in the world he must do for himself. I should like to think that there was here being taught [that] empire rests on the character of the nation that aspires to it; and that the British Empire, greater than the Roman, requires at least Roman character to maintain it; that if the Empire, a glorious but weighty burden, is to be worthily sustained, it must be by husbanding our resources, and equipping our people both in character and attainment for their task. It was not by leaning on State support that Drake or Raleigh or Hastings succeeded, but by relying on themselves in despite of their government. It was self-reliance that built the Empire; it is by self-reliance, and all that that implies, that it must be welded and continued.

The case for the new policy of social responsibility, on the other hand, was set forth with characteristic vigor by

David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in connection with his defense of his budget proposals in 1909.

460. Lloyd George's defense of social legislation (in House of Commons, April 29, 1909)

I come to the consideration of the social problems which are urgently pressing for solution — problems affecting the lives of the people. . . . There are hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in this country now enduring hardships for which the sternest judge would not hold them responsible; hardships entirely due to circumstances over which they have not the slightest command; the fluctuations and changes of trade — even of fashions; ill health and the premature breakdown or death of the breadwinner. Owing to events of this kind, all of them beyond human control — at least beyond the control of the victims — thousands (and I am not sure I should be wrong if I said millions) are precipitated into a condition of acute distress and poverty. How many people there are of this kind in this wealthy land the figures of old-age pensions have thrown a very unpleasant light upon. Is it fair, is it just, is it humane, is it honourable, is it safe to subject such a multitude of our poor fellow-countrymen and countrywomen to continued endurance of these miseries until nations have learnt enough wisdom not to squander their resources on these huge machines for the destruction of human life? I have no doubt as to the answer which will be given to that question by a nation as rich in humanity as it is in store. . . .

Causes of poverty beyond the control of individuals

What are the dominating causes of poverty amongst the industrial classes? For the moment I do not refer to the poverty which is brought about by a man's own fault. I am only alluding to causes over which he has no control. Old age, premature breakdown in health and strength, the death of the breadwinner, and unemployment due either to the decay of industries and seasonal demands, or the fluctuations or depressions in trade. . . . Nothing that a government can do, at any rate with the present organization of society, can prevent the fluctuations and the changes in trade and industry which produce unemployment. A trade decays, and the men who are engaged in it are thrown out of work. We have had an illustration within the last few

days, to which Lord Rosebery has so opportunely called our attention, in the privation suffered by the horse-cab driver, owing to the substitution of mechanical for horse traction. That is only one case out of many constantly happening in every country. Then there are the fluctuations of business which at one moment fill a workshop with orders which even overtime cannot cope with, and at another moment leave the same workshop with rusting machinery for lack of something to do. Trade has its currents, and its tides, and its storms, and its calms, like the sea, which seem to be almost just as little under human control, or, at any rate, just as little under the control of the victims of these changes; and to say that you can establish by any system an absolute equilibrium in the trade and concerns of the country is to make a promise which no man of intelligence would ever undertake to honour. You might as well promise to flatten out the Atlantic Ocean. But still, it is poor seamanship that puts out to sea without recognising its restlessness, and the changefulness of the weather, and the perils and suffering thus produced. These perils of trade depression come at regular intervals, and every time they arrive they bring with them an enormous amount of distress. It is the business of statesmanship to recognise that fact and to address itself with courage and resolution to provide against it.

Good statesmanship comparable to good seamanship

Not without significance is the point of view of a veteran labor leader, Will Crooks, who had himself as a worker encountered many of the hardships which the government by its social legislation was seeking to ameliorate. The following argument was directed in particular against the opponents of old-age pensions.

461. A labor member of parliament on old-age pensions (July 9, 1908)

[After alluding sarcastically to charges by fellow members of parliament that the aged pensioners would waste their meager pensions on beer, he asked:] Who amongst you has such a clear record as to be able to point to the iniquity and wickedness of an old man of seventy? I said before, and I repeat it, if a man is foolish enough to get old, and if he has not been artful enough to get rich, you have no right to punish him for it. It

Justice in place of charity demanded for the veterans of creative industry

is no business of yours. It is sufficient for you to know he has grown old. After all, who are these old men and women? . . . They are the veterans of industry, people of almost endless toil, who have fought for and won the industrial and commercial supremacy of Great Britain. Is their lot and end to be the Bastille of the everlasting slur of pauperism? We claim these pensions as a right. Ruskin, I think, read you a little homily on the subject — "Even a labourer serves his country with his spade and shovel as the statesman does with his pen, or the soldier with his sword." He has a right to some consideration from the State. Here in a country rich beyond description there are people poverty-stricken beyond description. There can be no earthly excuse for the condition of things which exists in this country to-day. If it be necessary to have a strong Army and Navy to protect the wealth of the nation, do not let us forget that it is the veterans of industry who have created that wealth; and let us accept this as an instalment to bring decency and comfort to our aged men and women.

II. The Budget and the Parliament Act

The most serious obstacle in the way of social legislation was the question of finance. The budget of 1909 was intended to meet this need, but it was vigorously opposed, especially by the peers, whose attacks brought on a serious conflict between the two houses of parliament. The more important features of the budget, and its relation to the government's general legislative program, are set forth in the following extracts from the budget speech of David Lloyd George, upon whom, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, fell the main responsibility for formulating the government's financial policy and for championing it in the House of Commons.

The income tax, imposed originally as a temporary expedient, is now in reality the centre and sheet anchor of our financial

system. The principles of graduation and differentiation, the apportionment of the burden as between different classes of taxpayers, . . . are already recognized. . . . It remains to complete the system by extending the application of these principles.

462. Tax proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (from the budget speech of April 29, 1909)

In the case of incomes not exceeding £500, the pressure of the tax, notwithstanding the abatements at present allowed, is sorely felt by taxpayers who have growing families to support. . . . I propose that for all incomes under £500, in addition to the existing abatements, there shall be allowed from the income in respect of which the tax is paid a special abatement of £10 for every child under the age of 16 years. . . . [He next proposes a "supertax upon large incomes," and continues:] While therefore I propose to limit the tax to incomes exceeding £5,000, I propose to levy it upon the amount by which such incomes exceed £3,000, and at the rate of 6*d.* in the £ upon the amount of such excess. An income of £5,001 will thus pay in supertax 6*d.* in the £ on £2,001. . . .

Supertax on large incomes

The proposals I have to make with regard to the death duties [inheritance taxes] are of a very simple character. The great reconstruction of these duties in 1894 . . . has given us a scheme of taxation which is at once logical and self-consistent as a system and a revenue-producing machine of very high efficiency. . . . I intend to confine my attention to adjusting the rates with a view to increasing the yield without altering the basis on which the duties are levied. The estate duties upon small estates of which the net principal value does not exceed £5,000 will remain at one, two or three per cent., according to value as at present; but between £5,000 and £1,000,000 I propose to shorten the steps and steepen the gradation. I do not propose to increase the maximum of 15 per cent, but I propose it should be reached at £1,000,000 instead of £3,000,000. . . .

Higher inheritance tax

Now I come to the question of land. The first question that is borne in upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer who examines land as a subject for taxation is this: that in order to do justice he must draw a broad distinction between land whose value is purely agricultural in its character and composition, and land which has a special value attached to it owing either to the fact of its covering marketable mineral deposits or because of its

Basis of land taxes: the "unearned increment"

proximity to any concentration of people. . . . It is undoubtedly one of the worst evils of our present system of land tenure that instead of reaping the benefit of the common endeavour of its citizens a community has always to pay a heavy penalty to its ground landlords for putting up the value of their land. . . . The urban landlord and the mineral royalty owner are invariably rack-renters. They extort the highest and the heaviest ground rent or royalty they can obtain on the sternest commercial principles. . . . [After citing instances of private fortunes acquired or enormously increased by virtue of the establishment of public works and the growth of communities, the speaker continued:] And yet, although the landlord, without any exertion of his own, is now in these cases in receipt of an income in many cases ten or even a hundred-fold of what he was in the habit of receiving when the properties were purely agricultural in their character, and although he is in addition to that released from all the heavy financial obligations which are attached to the ownership of this land as agricultural property, he does not contribute a penny out of his income towards the local expenditure of the community which has thus made his wealth, in the words of John Stuart Mill, "whilst he was slumbering." Is it too much, is it unfair, is it inequitable, that Parliament should demand a special contribution from these fortunate owners towards the defence of the country and the social needs of the unfortunate in the community, whose efforts have so materially contributed to the opulence which they are enjoying?

Some bad effects of holding land for "unearned increment"

There is another aspect of this matter. . . . Land which is essential to the free and healthy development of towns is being kept out of the market in order to enhance its value. . . . You will find, as a rule, your town or village huddled in one corner of the map, dwellings jammed together as near as the law of the land will permit, with an occasional courtyard, into which the sunlight rarely creeps, but with nothing that would justify the title of "garden." For it is the interest of the landlord to pile together on the land every scrap of bricks and mortar that the law will allow. And yet outside square miles of land [are] unoccupied, or at least unbuilt upon; land in the town seems to be let by the grain, as if it were radium. . . . You cannot help feeling

how much healthier and happier the community could have been made in these towns and villages if they had been planned on more spacious and rational principles.

The same observations apply to the case of mineral royalties. There all the expenditure is incurred by the capitalist, who runs the risk of losing his capital, while the miner risks his life. . . .

My present proposals [as to land taxes]. . . are three in number.

A 20 per cent tax on "unearned increment"

First, it is proposed to levy a tax on the increment of value accruing to land from the enterprise of the community, or the landowner's neighbours. . . . The valuations, upon the difference between which the tax will be chargeable, will be valuations of the land itself — apart from buildings and other improvements — and of this difference, the strictly unearned increment, we propose to take one-fifth, or 20 per cent, for the State. . . .

Special tax on undeveloped land held for speculative purposes

The second proposal relating to land is the imposition of a tax on the capital value of all land which is not used to the best advantage. The owner of valuable land which is required, or likely in the near future to be required, for building purposes, who contents himself with an income therefrom wholly incommensurate with the capital value of the land in the hope of recouping himself ultimately in the shape of an increased price, is in a similar position to the investor in securities who re-invests the greater part of his dividends; but while the latter is required to pay income tax both upon the portion of the dividends enjoyed and also upon the portion re-invested, the former escapes taxation upon his accumulating capital altogether, and this although the latter by his self-denial is increasing the wealth of the community, while the former, by withholding from the market land which is required for housing or industry, is creating a speculative inflation of values which is socially mischievous.

We propose to redress this anomaly by charging an annual duty of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the £ on the capital value of undeveloped land. The same principle applies to ungotten minerals, which we propose similarly to tax at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the £, calculated upon the price which the mining rights might be expected to realise if sold in open market at the date of valuation. The tax on undeveloped land will be charged upon unbuilt-on land only, and . . . all land having a purely agricultural value will be exempt.

Further exemptions will be made in favor of gardens and pleasure grounds not exceeding an acre in extent, and parks, gardens, and open spaces which are open to the public as of right, or to which reasonable access is granted to the public, where that access is recognized by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue as contributing to the amenity of the locality. . . .

Reversion duty

My third proposal under the head of land is a 10 per cent reversion duty upon any benefit accruing to a lessor from the determination of lease, the value of the benefit to be taken to be the amount (if any) by which the total value of the land at the time the lease falls in exceeds the value of the consideration for the grant of the lease. . . .

I have to thank the House for the very great indulgence which they have extended to me and for the patience with which they have listened to me. My task has been an extraordinarily difficult one. It has been as disagreeable a task as could well have been allotted to any Minister of the Crown. But there is one element of supreme satisfaction in it. That is to be found in contemplating the objects for which these new imposts have been created. The money thus raised is to be expended first of all in insuring the inviolability of our shores. It is essential that we should make every necessary provision for the defence of our country. But surely it is equally imperative that we should make it a country even better worth defending for all and by all. And it is that this expenditure is for both those purposes that alone could justify the Government. I am told that no Chancellor of the Exchequer has ever been called on to impose such heavy taxes in a time of peace. This, Mr. Emmott, is a War Budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have advanced a great step towards that good time when poverty, and wretchedness and human degradation which always follow in its camp, will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests.

A budget for making war on poverty

The following passage from a speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Limehouse, July 30, besides throwing

light on his ideas of taxation, is typical of his versatile oratory to which may be attributed in no small measure his remarkable political power.

463. A popular speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in defense of his budget (July 30, 1909)

The ownership of land is not merely an enjoyment, it is a stewardship. (Cheers.) . . . If they [the landlords] cease to discharge those functions [of stewardship], the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which land is held in this country. (Loud cheers.) No country, however rich, can permanently afford to have quartered upon its revenue a class which declines to do the duty which it was called upon to perform. (Hear, hear.) . . . They are now protesting against paying their fair share of the taxation of the land, and they are doing so by saying: "You are burdening the community; you are putting burdens upon the people which they cannot bear." Ah! they are not thinking of themselves. (Laughter.) Noble souls! (Laughter.) It is not the great dukes they are feeling for, it is the market gardener (laughter), it is the builder, and it was, until recently, the small holder. (Hear, hear.) In every debate in the House of Commons, they said: "We are not worrying for ourselves. We can afford it with our broad acres; but just think of the little man who has only got a few acres"; and we were so very impressed with this tearful appeal that at last we said, "We will leave him out." (Cheers.) And I almost expected to see Mr. Pretyman [the Unionist who proposed the change] jump over the table and say, "Fall on my neck and embrace me." (Loud laughter.) Instead of that, he stiffened up, his face wreathed with anger, and he said, "The Budget is more unjust than ever." (Laughter and cheers.) Oh! no. We are placing the burdens on the broad shoulders. (Cheers.) Why should I put burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. (Loud and prolonged cheering, and a voice, "Bravo, David; stand by the people and they will stand by you.") I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials; and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxiety which they bear with such patience and fortitude. (Cheers.) When the Prime Minister did me the honour of inviting me to take charge of the National Exchequer (a voice, "He knew

what he was about," and laughter) at a time of great difficulty, I made up my mind, in framing the Budget which was in front of me, that at any rate no cupboard should be bared (loud cheers), no lot would be made harder to bear. (Cheers.) By that test, I challenge them to judge the Budget. (Loud and long-continued cheers, during which the right honourable gentleman resumed his seat. Afterwards the audience rose and sang, "For he's a jolly good fellow.")

No cupboard to be bared

In the two succeeding extracts from speeches by Lord Lansdowne and Winston Churchill are presented interesting points of view as well as illustrations of the extreme bitterness of the controversy over the budget of 1909.

464. Lord Lansdowne's attack on Lloyd George and his budget (August 7, 1909)

When you find the Chancellor of the Exchequer accusing these London landlords of rapacity, of blackmailing, of extortion, you would expect that Mr. Lloyd George would announce a Bill for the protection of London tenants against extortionate landlords. But he does nothing of the kind. He comes forward and says, "Take your plunder, go away with it, only I must have my share out of it." (Laughter and cheers.) At this time of the year I often spend my holidays in the West of Ireland, and I sometimes see a very interesting sight — a flock of seagulls preying upon the fish. There is a particular kind of gull, particularly voracious and unscrupulous, who does not fish for himself, but hovers about and swoops down upon the other bird and makes him let go his mackerel or herring. I have never heard that the fish were grateful to that particular species of gull. (Laughter.) I am told that the name of that bird (a voice, "Lloyd George," and laughter) — well, the name of my bird is a word derived from the Greek, which literally interpreted means "swooping robber bird." (Laughter.)

The robber gull

465. Winston Churchill's defense of the budget (September 4, 1909)

The Budget, and the policy of the Budget, is the first conscious attempt on the part of the state to build up a better and a more scientific organization of society for the workers of the country. . . . But there is another significance of the highest importance which attaches to the Budget, I mean the new attitude of the state towards wealth. Formerly the only question

of the tax-gatherer was, "How much have you got?" We ask that question still (laughter and cheers), and there is a general feeling, recognized as just by all parties, that the rate of taxation should be greater for large incomes than for small. . . . But now a new question has arisen. We do not only ask today, "How much have you got?"; we also ask, "How did you get it? (Cheers.) Did you earn it by yourself, or has it just been left you by others; was it gained by processes which are in themselves beneficial to the community in general, or was it gained by processes which have done no good to any one but only harm; was it gained by the enterprise and capacity necessary to found a business, or merely by squeezing and bleeding the owner and founder of the business; was it gained by supplying the capital which industry needs, or by denying, except at an extortionate price, the land which industry requires; was it derived from active reproductive processes, or merely by squatting on some piece of necessary land till enterprise and labour and natural interests and municipal interests had to buy you out at 50 times the agricultural value; was it gained from opening new minerals to the service of man, or sucking a mineral royalty from the toil of others; was it gained by the curious process of using political influence, . . . thereby pocketing a monopoly value which properly belongs to the state — how did you get it?" That is the new question which has been postulated and which is vibrating in penetrating repetition through the land.

"How did you get it?"

The rejection of the budget of 1909 by the House of Lords after its acceptance by the House of Commons brought to a head a long-standing controversy between the two Houses. During an earlier phase of the controversy (in 1907) a prominent spokesman of the Liberal government had set forth the main arguments that were later repeated in varying forms.

The right honourable Gentleman opposite said he welcomes this contest with great confidence. I wonder if honourable Members opposite realise, to use an expressive vulgarism, what they

466. Winston Churchill's attack on the House of Lords (in House of Commons, June 25, 1907)

are "letting themselves in for" when this question comes to be fought out on every platform in every constituency in the country. They will not have to defend an ideal second chamber; they will not be able to confine themselves to airy generalities about a bi-cameral system and its advantages; they will have to defend this second chamber as it is — one-sided, hereditary, unpurged, unrepresentative, irresponsible, absentee. They will have to defend it with all its anomalies, all its absurdities, and all its personal bias; they will have to defend it with all its achievements that have darkened the pages of the history of England. And let me say that considerable constitutional authorities have not considered that the policy on which we have embarked in moving this Resolution is unreasonable. Mr. Bagehot says of the House of Lords: — "It may lose its veto as the Crown has lost its veto. If most of its members neglect their duties, if all its members continue to be of one class, and that not quite the best; if its doors are shut against genius that cannot found a family, and ability which has not £5,000 a year, its power will be less year by year, and at last be gone, as so much kingly power is gone — no one knows how."

Bagehot's *English Constitution* quoted on hereditary political power

. . . . . .

A sarcastic reference to religious inequality

There is one other feature in the House of Lords which the Conservative Party will have to exercise their ingenuity in defending in the next few years — I allude to the presence in that body of those interesting Lords Spiritual. By what violation of all ideas of religious equality the leaders of one denomination only should be represented I do not pause to inquire; but no doubt when such very delicate and ticklish questions as Chinese labour and the prevalence of intemperance, and great questions of war and the treatment of native races beyond the seas come up, it is a very convenient thing to have the Bishops in the House of Lords in order to make quite sure that official Christianity shall be on the side of the upper classes. . . .

The House of Lords as it at present exists and acts is not a national institution, but a party dodge, an apparatus and instrument at the disposal of one political faction. . . . Great changes in a community are very often unperceived; the focus of reality

moves from one institution to another, and almost imperceptibly. Sometimes the forms of institutions remain almost the same in all ceremonial aspects, and yet there will be one institution which under pretentious forms is only the husk of reality, and another which under a humble name is in fact the operative pivot of the social system. Constitutional writers have much to say about the estates of the realm, and a great deal to say about their relation to each other and to the Sovereign. All that is found to be treated upon at length. But they say very little about the party system. And after all, the party system is the dominant fact in our experience. . . . To place such a weapon as the House of Lords in the hands of one of the parties is to doom the other to destruction. I do not speak only from the party point of view, although it explains the earnestness with which we approach this question. It is a matter of life and death to Liberalism and Radicalism. It is a question of our life or the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords. But look at it from a national point of view. Think of its injury to the smooth working of a Liberal Government. At the present time a Liberal Government, however powerful, cannot look far ahead, cannot impart design into its operations, because it knows that if at any moment its vigour falls below a certain point, another body, over which it has no control, is ready to strike it a blow to its most serious injury. It comes to this, that no matter how great the majority by which a Liberal Government is supported, it is unable to pass any legislation unless it can procure the agreement of its political opponents.

Control of the House of Lords by Conservatives a menace to party government

A result of the controversy was the enactment of an important constitutional measure specifically defining the relations between the two Houses.

467. The Parliament Act of 1911

Whereas it is expedient that provision should be made for regulating the relations between the two Houses of Parliament:

And whereas it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation:

Hereditary chamber later to be reformed

468. Lord Rosebery's Glasgow speech (September 10, 1909)

I cannot help thinking the Government is dallying with Socialism. (Cheers.) Had I any doubt on that point, some ministerial speeches in support of the budget would have removed that doubt, because they are Socialistic speeches appealing for Socialistic support to a budget which in its spirit is Socialistic. Had I any doubt it would be removed by the joyful acceptance with which the proposals of the Government and the speeches of the Government have been received and hailed in Socialist circles, and if you get the votes of the Socialists you cannot shake yourself free from their compromising embraces. . . . I think my friends are moving on the path that leads to Socialism. How far they are advanced on that path I will not say, but on that path I, at any rate, cannot follow them an inch. (Loud cheers.) Any form of protection is an evil, but Socialism is the end of all, the negation of faith, of family, of property, of monarchy, of empire.

He forsakes his party because of its socialistic tendencies

469. The bishop of Southwark on interest in socialism (1909)

In these times, when every day, in every company, the topic of Socialism is foremost in the minds of men, I wish we could resolutely distinguish between questions which concern municipalisation or nationalisation, or what not, of means of employment, and other questions involving the steady, quiet increase of action of the state in an administrative way.

470. View of a venerable Liberal statesman and writer (Lord Morley, in House of Lords, 1909)

It is argued that you will vote for this Amendment [rejecting the budget passed by the House of Commons] because you want to arrest Socialism. . . . The skilled artisans of this country, aye, and many more than they, are not men wearing the Phrygian cap. No, they are not "Reds." Then, what is it you are so afraid of under your designation of "Socialism?" Suppose I am wrong. Suppose that a dangerous Socialistic tide is running, then I put this question to your Lordships: Is it wisdom, is it political sagacity, does it show that circumspection which we have a right to look for in this House, to take ground which must, however unfounded you declare that it is, and however unfounded it may be, expose you to the charge that you are straining the Constitution, and straining it as champions of the rich against the poor? Electioneering is rough and ready work. I should have thought it was well worthy of the consideration

of the noble Marquess [of Lansdowne] and his friends, whether, if you be right and if there be a dangerous tide of Socialism running, and going to run, it is wise of you to take up a position which exposes you to a suspicion and a charge of that kind. My own view about the present aspects of Socialism is that there is, as the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack said the other night, a great feeling prevailing quite beyond the lines of Party in this country at present of pity, of sympathy, and of horror at the miseries which our industrial system entails. We all feel it. I have never, I think, in my life heard a more moving speech than I heard in this House from the Bishop of Southwark when he was talking about the word "unemployable," and about people describing the unemployed as unemployable. A more noble vindication of this emotion of pity and sympathy I have never heard, and it is sound.

There will, no doubt, be foolish proposals made by the pitiful and sympathetic, whether politicians or philanthropists outside politics — there will be proposals made, if you like, full of charlatanry and full of quackery. But, anyhow, it is inevitable to anybody who has followed the course of movements of a Socialistic kind in France and other countries that you should have these experiments tried. My own hope, my own conviction, is that at the end of these experiments there will be left behind a fertile and fertilising residue of good.

471. A satire on party differences, from Galsworthy's play *The Silver Box* [1]

(Conversation between Mr. Barthwick, a member of parliament, and his wife at their breakfast table.)

BARTHWICK. [*From behind his paper.*] The Labour man has got in at the by-election for Barnside, my dear.

MRS. BARTHWICK. Another Labour? I can't think what on earth the country is about.

BARTHWICK. I predicted it. It's not a matter of vast importance.

MRS. BARTHWICK. Not? How can you take it so calmly, John? To me it's simply outrageous. And there you sit, you Liberals, and pretend to encourage these people!

[1] Copyright, 1909, by John Galsworthy; published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Used by permission of the publishers.

BARTHWICK. [*Frowning.*] The representation of all parties is necessary for any proper reform, for any proper social policy.

MRS. BARTHWICK. I've no patience with your talk of reform — all that nonsense about social policy. We know perfectly well what it is they want; they want things for themselves. Those Socialists and Labour men are an absolutely selfish set of people. They have no sense of patriotism, like the upper classes; *they simply want what we've got.*

BARTHWICK. Want what we've got! [*He stares into space.*] My dear, what are you talking about? [*With a contortion.*] I'm no alarmist.

MRS. BARTHWICK. Cream? — Quite uneducated men! Wait until they begin to tax our investments. I'm convinced that when they once get a chance they will tax everything — they've no feeling for the country. You Liberals and Conservatives, you're all alike; you don't see an inch before your noses. You've no imagination, not a scrap of imagination between you. You ought to join hands and nip it in the bud.

BARTHWICK. You're talking nonsense! How is it possible for Liberals and Conservatives to join hands, as you call it? That shows how absurd it is for women — Why the very essence of a Liberal is to trust in the people!

MRS. BARTHWICK. Now, John, eat your breakfast. As if there were any real difference between you and the Conservatives. All the upper classes have the same interests to protect, and the same principles. [*Calmly.*] Oh! you're sitting upon a volcano, John.

BARTHWICK. What!

MRS. BARTHWICK. I read a letter in the paper yesterday. I forget the man's name, but it made the whole thing perfectly clear. You don't look things in the face.

BARTHWICK. Indeed! [*Heavily.*] I am a Liberal! Drop the subject, please!

MRS. BARTHWICK. Toast? — I quite agree with what this man says: Education is simply ruining the lower classes. It unsettles them, and that 's the worst thing for us all. I see an enormous difference in the manner of servants.

BARTHWICK. [*With suspicious emphasis.*] I welcome any change that will lead to something better.

472. View of a socialist member of parliament (Philip Snowden, in House of Commons, November 2, 1909)

I have followed, as far as I have been able, the speeches and arguments advanced in the country in opposition to these proposals [of the Budget Bill of 1909], and, so far as I can judge, there have been not many objections but only one objection to this Bill, and that one has been that the Bill is Socialism, or, in the words of Lord Rosebery, it "is the end of all things — religion, property, and family life." . . . I shall have to confine my remarks to dealing with the objection that this Budget Bill is Socialism. I may begin by attempting to define what we, who profess to be Socialists, mean by Socialism. . . . Socialism means that all socially created wealth shall be owned by the community, and that its distribution shall be directed by the community for the good of the community. The national ownership of land and capital is a necessary condition to attaining a state of things like that. We recognize that we cannot reach our goal under the present system and at once, and we are anxious, therefore, in the meantime, to divert as much as we can, and as rapidly as we can, socially created wealth for the purpose of dealing with industrial and social evils which are the result of the private ownership of land and capital. Therefore, although the taxation of socially created wealth may not be Socialism in itself, it is a step towards Socialism, and therefore, in so far as this budget taxes socially created wealth for social purposes, it is socialistic. But it is not Socialism. . . .

Socialism defined

I have not been able to discover any novelty whatever in any one of the proposals of the Finance Bill. To my mind there is nothing new in it. It is too late in the day to begin to talk about the beginning of Socialism; as a matter of fact, we are well on the road to Socialism, and all the legislation of the nineteenth century has been nothing more nor less than an effort on the part of this House to deal with the evils resulting from the private ownership of land and capital. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century we have been moving in our legislation towards Socialism — first of all by constantly increasing legal restrictions on the free and individual use of land and capital. Our public health legislation is an illustration of that. If you require further illustration, there is the factory legislation. There is no difference whatever in the economic effect upon

England "well on the road to socialism"

private monopoly of the Workmen's Compensation Act and the factory legislation and public health legislation, and the direct taxation upon the profits on monopoly which has been acted upon by all parties in the state.

The second way in which we are moving towards Socialism has been the gradual supplementing of private voluntary charities by public organizations for dealing with the poorest parts of our population. That is accepted by the party opposite, and, indeed, by every party in the House, and the Old Age Pensions Act is an illustration of that. Then we have been trying to raise the condition of the poorest part of the population by such measures as the Education Act. What makes a measure of that kind all the more socialistic is that to a very great extent it is provided for by taxation on socially created wealth. The third way in which we have moved towards Socialism is on the lines of the proposals of this Bill by constantly increasing the taxation on rent, interest, and profits for the purpose of dealing with the results of the private ownership of land. Your Income Tax is an illustration of that. The fourth way, and the most socialistic of all, is the gradual supplanting of private enterprise and private institutions by public initiative and public organizations. You have that illustrated in our magnificent and highly successful municipal and State undertakings. . . .

There is nothing new or novel in the proposals of this Bill. The Income Tax is not novel, the Land Taxes are not novel, the Estate Duties are certainly not novel. It is socialistic in part, but it is not socialistic in other parts. . . . We do not expect to have, of course, a measure which is consistently socialistic from men who are not socialists. For a long time to come we expect that the legislation which will be introduced even by a Government anxious to promote reform will be of an inconsistent character. It will be socialistic partly and anti-socialistic in its other parts. This budget is neither complete Socialism nor is it revolution. Why, it is such a slight movement of the wheel as to be hardly perceptible, and I will tell honourable Members above the Gangway what it is: it is a preventive of revolution.

The movement that brought gloom and fear to such men as Lord Rosebery meant to many others the anticipation of a happier state of society. The idealistic aspect of the movement was expressed by few more eloquently than by William Morris, as in the following simply worded poem, *The Voice of Toil*:

473. A poet's idea of "the bright new world" of socialism

I heard men saying, leave hope and praying,
All days shall be as all have been;
Today and tomorrow bring fear and sorrow,
The never-ending toil between.

When Earth was younger mid toil and hunger
In hope we strove, and our hands were strong;
Then great men led us, with words they fed us,
And bade us right the earthly wrong.

Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amidst the nameless dead;
Turn then from lying to us slow-dying
In that good world to which they led;

Where fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, forever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure
For other hopes and other lives.

Where home is a hovel and dull we grovel,
Forgetting that the world is fair;
Where no babe we cherish, lest its very soul perish,
Where our mirth is crime, our love a snare.

Who now shall lead us, what god shall heed us,
As we lie in the hell our hands have won?
For us are no rulers but fools and befoolers,
The great are fallen, the wise men gone.

I heard men saying, leave tears and praying,
The sharp knife heedeth not the sheep;
Are we not stronger than the rich and the wronger,
When day breaks over dreams and sleep?

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere the world grows older!
Help lies in nought but thee and me;
Hope is before us, the long years that bore us
Bore leaders more than men may be.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere earth grows older!
The Cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

The socialistic movement on the Continent was early directed into revolutionary channels indicated by such writings as the *Communist Manifesto*. In England influences of a more moderate and evolutionary type prevailed, especially those directed by the Fabian Society, founded in 1883, and by the Independent Labor party, organized a decade later — the former consisting largely of intellectuals, the latter largely of manual workers. The three following documents consist of extracts from the official programs of these organizations in 1903, together with a statement by a prominent member of the Fabian Society describing the peaceful, evolutionary methods characteristic of English socialism.

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

474. The "basis" of the Fabian Society (1903)

It therefore aims at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labour, the idle class now living on the labour of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relations between the individual and society in its economic, ethical and political aspects.

475. Extract from the Independent Labor party's program (1903)

Name. — "The Independent Labour Party."

Object. — An industrial commonwealth founded upon the socialization of land and capital.

Methods. — The education of the community in the principles of Socialism. The industrial and political organization of the

workers. The independent representation of Socialist principles on all elective bodies.

476. A noted socialist (G. B. Shaw) on prevailing English methods of advocating socialism

The benefits of such a change as this are so obvious to all except the existing private proprietors and their parasites, that it is very necessary to insist on the impossibility of effecting it suddenly. . . . [But] I venture to claim your respect for those enthusiasts who still refuse to believe that millions of their fellow creatures must be left to sweat and suffer in hopeless toil and degradation, whilst parliaments and vestries grudgingly muddle and grope towards paltry instalments of betterment. The right is so clear, the wrong so intolerable, the gospel so convincing, that it seems to them that it *must* be possible to enlist the whole body of workers — soldiers, policemen, and all — under the banner of brotherhood and equality; and at one great stroke to set Justice on her rightful throne. Unfortunately, such an army of light is no more to be gathered from the human product of nineteenth century civilization than grapes are to be gathered from thistles. But if we feel glad of that impossibility; if we feel relieved that the change is to be slow enough to avert personal risk to ourselves; if we feel anything less than acute disappointment and bitter humiliation at the discovery that there is yet between us and the promised land a wilderness in which many must perish miserably of want and despair: then I submit to you that our institutions have corrupted us to the most dastardly degree of selfishness. The Socialists need not be ashamed of beginning as they did by proposing militant organization of the working classes and general insurrection. The proposal proved impracticable; and it has now been abandoned — not without some outspoken regrets — by English Socialists. But it still remains as the only finally possible alternative to the social democratic programme which I have sketched today.

In the meantime the trade unions had gone into the political field. The Trades Union Congress of 1899 suggested the organization of a Labor Representation Committee in coöperation with the socialistic groups, for the declared purpose of securing a larger labor representation in

parliament. Out of this committee grew the Labor party, consisting of a federation of trade-union bodies and organizations for promoting socialism. At first the party was not a socialist party, but the growth of socialism among the trade-unionists culminated in 1918 in the adoption of socialistic principles by the party as a whole, as indicated by section 3, (*d*), of its constitution (the second document following).

477. Extract from the constitution of the Labor Representation Committee (1903)

I. The Labour Representation Committee is a federation of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. Co-operative Societies are also eligible for membership.

II. *Object.* — To secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an affiliated society or societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidate recognized by this committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims of this constitution, or resign, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.

III. *The Executive.* — The Executive shall consist of thirteen members, nine representing the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, one the Fabian Society, and two the Independent Labour Party. The members shall be elected by their respective organizations at the annual Conference. . . .

478. Extract from the constitution of the Labor party (1918)

1. *Name.* — The Labour Party.

2. *Membership.* — The Labour Party shall consist of all its affiliated organizations (Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, and Local Labour Parties), together with those men and women who are individual members of a Local Labour Party and who subscribe to the Constitution and Programme of the Party.

3. *Party Objects. — National.* — (*a*) To organize and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party, and to ensure the establishment of a Local Labour Party in every County Constituency and every Parliamentary Borough, with suitable divisional organization in the separate constituencies of Divided Boroughs;

(*b*) To co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organizations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders;

(*c*) To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference;

The party commits itself to the principles of socialism

(*d*) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service;

(*e*) Generally to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Inter-Dominion. — (*f*) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organizations in the Dominions and the Dependencies with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

International. — (*g*) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organizations in other countries and to assist in organizing a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of Freedom and Peace, for the establishment of suitable machinery for the adjustment and settlement of International Disputes by Conciliation or Judicial Arbitration, and for such International Legislation as may be practicable.

IV. The Great War

The attention of the English people, as of the peoples of the Continent, was suddenly diverted in 1914 from social readjustment to war. On account of the diplomatic "balance of powers" it had been expected that a war involving one of the major powers would involve Europe generally; and since citizens of European powers had been engaged in economic rivalries throughout the world, it was apparent that a European war would become little less than a world war. A view of the incomparably extensive and widespread nature of the overseas interests of Englishmen, together with the industrial and financial rather than purely commercial character of these interests, was presented by an English writer in the *Quarterly Review* soon after the outbreak of the war.

479. Extract from an article in the *Quarterly Review* (October, 1914)

An estimate of the overseas economic interests of Englishmen at the outbreak of the war

Our shipping industry [by means of our sound financial policy] has been placed in a sound position to meet all the exigencies of the war; and if we keep the sea we shall also, in all human probability, maintain our place as the financial center of the world. The importance of our being able to do this cannot be exaggerated. Not only does it bring us in normal times a profit of at least £50,000,000 per annum in respect of our services in financing the trade of the world, but it also gives our manufacturers a commanding position in the markets of the world. . . .

Under normal conditions it is estimated that the world stands to pay us about £100,000,000 per annum for our services as carriers. . . .

The war will probably demonstrate the incalculable value to Great Britain of her investments abroad. The aggregate capital value of our overseas investments is approximately £3,900,000,000, and the average income therefrom is about £200,000,000 per annum. . . . The geographical distribution of these investments is shown below:

BRITISH DOMINIONS, COLONIES AND POSSESSIONS

India (including Ceylon)	£447,000,000
Australia and New Zealand	408,000,000
Africa	401,000,000
Canada	423,000,000
Other British Possessions	91,000,000
Total	£1,770,000,000

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

United States	£632,000,000
Argentina	329,000,000
Brazil	135,000,000
Mexico	81,000,000
Japan	74,000,000
Chile	57,000,000
Egypt	75,000,000
Uruguay	40,000,000
China	38,000,000
Peru	32,000,000
Cuba	29,000,000
European Countries	170,000,000
Other Foreign Countries	92,000,000
Total	£1,784,000,000

Grand Total (British Possessions and Foreign Countries)	£3,554,000,000

This aggregate of £3,554,000,000, it may be pointed out, comprises the capital invested in colonial or foreign loans and in public undertakings or companies. It does not include any provision for the very large amounts of British capital privately invested abroad in land, buildings, etc., nor does it embrace the large amounts of capital employed abroad by the great banking, mercantile, and shipping houses of London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, etc., in financing international trade. If it be assumed that these private investments amount to 10 per cent. of the public investments (which is a very moderate estimate), it will be perceived that a further sum of £355,000,000 must be added to the total already arrived at, making an aggregate

of £3,909,000,000. This estimate is confirmed by calculations based upon a capitalisation of the income from abroad returned for assessment to the income tax.

Favorable location of English investments

The geographical distribution of our foreign and colonial investments deserves careful scrutiny. Only £170,000,000, or 4.4 per cent. of the total, has been placed in Europe, the remaining 95.6 per cent. being invested where it cannot suffer destruction or even partial damage by the war. The earning power of the various undertakings — railways, manufactories, mines, tramways, electric lighting undertakings, cattle ranches, tea, coffee, and rubber plantations, waterworks, nitrate fields, etc. — will doubtless be seriously impaired for a time. The countries in which we have invested our capital are in the main producers of food stuffs and raw materials; and it is perfectly obvious that our Overseas Dominions and our foreign debtors should be in a position to remit to us, by means of food stuffs, raw materials, etc., the bulk of their indebtedness — provided, of course, we keep the sea. No other country occupies such a strong position as we do in this respect.

In promoting their overseas interests Englishmen had come to depend on the "diplomatic support" of their government. In this they had been encouraged by the government itself, as indicated by the following typical statements. The first is from Lord Palmerston's famous defense, in 1850, of his policy of supporting Don Pacifico of Gibraltar in his financial claims against Greek citizens. The British fleet seized Greek merchant vessels, and England was brought to the verge of war not only with Greece but with France. The second and third extracts are from speeches by George Lloyd, a colonial administrator and member of parliament, and Sir Edward Grey, foreign secretary, in the House of Commons on July 10, 1914, during an extensive discussion of the work of government in giving "diplomatic support" to Englishmen in their conflicts with rivals of other nations.

480. Lord Palmerston's famous *civis Romanus sum* speech (in House of Commons, 1850)

I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this House, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now before it; whether the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman, in days of old, held himself free from indignity, when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong.

481. A member of parliament explains why investors abroad ask diplomatic support

In the old days it was not necessary to call attention to such matters [as the need of diplomatic support for English investments abroad]. Now it is a great international battle for the industries and the markets of the various countries, in which the Foreign Secretary must take part. . . . [It may be objected that] in all these matters you are touching very high politics, and when you are apparently only dealing with railways and railway expansions you are touching the fringe of big international disputes, quarrels and rearrangements with respect to boundaries, and so on, and we are bound to look in the interest of peace at the big European arrangements, compared to which these railway questions and these commercial points are really details. We have got to take the most important. For instance, we would rather have a Russian *entente* than gain a railway in central Asia. That is a big point which, so far, has not carried us far. . . . Any giving way on these matters will lead to far more bitter difficulties than those which exist today. To refrain from getting all we can for our traders is, I think, not good policy.

We are told we are to promote British commerce all over the world. That, of course, is one of the first duties of the Foreign Office. It is a greater task than is laid upon any other department of the state. It is not merely that we are to encourage and protect trade which exists, but we are to open up other

avenues of trade; and in each particular corner, whether it is Asia Minor, Persia, or China, where we obtain a concession, we are to achieve more and greater success than any other country in the world. . . .

482. The foreign secretary discusses the relation of his office to international economic competition

I regard it as our duty, wherever *bona fide* British capital is forthcoming in any part of the world, and is applying for concessions to which there are no valid political objections, that we should give it the utmost support we can, and endeavor to convince the foreign government concerned that it is to its interest as well as our own to give the concessions for railways and so forth to British firms who carry them out at reasonable prices and in the best possible way.

In the two decades preceding the war, citizens of other great powers had increasingly claimed similar "diplomatic support." Conflicts, diplomatic as well as economic, resulted. A number of such controversies, involving Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, and Japanese, were peacefully adjusted during the years 1902–1911. Similar controversies between citizens of England, France, and Russia (the Triple Entente) and citizens of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (the Triple Alliance) — arousing, as they did, national pride and patriotic spirit — promoted armament rivalries and fostered conditions favorable for war. The general nature of these controversies is here illustrated by an extract from the agreement of 1907 between England and Russia concerning the division of Persia into spheres of influence.

483. From the agreement between England and Russia defining their interests in Persia (1907)

I. Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, and not to support in favor of British subjects, or in favor of the subjects of third Powers, any concessions of a political or commercial nature — such as concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc. — beyond a line starting from Kasr-i-Shirin, passing through Isfahan, Yezd, Kakhk, and ending at a point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the

Russian and Afghan frontiers, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar concessions in this region which are supported by the Russian Government. It is understood the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Great Britain engages not to seek the concessions referred to.

II. Russia, on her part, engages not to seek for herself and not to support, in favor of Russian subjects, or in favor of the subjects of third Powers, any concessions of a political or commercial nature — such as concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc. — beyond a line going from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman, and ending at Bunder Abbas, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar concessions in this region which are supported by the British Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Russia engages not to seek the concessions referred to.

III. . . . [In the zone between the two lines, either nation may seek concessions.]

IV. . . . [Persian customs revenues are to be devoted to guaranteeing the amortization and interest of loans made to Persia.]

V. In the event of irregularities occurring in the amortization or the payment of the interest of the Persian loans concluded with the " Banque d'Escompte et des Prêts de Perse " and with the Imperial Bank of Persia up to the date of the signature of the present Arrangement, and in the event of the necessity arising for Russia to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the first-named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Art. II of the present Arrangement, or for Great Britain to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the second-named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Art. I of the present Arrangement, the British and Russian Governments undertake to enter beforehand into a friendly exchange of ideas with a view to determine, in agreement with each other, the measures of control in question and to avoid all interference which would not be in conformity with the principles governing the present Arrangement.

One of the most serious of the outstanding controversies was the question of ascendancy in the Balkans and in the northeastern Mediterranean. This controversy was brought to a head by the assassination of the Austrian crown prince on June 28. All the great powers expressed a desire to localize the conflict, but once the "armed truce" was broken, all were drawn rapidly into the vortex. The immediate occasion for England's entering the war is indicated in the two following telegrams from the British foreign secretary to the British ambassador at Berlin, both dated August 4, but the latter written later in the day.

484. Sir E. Grey to Sir E. Goschen (August 4, 1914)

The King of the Belgians has made an appeal to His Majesty the King for diplomatic intervention on behalf of Belgium in the following terms:

"Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship you have just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium."

His Majesty's Government are also informed that the German Government has delivered to the Belgian Government a note proposing friendly neutrality entailing free passage through Belgian territory, and promising to maintain the independence and integrity of the kingdom and its possessions at the conclusion of peace, threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. An answer was requested within twelve hours.

We also understand that Belgium has categorically refused this as a flagrant violation of the law of nations.

His Majesty's Government are bound to protest against this violation of a treaty to which Germany is a party in common with themselves, and must request an assurance that the demand made upon Belgium will not be proceeded with, and that her neutrality will be respected by Germany. You should ask for an immediate reply.

485. Sir E. Grey to Sir E. Goschen (August 4, 1914)

We hear that Germany has addressed note to Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that German Government will be compelled to carry out, if necessary by force of arms, the measures considered indispensable.

We are also informed that Belgian territory has been violated at Gemmenich.

In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Germany declined to give the same assurance respecting Belgium as France gave last week in reply to our request made simultaneously at Berlin and Paris, we must repeat that request, and ask that a satisfactory reply to it and to my telegram of this morning[1] be received here by 12 o'clock tonight. If not, you are instructed to ask for your passports, and to say that his Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves.

As soon as the government had definitely committed the country to war, most of the people in England, as in other countries on both sides of the conflict, supported the war. In so far as criticism found expression, it came chiefly from those who, like the philosopher Bertrand Russell, quoted in the following passage, believed that neither side was blameless, or justified in resorting to war.

486. A criticism of the government by Bertrand Russell

Belgium showed Germany at its worst, but it did not show us at our best. It gave Germany an occasion for brutal violence; it gave our Foreign Office an occasion for hypocrisy. . . . So far at least as our Foreign Office is concerned, to say that we were against Germany because we were for Belgium is to invert cause and effect; the truth is that we were for Belgium because we were against Germany. . . .

Stripped of parliamentary verbiage, the fundamental fact about the European situation is that all the Great Powers of Europe have precisely the same objects: territory, trade and prestige. In pursuit of these objects no one of the Great

[1] The preceding document.

Powers shrinks from wanton aggression, war and chicanery. But owing to the geographical position of Germany and our naval supremacy, England can achieve all its purposes by wars outside Europe, whereas English and Russian policy has shown that Germany cannot achieve its aims except by a European war. We have made small wars because small wars were what suited our purpose; Germany has made a great war because a great war was what suited Germany's purpose. We and they alike have been immoral in aim and brutal in method, each in the exact degree which was thought to be to the national advantage. If either they or we had had loftier aims or less brutal methods, the war might have been avoided.

Criticism of English as well as of German war motives and purposes was one of the factors which led to vigorous attempts by the government to subordinate all energy to the one purpose of carrying on the war. This policy found expression particularly in a series of acts of parliament, the Defence of the Realm Acts (commonly known as D. O. R. A.). The original law with its first amendment is here quoted.

487. Defence of the Realm Acts (August 8 and August 28, 1914)

1. His Majesty in Council has power during the continuance of the present war to issue regulations as to the powers and duties of the Admiralty and Army Council, and of the members of His Majesty's forces, and other persons acting in His behalf, for securing the public safety and the defence of the realm; and may, by such regulations, authorize the trial by courts martial and punishment of persons contravening any of the provisions of such regulations designed (*a*) to prevent persons communicating with the enemy or obtaining information for that purpose or any purpose calculated to jeopardise the success of His Majesty's forces or to assist the enemy; or to prevent the spread of reports likely to cause disaffection or alarm; or (*b*) to secure the safety of any means of communication, or of railways, docks or harbors, or of any area which may be proclaimed by the Admiralty or Army Council to be an area which it is

necessary to safeguard in the interest of the training or concentration of any of His Majesty's forces; in like manner as if such persons were subject to military law and had on active service committed an offence under section five of the Army Act; and may by such regulations also provide for the suspension of any restrictions on the acquisition or user of land, or the exercise of the power of making bye laws, or any other power under the Defence Acts, 1842 to 1875, or the Military Land Acts, 1891 to 1903.

2. This Act may be cited as the Defence of the Realm Act, 1914.

Significant changes in the technique of war are described by Will Irwin, a noted American war correspondent.

488. A graphic description of changes in the technique of war

Through all the centuries of mechanical and scientific improvement, military armament — the means of killing men — had lagged behind. The primitive man killed in war by hitting his opponent with a hard substance — a club or stone. Later he sharpened the stone so that it would more readily reach a vital spot, and had a knife or a sword. He mounted the knife on a stick to give himself greater reach, and had a spear. He discovered the projecting power of the bow, which would send a small spear beyond his own reach. Gunpowder arrived; that gave still further and more powerful projection. But the principle, the one method of killing a man in war, remained the same — hit him with something hard. We had learned many ways of controlling and transmuting for the purposes of ordinary life the power stored up by the sun — steam, electricity, the energy of falling water. Military science knew but one way — the explosion of chemicals. If we look into a battleship, that "great, floating watch," we marvel at the intricacy of her machinery. But we should find that the engines, the turbines, the delicate and complicated electrical instruments, are all devices first invented for purely industrial activities and merely adapted for war. We should find the guns, the actual killing instrument, among the simplest machines on board. In centuries of mechanical invention and mechanical improvement

Crudeness of methods of fighting as compared with industrial technique

very little higher intelligence and no genius at all had been put into the mechanics of killing men.

There were good reasons. The men who discovered the great principles back of modern machinery and industrial method, such as Newton in physics, Friar Bacon and Faraday in chemistry, Ampère and Volta in electricity, were concerned only with pure science, with extending the field of human knowledge. The clever inventors and adapters — such as Stephenson with his locomotive, Morse with his telegraph, Edison with his electric light and phonograph, Marconi with his wireless, Langley and the Wrights with their aëroplanes — were concerned with improving the civilian processes of production and transportation or with adding material richness to modern life. Those who, in biology and kindred sciences, followed the paths blazed by the giants of the nineteenth century were even more directly benevolent in their ends. Ehrlich and Takamine worked to save, preserve, and lengthen human life. No first-class scientific mind was interested in research having for its end to destroy human life.

Military discipline not conducive to originality

Nor did the military caste, whose business — stripped of all its gold lace and brass buttons — was to kill, add anything fundamental to the science of destruction. It is traditional that what few real improvements there have been in armament, such as the machine-gun and the submarine, were invented by civilians and by them sold to armies. Military life tends to destroy originality. It makes for daring action, makes against daring thought. . . .

Why men of science were drafted into the service of war in 1915

[The one event which, more than any other, forced men of science and invention into the service of destructive warfare was the successful use of gas by the Germans on April 22, 1915, during the second battle of Ypres.] After the second battle of Ypres lifted the lid, those men of science, those high technicians, . . . experimented with new methods of killing. Liquid flame — burning men alive — was introduced on the Western Front. This proved of only limited usefulness. The British introduced the tanks. These were important to the general change in warfare, as I shall show later, but they added nothing to the direct process of killing life. Gas seemed by all odds the most

promising of the new weapons. That simple chlorine which the Germans used in 1915 gave place to other gases more complex and more destructive to human body-cells. At first released only in clouds and dependent upon a favorable wind for their effect, the chemicals which generated these gases were later loaded into shells and projected miles beyond any danger to the army which employed them.

Gas, and defence against it

As gas improved, so did the defence against it. The crude mouth-pads, consisting of a strip of gauze soaked in "antichlorine" chemicals, which the women of England rushed to the front after Second Ypres, were succeeded by more secure and cumbersome masks. . . . However, this was an imperfect protection, because men could not or would not wear it all the time. . . . Yet the mask was a protection; let us therefore study to beat it. In the spring attack of 1918 the Germans introduced their "mustard gas." Unlike its forerunners, it was poisonous to the skin as well as to the lungs. . . .

Now in all the experiments following Second Ypres, the chemists had in mind three qualities of the ideal killing gas. First, it should be invisible, thus introducing the element of surprise. The early, crude gases, even in small quantities, betrayed their presence by the tinge they gave the atmosphere. Second, it should be a little heavier than the atmosphere; it should tend to sink, so as to penetrate dugouts and cellars. Third, it should poison — not merely burn — all exposed areas of the body. American ingenuity solved the problem. . . . [The Lewisite gas] was invisible; it was a sinking gas, which would search out the refugees of dugouts and cellars; if breathed, it killed at once — and it killed not only through the lungs. Wherever it settled on the skin, it produced a poison which penetrated the system and brought almost certain death. It was inimical to all cell-life, animal or vegetable. Masks alone were of no use against it. Further, it had *fifty-five times* the "spread" of any poison gas hitherto used in the war. An expert has said that a dozen Lewisite air bombs of the greatest size in use during 1918 might with a favorable wind have eliminated the population of Berlin. Possibly he exaggerated, but probably not greatly. The Armistice came. . . .

[There has been an enormous increase in the destructive power of those older weapons, the rifle and the cannon.] Yet nature always imposes limits on human ingenuity. We arrive at a point beyond which we cannot much further improve any given device. Military experts generally agree that we have about reached that impasse with guns and their explosive projectiles. The "Big Bertha" which bombarded Paris from a distance of seventy miles was only an apparent exception. . . . Even if we have not reached the limit of invention, other methods of destroying life and property hold out much more promise. Among these is the aëroplane. There we have not nearly reached the barrier set by nature upon ingenuity. The aëroplane

A modern weapon works by two distinct processes: the projection, which sends the death tool far into the region of the enemy, and the action — usually some kind of explosion — by which it kills. The bombing aëroplane is essentially an instrument of projection. It extends "range" beyond any distance possible to a gun. The army aëroplanes of 1914 were in 1916 mentioned by the aviators as those "old-fashioned 'busses.'" In 1918 airmen employed similar scornful language concerning the machines of 1916. However, the range of the 1914 aëroplanes greatly excelled that of any gun; they could venture at least a hundred miles from their bases. By 1918 they were venturing two or three hundred miles; and the allied armies planned, in the spring of 1919, to make regular raids on Berlin, some four hundred miles away.

. . . As you increase the caliber and range of a gun you must increase the thickness of the steel casing which forms the shell, and correspondingly reduce the proportion of explosives or gas-forming chemical. But an air bomb — which is dropped, not fired — needs only a very thin casing. A big shell is in bulk mostly steel; an air bomb is mostly chemical. It was in shells like these that we would have packed our Lewisite gas had we decided to "eliminate all life in Berlin."

However, air bombardment was during the Great War essentially inaccurate. . . . Then, just before the Armistice, an American, binding together many inventions made by civilians for civilian purposes, showed a dazzling way to the warfare of the future.

He proved that aëroplanes flying without pilots could be steered accurately by wireless. This meant that the aëroplane had become a supergun. Caliber was increased indefinitely. An aëroplane could now carry explosive charges or gas charges up to its whole lifting capacity of many tons. It was no longer merely a vehicle; it could be virtually a self-propelling shell. And in the matter of accuracy the uncertain human factor was nearly eliminated, as happens in most highly improved machines. An expert on this kind of marksmanship, hovering in an aëroplane or Zeppelin many miles away, with a fleet of protecting battle planes guarding him to prevent hurried workmanship, could guide these explosive fleets to their objective, whether town or fortress. Here, in effect, was a gun with a range as long as the width of European nations, a bursting charge beyond the previous imaginations of gunnery. . . .

The tank

I have not yet discussed the tank. Britain contributed that improvement, as Germany contributed gas. It involved the combination of one device almost as old as warfare — armor — with two devices borrowed from the arts of peace — the gasoline engine and the caterpillar wheel. It was an instrument of the offensive in that it gave men and guns greater mobility; it was defensive in that it protected soldiers and their weapons as they advanced into the enemy's territory. The British employed their tanks, as the Germans their gas, timidly and experimentally in the beginning. The wholesale use of tanks at the Somme in 1916 would have won the war. The munition makers, in the two years between the Somme and the Armistice, somewhat improved this new weapon. The early types could advance only four or five miles an hour over ordinary rough ground — just the pace of a man at a brisk walk. The improved types could make ten or twelve miles an hour — practically the speed of cavalry in action. The tanks of the Somme carried merely machine-guns. Many of those used in the Battle of Liberation were armed with standard-caliber field guns. Practically, there is no limit to the possible size of tanks. . . .

The submarine

The submarine, in the hands of the Germans, proved its distinct value. Many naval men say that the Germans made the same mistake with their submarines that they did with their

gases and that the British did with their tanks. They did not realize the power in their hands. Had they begun the war with as many submarines as they manned in 1917; had they stuck from first to last to their policy of sinking without warning, they might have starved out England and won. The submarine grew mightily in speed, in cruising radius, in offensive power. The German U-boats of 1914 were as slow as a tub freighter; they could make only short dashes from their bases; they depended almost entirely on their torpedoes. Those of 1918 were almost as fast on the surface as an old-fashioned battleship; they proved that they could cross and recross the Atlantic on their own supplies of fuel; they mounted long-range five- and six-inch guns. . . . [Observe] how perfectly the ocean protects submarines. Germans have told me since the Armistice that at no time did the imperial navy have more than fifty of these craft cruising at once; usually there were only about twenty-five. Against them the Allies were using at least half of their naval resources — thousands of craft, from giant dreadnaughts to swift little chasers, mobilized to fight imperfectly less than fifty of these deep-sea assassins! . . .

Effects of the new warfare on the soldier

The new warfare takes advantage of the limits of human imagination. If you bayonet a child, you see the spurt of blood, the curling up of the little body, the look in the eyes. . . . But if you loose a bomb on a town, you see only that you have made a fair hit. Time and again I have dined with French boy-aviators, British boy-aviators, American boy-aviators, home from raids. They were gallant, generous, kindly youths. And they were thinking and talking not of the effects of their bombs but only of "the hit." If now and then a spurt of vision shot into their minds, they closed their imagination — as one must do in war.

V. Attempts at Reconstruction

The war, unprecedented in many ways, was unique in the degree to which it mobilized the entire populations and resources of the countries engaged. Correspondingly grave were the problems of peace-making and of readjustment to a state of peace. The following extracts from

governmental reports for the years 1917 and 1918 show that these problems engaged the attention of the government even in the midst of the war.

489. An official report on the origin of the Ministry of Reconstruction

The disturbance of normal industry grew more and more profound; not only were fit men of military age withdrawn in progressively increasing numbers from their normal occupation, but the free circulation of supplies of war material of every kind, of the means of transport, and of food, proved to be impossible to maintain. In one province of national life after another the Government were being compelled to regulate the course of business in the interest of the primary needs of the nation, and it followed that the problem of the return to normal conditions underwent so fast a change in scope as to become new in kind.

The problem of reconstruction

The action taken by the Government in March, 1917, definitely recognised the new situation and created a new authority for Reconstruction purposes. This authority was a Committee, . . . selected on the principle of entrusting to a body possessed of specialised knowledge in many branches the task of conducting a general survey of the great territory which was now seen to be their province. . . .

The Reconstruction Committee (March, 1917)

In July, 1917, the Government decided . . . [to establish], under the New Ministries Act, 1917, a Ministry of Reconstruction, to continue for the duration of the war and for a period of two years, or less, after its conclusion. . . . The New Ministries Act was intended both to secure that there should be a Minister answerable to Parliament for the progress made in considering the various problems within his sphere, and that the machinery of government should include a department specially equipped for this purpose and devoted solely to preparing for the difficulties of the future. In other words, the Act asserts the primary importance in relation to Reconstruction of organised thought as distinct from executive action. The country is for the first time equipped with a department not devoted to research in the field of the physical sciences, but to research into questions of political science and to the encouragement of action on the lines of the results ascertained. . . . The business of the Ministry is to be acquainted with all proposals for dealing with post-war

The Ministry of Reconstruction (July, 1917)

problems which are under consideration by government departments or committees, or put forward by responsible bodies or persons, to study them in their bearings upon each other, to initiate proposals for dealing with matters which are not already covered, and . . . to build up in consultation with the other departments for submission to the Cabinet, and ultimately to Parliament, a reasoned policy of Reconstruction in all its branches.

490. An official summary of the work of the Ministry of Reconstruction during 1918

The vision of National Reconstruction, perplexed and inchoate as it must at present appear in certain aspects, has still assumed more definite and living form as a result of the work of this organisation in the course of the last twelve months.

As regards the problems arising immediately on the cessation of hostilities, a complete plan for the demobilisation of the forces was systematically worked out. . . .

Various measures and proposals

With regard to provision for the rehabilitation of commerce and increased production during the transitional period, . . . [various measures have been formulated, some of which have already been put into practice].

As regards the wider questions of measures for the permanent amelioration of the conditions of social and industrial life in the United Kingdom, much of the work done in the Ministry has necessarily been confined to preparation and investigation, without so far reaching a point of positive achievement, or the formulation of proposals for immediate legislation. But the Ministries of Health Bill introduced by the Minister of Reconstruction in the course of the year marked a new epoch — not only in the public provision for the health of the nation, but also in the whole machinery of local government in this country. Important proposals have also been formulated affecting the central machinery of executive government. The lines of a great housing problem have been developed as a result of mature deliberations and far-reaching enquiries, in which the Ministry has taken a very active and practical part. Equally, in the field of permanent industrial policy, the reports of the Whitley Committee represent the commencement of a new era in the relation of employers and employed, and the development of a constructive ideal which has been carefully watched and fostered. The

Public health

Whitley Councils

fundamental questions of adult education and juvenile employment have been advanced a stage further by reports formulated within the Ministry in the course of the year; and the changed conditions of industrial and social life, as affecting the position of women, have been comprehensively reviewed by means of an organisation in which women themselves have been assigned a very prominent place.

Rational, organized thinking for social progress

Finally, the Ministry of Reconstruction may claim to have played its own part in the practical realisation of an idea fraught with infinite possibilities for the future of the nation — the idea of organised thinking and common thinking, as applied dispassionately to the complex problems of social progress and national development in this country. Departmentally, the Ministry has not attempted to pursue an *a priori* policy of its own, but rather to correlate the proposals of the individual departments into a consistent whole by adjusting margins and filling in gaps. Still less has the Ministry sought to impose upon the nation at large any cut and dried scheme of reconstruction. It has endeavoured rather to give the members of the general public adequate opportunity and materials to co-operate in the great task of National Reconstruction themselves. On the Committees and Council of the Ministry men and women, employers and employed, the specialist and the man of affairs, have consulted freely and frankly, with full access to all official sources of information. The results of their deliberations have been communicated to the outside public, either by the early publication of the reports actually received, or by the preparation of pamphlets summarising the progress made on each subject up to date. How far the germ of common thinking has fructified in the case of those who have actually co-operated in the work of the Ministry may be inferred from the series of practically unanimous reports upon complex and normally contentious subjects which have been submitted by committees including members of widely different experience and divergent points of view.

Probably the most important single phase of the government's reconstruction policy was its attempt to deal with

the growing demand of the working classes for participation in the government of industry. One result was the formation of national industrial councils, or Whitley Councils, as recommended by a committee presided over by J. H. Whitley. The first industry thus organized on a national basis was the pottery industry.

491. A Whitley Council: the constitution of the pottery industry

National Council of the Pottery Industry.

Objects. — The advancement of the pottery industry and of all connected with it by the association in its government of all engaged in the industry. It will be open to the Council to take any action that falls within the scope of its general object. Its chief work will, however, fall under the following heads: —

(*a*) The consideration of means whereby all manufacturers and operatives shall be brought within their respective associations.

(*b*) Regular consideration of wages, piece-work prices, and conditions with a view to establishing and maintaining equitable conditions throughout the industry.

(*c*) To assist the respective associations in the maintenance of such selling prices as will afford a reasonable remuneration to both employers and employed.

(*d*) The consideration and settlement of all disputes between different parties in the industry which it may not have been possible to settle by the existing machinery, and the establishment of machinery for dealing with disputes where adequate machinery does not exist.

(*e*) The regularization of production and employment as a means of insuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings.

(*f*) Improvement in conditions with a view to removing all danger to health in the industry.

(*g*) The study of processes, the encouragement of research, and the full utilization of their results.

(*h*) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and the utilization of inventions and improvements designed by workpeople and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

(*i*) Education in all its branches for the industry.

(*j*) The collection of full statistics on wages, making and selling prices, and average percentages of profits on turnover, and on materials, markets, costs, etc., and the study and promotion of scientific and practical systems of costing to this end. All statistics shall, where necessary, be verified by chartered accountants, who shall make a statutory declaration as to secrecy prior to any investigation, and no particulars of individual firms or operatives shall be disclosed to any one.

(*k*) Enquiries into problems of the industry, and, where desirable, the publication of reports.

(*l*) Representation of the needs and opinions of the industry to government authorities, central and local, and to the community generally.

Equal representation of employees' trade unions and employers' associations

CONSTITUTION. (1) *Membership.* — The Council shall consist of an equal number of representatives of the manufacturers and the operatives; the manufacturers' representatives to be appointed by the Manufacturers' Associations in proportions to be agreed on between them; the operatives' representatives, by the Trade Unions in proportions to be agreed on between them. The number of representatives on each side shall not exceed thirty. Among the manufacturers' representatives may be included salaried managers, and among the operatives' representatives some women operatives.

(2) *Honorary members.* — The Council to have the power to co-opt honorary members with the right to attend meetings or serve on committees of the Council, and to speak but not to vote.

(3) *Reappointment.* — One-third of the representatives of the said Associations and Unions shall retire annually, and shall be eligible for reappointment.

(4) *Officers.* — The officers of the Council shall be: — (*a*) a chairman and vice-chairman. When the chairman is a member of the operatives, the vice-chairman shall be a member of the manufacturers, and vice-versa. . . . (*b*) Such secretaries and treasurers as the Council may require. . . .

(5) *Committees.* — The Council shall appoint an executive committee, and standing committees, representative of the different needs of the industry. It shall have power to appoint

other committees for special purposes, and to co-opt such persons of special knowledge, not being members of the Council, as may serve the special purposes of these committees. On all committees both manufacturers and operatives shall be equally represented. . . .

(6) *Finance.* — The ordinary expenses of the Council shall be met by a levy upon the Manufacturers' Associations and the Trade Unions represented. Special expenditures shall be provided for by the finance committee.

(7) *Meetings.* — The ordinary meetings of the Council shall be held quarterly. The annual meeting shall be held in January. A special meeting of the Council shall be held on the requisition of ten members of the Council. Seven days' notice of any meeting shall be given. Twenty members shall form a quorum. Committees shall meet as often as may be required.

(8) *Voting.* — The voting upon all questions shall be by show of hands, and two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall be required to carry a resolution. Provided that, when at any meeting the representatives of the Unions and the Associations, respectively, are unequal in numbers, all members present shall have the right to enter fully into discussion of any matters, but only an equal number of each of such representatives (to be decided amongst them) shall vote.

Many important industries were organized on the basis of the Whitley plan, but there was widespread opposition. Probably the most influential objection is indicated by the following extract from a pamphlet issued in 1918 by the National Guilds League.

492. An attack on the Whitley Councils by the National Guilds League (1918)

The terms of reference upon which the Reconstruction Committee [which formulated plans for the national industrial councils] based its report were:

"(1) To make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen.

(2) To recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen

shall be systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future."

The objects of the National Guilds League, as defined in its constitution, are: "The abolition of the wage system, and the establishment, by the workers, of self-government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with a democratic state."

It must, then, be clear that no report which sets out to secure "a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen" can be consistent with the first principles of national guilds. We seek, not "a permanent improvement in relations," but the abolition of the wage system and of a master class.

The Whitley Councils, as well as other phases of the government's reconstruction policy were viewed by the Labor party, no less than by the National Guilds League, as inadequate, and a more thoroughgoing plan was advocated in a noted document, *Labour and the New Social Order*, issued in 1918, which gave expression to widely discussed and influential ideals and proposals international in scope.

493. The Labor party's reconstruction proposals: an extract from *Labour and the New Social Order* (1918)

It behoves the Labour Party, in formulating its own programme for Reconstruction after the war, and in criticising the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make it clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasise the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

The End of a Civilisation. — We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labour Party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that Government Department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. The individual worker, or for that matter the individual statesman, immersed in daily

routine — like the individual soldier in a battle — easily fails to understand the magnitude and far-reaching importance of what is taking place around him. How does it fit together as a whole? How does it look from a distance? Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe, declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilisation. Just as in the past the civilisations of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage, and the great Roman Empire have been successively destroyed, so, in the judgment of this detached observer, the civilisation of all Europe is even now receiving its deathblow. We of the Labour Party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognise, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilisation itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilisation, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organisation. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labour Party to-day.

An oriental view of the significance of the war

What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood and the lives of millions of innocent families, and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretence of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalisation, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a deathblow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labour Party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an Administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of

Why the Labor party desires fundamental reconstruction

civilisation itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity — not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain — not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world — not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of Democracy. We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "Reconstruction." What the Labour Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

The "house" the Labor party proposes to build

The Pillars of the House. — We need not here recapitulate, one by one, the different items in the Labour Party's programme, which successive Party Conferences have adopted. These proposals, some of them in various publications worked out in practical detail, are often carelessly derided as impracticable, even by the politicians who steal them piecemeal from us! The members of the Labour Party, themselves actually working by hand or by brain, in close contact with the facts, have perhaps at all times a more accurate appreciation of what is practicable, in industry as in politics, than those who depend solely on academic instruction or are biased by great possessions. But to-day no man dares to say that anything is impracticable. The war, which has scared the old Political Parties right out of their dogmas, has taught every statesman and every government official, to his enduring surprise, how very much more can be done along the lines that we have laid down than he had ever before thought possible. What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition or for office, is not merely this

or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought-out, systematic and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any Ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The Four Pillars of the House that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the Democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed, respectively:

(*a*) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum [Standard of Life, "affording complete security against destitution"];

(*b*) The Democratic Control of Industry;

(*c*) The Revolution in National Finance;

(*d*) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The various detailed proposals of the Labour Party, herein briefly summarized, rest on these four pillars, and can best be appreciated in connection with them. . . . [These detailed proposals, though summarized, are too lengthy for inclusion here.]

A figurative description of the Labor party's imperial and international aims

The Street of To-morrow. — The House which the Labour Party intends to build, the Four Pillars of which have now been described, does not stand alone in the world. Where will it be in the Street of To-morrow? If we repudiate, on the one hand, the Imperialism that seeks to dominate other races, or to impose our own will on other parts of the British Empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular "non-interventionism" unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow-citizens overseas; of the corporate duties of one nation to another; of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races, and of our own indebtedness to the world of which we are part. We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a steadily growing mutual understanding, and a continually expanding friendly co-operation among all the peoples of the world. With regard to that great Commonwealth of all races, all colours, all religions and all degrees of civilisation, that we call the British Empire, the Labour Party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of Local Autonomy and "Home Rule All Round"; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its colour, to all the Democratic Self-Government

of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible co-operation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an Empire in the old sense, but a Britannic Alliance. We desire to maintain the most intimate relations with the Labour Parties overseas. Like them, we have no sympathy with the projects of "Imperial Federation," in so far as these imply the subjection to a common Imperial Legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive Imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing Self-Governing Dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of Democratic Self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the Colonial Dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate," either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy or to enable the landlords and financiers of the Mother Country to unite in controlling the growing Popular Democracies overseas. The absolute autonomy of each self-governing part of the Empire must be maintained intact. What we look for, besides a constant progress in Democratic Self-Government of every part of the Britannic Alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the Ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other Dependencies (perhaps by means of their own Ministers specially resident in London for this purpose) in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as Foreign Policy and Imperial Affairs are concerned; and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council, representing all constituents of the Britannic Alliance and all parties in their Local Legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an Alliance of Free Nations. And we carry the idea further. As regards our relations to Foreign Countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to

impoverish any other State or Nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all Protective Customs Tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby. We would therefore put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of Secret Diplomacy and the formation of Leagues against Leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the Treaty of Peace with which the present war will end, of a Universal League or Society of Nations, a Supernational Authority, with an International High Court to try all justiciable issues between nations; an International Legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an International Council of Mediation to endeavour to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make a common cause against any one of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement. The world has suffered too much from war for the Labour Party to have any other policy than that of lasting Peace.

National sovereignty to be modified by the authority of a "Society of Nations"

More Light, but also More Warmth!—The Labour Party is far from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks; or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us. But we deem it important to ourselves as well as to those who may, on the one hand, wish to join the Party, or, on the other, to take up arms against it, to make quite clear and definite our aim and purpose. The Labour Party wants that aim and purpose, as set forth in the preceding pages, with all its might. It calls for more warmth in politics, for much less apathetic acquiescence in the miseries that exist, for none of the cynicism that saps the life of leisure. On the other hand, the Labour Party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by Good Will alone. Good Will without knowledge is Warmth without Light. Especially

Supreme need of a "Science of Society"

in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped Science of Society, the Labour Party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organisation of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labour Party that has the duty of placing this advancement of science in the forefront of its political programme. What the Labour Party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, Democratic Co-operation; and Co-operation involves a common purpose which can be agreed to, a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction. An autocratic Sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A Plutocratic Party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no Labour Party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best Political Science of its time; or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the purpose of the Labour Party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its Policy and its Programme will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows, and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. If Law is the Mother of Freedom, Science, to the Labour Party, must be the Parent of Law.

In Ireland reconstruction was complicated by renewed hostility to English rule. Some concessions were granted by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, providing for separate parliaments with limited powers for Ulster and the south of Ireland and for a council to deal with certain affairs common to the two districts. This act was accepted by Ulster, but the south of Ireland again, by a large majority, adhered to the ideal of independence. The

British government then attempted with renewed vigor to suppress the movement, but with great difficulty, due to such intangible factors as hunger strikes and the general desire for peace. At length the English authorities assumed a conciliatory attitude, recognized the elected republican officials as representing the wishes of the south of Ireland, and signed a treaty (given below) embodying for Ireland a status similar to that of Canada. The treaty was ratified, but was opposed by many advocates of an independent republic. The tentative nature of the provisions relating to the north of Ireland recognized the necessity for a cautious and gradual approach to the problem of reconciling the peoples of Ulster and of the south.

494. The Irish Free State Treaty (signed December 6, 1921)

Article I. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

The Irish executive to be responsible to the Irish legislature

Article II. Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

Article III. The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.

Oath

Article IV. The oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form:

"I . . . do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Article V. . . . [Ireland assumes a share of the public debt, which, with any set-off or counterclaim, is to be determined, in lieu of agreement, by arbitration.]

Coastal defense

Article VI. Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial Forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the revenue or the fisheries. The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a conference of representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.

Article VII. The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's Imperial Forces:

(*a*) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto,[1] or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State; and

(*b*) In time of war or of strained relations with a foreign power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

[1] The Annex provides that the dockyard port at Berehaven and harbor defenses at Queenstown, Belfast Lough, and Lough Swilly shall be in charge of the English; that aviation facilities are to be maintained at the preceding points; that the admiralty shall be given access to oil storage at Haulbowline and Rathmullen; and that a convention shall be made embodying certain provisions in regard to cables, navigational aids, etc.

Article VIII. With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishments thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

Article IX. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

Article X. . . . [The retiring governmental forces are to be compensated in part by each government.]

Tentative provisions concerning Ulster

Article XI. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland, unless a resolution is passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such elections before the end of the said month.

Article XII. If before the expiration of the said month an address is presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications. . . . [In case such an address is presented by Northern Ireland, the boundary between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State shall be determined by a joint commission.]

Article XIII. For the purpose of the last foregoing article, the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the

Government of Ireland Act of 1920 to elect members of the Council of Ireland shall, after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted, be exercised by that Parliament.

Article XIV. After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article XII hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not power to make laws under that Act (including matters which under the said Act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland) the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.

Article XV. At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the provisional Government of Southern Ireland, hereinafter constituted, may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing Article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented, and those provisions may include:

(*a*) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland;

(*b*) Safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland;

(*c*) Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland;

(*d*) Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland;

(*e*) The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State;

(*f*) The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the defence forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively; and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions subject to which the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article XIV hereof.

Article XVI. Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

Article XVII. . . . [A provisional government for Southern Ireland is to be established, to which the British government is to transfer the administration, pending the organization of the Irish Free State government.]

Article XVIII. . . . [Provision is made for ratification by the British and Irish parliaments.]

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